FRONTIS PIECE.

Metz delin. *Grignion sculp.*

BRITANNIA *(supported on one side by* Wisdom & Strength, *and on the other by* Justice & Plenty) *crowning* HISTORY *with a wreath of Laurel, beneath the latter of whom are represented* Genius' & Industry *unfolding the records of Antiquity. — Over Wisdom & Strength are the* Muses, *above whom is Fame blowing her Trumpet, and on the opposite side, under Justice and Plenty, the Emblems of* Commerce *and* Navigation.

Dedication & list of subscribers differ from those at Cup 1247 rr 2

L. 23 b. 3

TO THE

MOST HIGH, PUISSANT AND ILLUSTRIOUS

GEORGE AUGUSTUS-FREDERICK,

PRINCE OF WALES,

EARL OF CHESTER,

PRINCE OF GREAT-BRITAIN,

ELECTORAL PRINCE OF BRUNSWICK-LUNENBURG,

DUKE OF CORNWALL AND ROTHESAY,

EARL OF CARRICK,

BARON OF RENFREW,

LORD OF THE ISLES, &c.

THIS

NEW, UNIVERSAL AND IMPARTIAL

HISTORY OF HIS OWN COUNTRY,

IS

WITH ALL DUE SUBMISSION, HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS's

MOST FAITHFUL

AND

DEVOTED SERVANT,

G. F RAYMOND.

1861
JAN
30
31

Wm Wright & Ann Staveley were married on the
13th Jan.y 1776

Tho.s their first born made his appearance
on the 28th Aug.st 1778

Ann on y.e 8th of May 1780

Fran.s on y.e 9th of Jan.y 1782

John on y.e 16 of May 1783

Mrs Booth is grieved to Annie
Wright the Daughter of
this aforesaid John Wright & Ann
Married the Eldest Daughter of
Mr Rad.k Greaves of Sheffield Joiner
on the 26 of Sept.r 1808
by Tho.s Wright
Oct.r 2 1830

Anne Wright their Eldest Daughter was
Born October the 1 1809

Matilda the 13th of March 1812

Frances the 30th of June 1825

Annie Wright married Thomas Slagg of Red Lodge May 23. 1838
Died March 19th 1895 Interred in Ecclesfield Churchyard
Matilda married John Watson of Sheffield

A New and Correct MAP OF GREAT BRITAIN, from the most accurate SURVEYS,

By Tho.s Bowen.

British Statute Miles

ENGLISH CHANNEL

ST GEORGE'S CHANNEL

IRISH SEA

GERMAN OCEAN

Western Islands

FRANCE

DUBLIN

ORKNEY ISLES

A NEW, UNIVERSAL AND IMPARTIAL

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

From the Earlieſt Accounts of Britain, to its being firſt invaded by the Romans under Julius Cæſar.

CHAP. I.

Introductory remarks. Etymology of the name Britain. Its ſituation, form, extent, and natural advantages. The manner of its being firſt peopled, and its diviſion into Principalities and States, with the Appellative names given to the inhabitants of each reſpective diſtrict.

THE moſt ſecret ſatisfaction that can be enjoyed by mortal is, no doubt, the acquirement of knowledge, becauſe, when once poſſeſſed, it can never be obliterated but by the common defects incident to human nature. The tranſmitting and perpetuating events ſeems to have been the firſt, and moſt important effort of human genius, and has taken place, with conſiderable improvements, at different periods, and in different parts of the world, as the ages have become more refined and poliſhed.

The ingenuity of the human mind cannot be diſplayed in more ſtriking colours, or ſhine with greater luſtre, than in the formation of Hiſtory, which not only preſents us with the moſt ſingular and memorable events, but alſo points out to us the reſpective cauſes which have produced the overthrow of one nation, and the riſe and proſperity of another.

In the delightful ſtudy of Hiſtory a variety of objects preſent themſelves to our view: we become acquainted with the moſt elevated characters, ſuch as kings, heroes, legiſlators and philoſophers, many of whom have particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in their reſpective capacities, and have been the means of inſtructing, poliſhing and reforming mankind.

This has taken place in moſt parts of the world, but in none more materially than in the country about which we are now going to treat. Of all the diſtricts into which the world is divided, there cannot be any one whoſe Hiſtory claims more attention, (and particularly that of an Engliſhman) than Great Britain. In contemplating the annals of this country the faculties of the mind are opened and enlarged, a prodigious fund of important intelligence is procured, and that curioſity, which is naturally inherent in man, gratified to the utmoſt extent.

No Hiſtory whatever can exhibit more illuſtrious ſcenes and characters, or produce a richer fund of entertainment and inſtruction, than that of Britain, which furniſhes us with the moſt intereſting events and incidents relative to thoſe very people from whom we ourſelves are immediately deſcended. Here we behold the manner in which a once barbarous nation has been gradually poliſhed and brought to a perfect ſtate of refinement, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition it has met with from ſome of the moſt bold and enterpriſing invaders. No country whatever has

undergone greater revolutions, nor can the History of any afford more ſatisfaction to the curious. It contains numerous occurrences of the moſt important nature, and furniſhes us with ſuch intereſting examples, that, upon ſerious reflection, the mind naturally glows with a laudable emulation to rival the practice of recorded virtue.

At the time the Roman empire was in its meridian ſtate, the iſland of Great Britain was ſcarce known; but, ſince that period, it has become famous throughout the world, and its inhabitants, from their natural courage and ingenuity, have explored thoſe parts, which, in all probability, would otherwiſe have been ſtill in embrio. By theſe means it has become one of the moſt powerful and opulent nations in Europe, and, from its extenſive commerce, and naval ſtrength, has been long the envy of other nations.

Having made theſe introductory remarks, we ſhall now proceed to the laborious taſk we are about to undertake, namely, to give an accurate, comprehenſive, impartial and faithful account of the origin, revolutions, progreſſive and preſent ſtate of Great Britain, in which we ſhall minutely preſerve every incident, that has occurred of a material nature, from its firſt being known, to the lateſt period of authentic intelligence.

To endeavour to trace minutely the origin of any country has ever been found a taſk of the moſt arduous nature, and to accompliſh it effectually a matter morally impoſſible. Such is the caſe with Great Britain, its origin, like that of other nations, being either loſt in fable, or buried in obſcurity.

Among other uncertainties, there is not any thing which appears to have puzzled the ſearchers into antiquity more than to account for the name of this iſland, which has received various terms from different nations, according to the particular genius of each reſpective language.

The firſt name it is ſuppoſed to have received was that of Bratanack, which it is ſaid was given it by the Phœnicians, who firſt traded to the weſtern coaſt of the iſland for tin, lead, and other articles. This aſſertion appears highly probable, the word Bratanack, in the Phœnician language, ſignifying *the land of tin*. It was afterwards called by the Greeks Albion, a term derived from the Greek word *Alpos*, which ſignifies *white*, in alluſion to the whiteneſs of the chalky cliffs with which the iſland is ſurrounded, and this is confirmed by the writings of the antient Britiſh bards themſelves, who call it Inis-Wen, which, in their language, ſignifies *White Iſland*. It was called by the Romans Bretanea, and afterwards Britain, which laſt epithet is ſuppoſed to have been derived from the Britiſh word *Berith*, ſignifying, in that language, *blue*, and which was peculiarly characteriſtic of the cuſtom of the then natives, who took a pride in ſtaining their bodies with a dye of that colour. The more modern term England is derived from an Anglo-Saxon province called Anglen, the inhabitants of which emigrating from their own country, gave that name to thoſe parts of which they became maſters by conqueſt, and in the courſe of time it was fixed as the ſtaple name of the ſouthern parts of the iſland.

But whatever may have given birth to the name, Britain, (the miſtreſs of wealth and commerce, the favourite reſidence of liberty and plenty, and the undoubted ſovereign of the ſea) is certainly one of the largeſt and moſt ſpontaneous iſlands in the univerſe. It is commodiouſly ſituated in the Atlantic Ocean, being bounded on the eaſt by the German Ocean; on the Weſt, by the Iriſh Sea, or St. George's Channel; on the north, by the Deucaledonian or Northern Ocean; and on the ſouth by the Britiſh Channel. It is of a triangular form, and extends in length, from north to ſouth, 540 miles: that is, according to aſtronomical calculation, reckoning ſixty miles to a degree; but in Engliſh ſtatute meaſure, its length is exactly 622 miles and four furlongs. Its breadth, which muſt be taken from the Land's-End in Cornwall to the South Foreland in Kent, is 285 miles, and its circumference, including the windings of the coaſt, 1830. Its longitude is from 9 deg. 45 min. to 17 deg. 15 min. and the latitude from 50 to 59 deg. north.

The iſland of Great-Britain, from the peculiarity of its ſituation, enjoys many advantages unknown to the inhabitants of other countries. The air, though moiſt, is far from being unhealthy; and the ſoil is ſo prolific as to produce all the neceſſaries and comforts of life. The ſummer is not ſcorching, nor the winter ſevere, the former being tempered with cooling breezes, and the latter ſoftened by the ſalt vapours that ariſe and ſpread themſelves from the ſurrounding ſeas. The ground is cloathed with an almoſt perpetual verdure, and the whole country diverſified with hills and dales, ſo as to exhibit to the view a variety of the moſt delightful and enchanting proſpects. It produces ſuch an abundance of corn as not only to ſupply the inhabitants for home conſumption, but alſo to allow the exportation of great quantities to foreign parts: and the paſturage is ſo fine and rich, that the cattle are eſteemed the largeſt and beſt in Europe. The various windings and indentions of the coaſt afford numberleſs harbours for the ſecurity of ſhipping, and the ſurrounding ſea teems with myriads of fiſh, which not only gratify the inhabitants as food, but turn to their advantage, by the traffic they make with them in foreign countries. In ſhort, from the natural fertility of the iſland, the ſurrounding ſeas, and interſecting ſtreams, Britain is plentifully ſupplied with every neceſſary article that nature can crave, and moſt of the delicacies that luxury can wiſh for; beſides which, from the great extent of her commerce, ſhe is no leſs acquainted with thoſe dainties which are particularly diſtinguiſhed in foreign climes. Her inhabitants likewiſe enjoy bleſſings to which thoſe of other countries are total ſtrangers: the ſyſtem of the conſtitution is ſo oppoſite to the leaſt conſtraint, that the meaneſt ſubject has an equal freedom in enjoying the fruits of his induſtry as the moſt exalted character in the abundance of his poſſeſſions; ſo that it may be juſtly ſaid

Here Liberty, delightful goddeſs, reigns,
Gladdens each heart, and gilds the fertile plains;
Here firmly ſeated may ſhe ever ſmile,
And ſhower her bleſſings on her favourite iſle,

When we conſider the great natural advantages attendant on this now famous iſland, it is not to be

be wondered at that, in very early times, it ſhould have attracted the notice of a people who had long before been accuſtomed to commerce, and who were deſirous of increaſing the advantages ariſing therefrom by endeavouring to diſcover places before unknown. This was the caſe with the Phœnicians, Greeks and Romans, who extended their commerce and navigation as far as the iſland of Britain, with the inhabitants of which (who were even then numerous and powerful) they traded for ſome ages before the Chriſtian æra.

According to the moſt circumſtantial accounts it evidently appears that the Phœnicians were the firſt people who diſcovered this iſland, and that the diſcovery was to them productive of the moſt conſiderable advantages. They landed and formed an intercourſe with the inhabitants of the weſtern extremity of the iſland, from whence they exported tin and other commodities; and this traffic they conſidered of ſuch importance, that they erected ſeveral ſtrong forts or caſtles in that part now called Cornwall, for the preſervation of their traders, and the ſecurity of their new eſtabliſhed commerce. Nay, ſo jealous were they of this advantage that they concealed the voyage from all the reſt of the world; and we are told by Strabo, that one of their ſhips being followed by a Roman veſſel, fitted out to diſcover her deſtination, the Phœnician pilot, in order to fruſtrate their deſigns, ran his veſſel aſhore, and that when he returned, inſtead of being blamed, he was commended for his conduct, and the damage ſuſtained made good at the public expence.

With reſpect to the origin of the firſt inhabitants of this iſland, it cannot be traced with any degree of certainty, a vague and romantic tradition only remaining to lead us through the intricate mazes of fabulous times. Some writers, indeed, have endeavoured to trace the origin of the Britons from Samothes, one of the ſons of Japhet, and others from Brutus, the grandſon of Æneas; but both theſe accounts are evidently fictitious, and have been long ſince exploded. The moſt probable opinion is, that it was peopled at various periods, and from different parts of the continent; but it is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to determine the æra when the firſt ſettlement was made.

The earlieſt account that can be relied on as authentic is, that this iſland was firſt peopled by a party of the Celts, a tribe of the Gauls from the neighbouring continent, Britain being ſo near them that they could diſcern the coaſts from their own hills. This happened in the reign of Teutat, king of the Celts, about 1860 years before the birth of Chriſt. That prince having extended his conqueſts to the very extremities of Germany and Gaul, in order ſtill farther to increaſe the commerce of his dominions, ſent a colony of his ſubjects to Britain, who, landing on the ſouthern parts of the iſland, there took up their reſidence. This colony aſſiduouſly employed themſelves to their commercial intereſts, to which they were warmly excited by the example and encouragement of Teutat their prince, who, from his vigorous promotion of traffic, acquired the appellation of Mercur, which, in the language of the Celtæ, ſignifies a *trading man*.

The great ſucceſs of theſe firſt emigrants from Gaul ſoon induced others to follow their example; and thus, in proceſs of time, not only the ſea coaſts, but the interior parts of the iſland, became inhabited. Theſe latter emigrants formed themſelves into different ſocieties, and, having no concern with the commerce carried on by their brethren, became, in time, a diſtinct people. They devoted themſelves entirely to a paſtoral life, and wandered from one part of the iſland to another in ſearch of paſture for their flocks and herds. Happy in themſelves, and ignorant of the wants introduced by luxury, they were contented with the ſtation of ſhepherds, and lived wholly unconcerned with the wars and revolutions of other countries.

In this ſtate they continued for ſome time, when their Belgic neighbours, who had applied themſelves to commerce, and obtained from their ſouthern acquaintance faint notions of the refinements of life, being too numerous on the continent, and conſequently impoveriſhing each other, came in great numbers to Britain. Theſe ſpringing originally from the ſame ſtock, uſing the ſame language, and having the ſame manners and cuſtoms as the Celts, were hoſpitably received by the deſcendants of the firſt ſettlers, who ſuffered them to ſettle in Cornwall, Devonſhire, Kent and Suſſex. In conſequence of this they were ſoon incorporated together by intermarriages, and their progeny deemed themſelves but one people. Hence, in the courſe of time, they became populous and powerful, and the Phœnicians and Grecians carried on a commercial intercourſe with them long before they were known to the Romans.

The great ſucceſs of theſe iſlanders being made known to their brethren on the continent, prodigious numbers emigrated, and came over to Britain, in hopes of participating of thoſe advantages for which, even then, the iſland had become famous. In conſequence of this the firſt inhabitants became jealous, being fearful leſt the repeated encroachments of their countrymen ſhould deprive them of their paſtures, and that in time they might endeavour to poſſeſs themſelves of the whole country. Thus was the tranquillity of the old inhabitants greatly interrupted, and diſcord and faction took place inſtead of peace and plenty.

Theſe diſturbances being made known to Divitiacus, king of the Sueſſones, he came over with a large body of forces, collected from the Bibroci, Attrabates, and other Belgic nations, with which he reduced great part of Britain, and garriſoned ſeveral of the inland provinces with his troops. In conſequence of this, war and devaſtation took place, and the whole iſland was filled with blood and ſlaughter. Every tribe became a ſeperate government, and ſuch as were too ſmall to defend themſelves againſt the inroads of the enemy, joined with others, in order to ſecure their reſpective rights againſt the common invader. This had the intended effect; and the conſequence was that to ſecure themſelves in future, the iſland was ſoon after divided into principalities or kingdoms, each of which was governed by a chief choſen by the majority of the inhabitants in the reſpective diſtricts. Theſe kingdoms, or rather petty ſtates, were ſeventeen in number, the names of which, together with the different appel-

appellations of the people who inhabited them, were as follow:

Inhabitants.	Principalities.
Dunmonii	Cornwall, Devonſhire
Durotriges	Dorſetſhire
Belgæ	Somerſetſhire, Wiltſhire, Hampſhire
Attrebatii	Barkſhire or Berkſhire
Regni	Surry, Suſſex
Cantii	Kent
Dobuni	Glouceſterſhire, Oxfordſhire
Cattieuchlani	Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Hartfordſhire or Hertfordſhire
Trinobantes	Middleſex, Eſſex
Iceni	Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeſhire, Huntingdonſhire
Coritani	Northamptonſhire, Leiceſterſhire, Rutlandſhire, Lincolnſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Derbyſhire
Cornavii	Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, Staffordſhire, Shropſhire, Cheſhire
Silures	Herefordſhire, Radnorſhire, Brecknockſhire, Monmouthſhire, Glamorganſhire
Dimetæ	Carmarthenſhire, Pembrokeſhire, Cardiganſhire
Ordovices	Montgomeryſhire, Merionethſhire, Caernarvonſhire, Angleſea, Denbighſhire, Flintſhire
Brigantes	Yorkſhire, Durham, Lancaſhire, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland
Ottadini	Northumberland

The chiefs of theſe different ſtates or principalities held a ſovereign power over all thoſe by whom they were reſpectively choſen to govern; but, on particular emergencies, delegates were ſent from each to a full aſſembly of the nation, in order to appoint ſome reſpectable individual to the office of generaliſſimo, or chief commander of the whole. But the authority of this officer was temporary and his power limited: he was only appointed in caſes of urgency, and when the whole nation thought themſelves in danger from any common enemy; and, during the time he held his office, was ameſnable to the cenſure of the general aſſembly by whom he was elected.

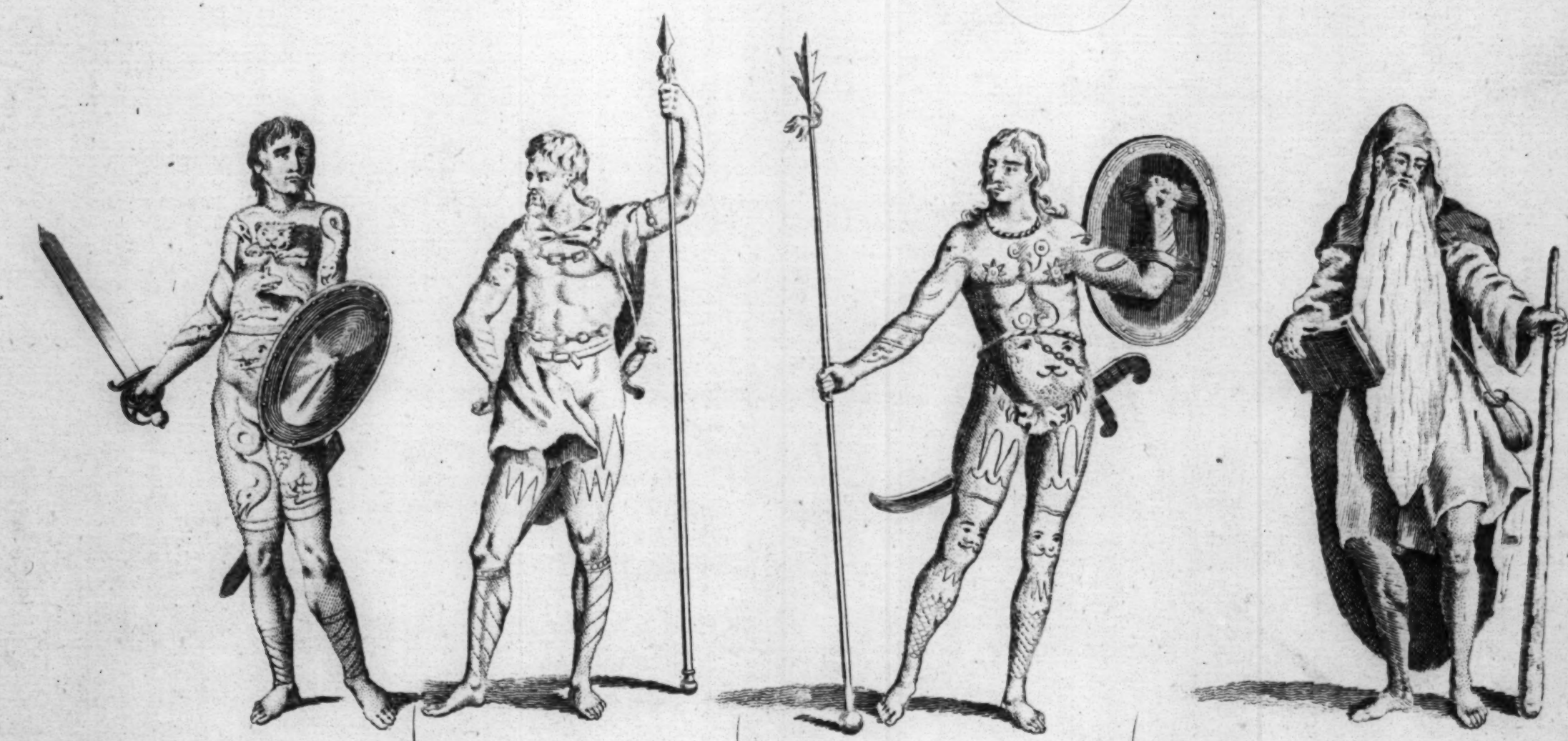
CHAP. II.

Of the firſt inhabitants of Britain, their general characters, perſons, manners, diſpoſitions, habitations, method of living, warlike inſtruments, commerce, &c.

THE antient Britons, or firſt inhabitants of this iſland, were particularly tenacious of their liberty, rudely generous, and roughly brave; and, according to Diodorus Siculus, poſſeſſed much greater integrity than even the Romans. They ſtrongly reſembled their neighbours the Gauls, except being leſs poliſhed, and more ferocious. In their perſons they were tall, well-proportioned, and robuſt. The men were ſtrong and active, and the women fair, well featured, and finely ſhaped. Both ſexes had either red or cheſnut-coloured hair, which flowed looſely over their ſhoulders; and the men conſtantly ſhaved their faces, except the upper lip, on which they ſuffered the hair to grow to a moſt enormous length. Their dreſs was compoſed of the ſkins of beaſts, and they ſtained their bodies with the juice of a weed called woad, rendering the colour more laſting by pricking the ſkin before the application of it. The juice of the weed gave them a ſky-coloured tinge, which being conſidered as a proper ground, was overſpread with a variety of other tints, independent of which they were ornamented with the repreſentation of flowers and animals, which they rudely painted on different parts of their bodies. This cuſtom was deſigned to anſwer two purpoſes, the firſt, to pleaſe thoſe whom they were deſirous of captivating, and the latter to intimidate thoſe whom they conſidered as their enemies.

Being naturally robuſt, and enured to all the inclemencies of the weather, to hardſhips and fatigue, they acquired a degree of fortitude and valour ſuperior to thoſe of more poliſhed countries. Strangers to ambition and luxury, their wealth conſiſted in their herds of cattle, which they drove from place to place for the convenience of paſture. Honeſt, ſincere and hoſpitable, they conſidered both the perſons and effects of ſtrangers inviolably ſacred, and thought it an indiſpenſible duty to afford them ſuch protection as laid in their power. They diſdained every ſpecies of deceit and artifice, and deteſted thoſe who were addicted to effeminacy or indolence. Their darling

Four Portraits *of the Ancient Inhabitants of* Great Britain.



An Ancient CALEDONIAN.

An Ancient BRITON.

A PICT.

A DRUID.

BRITISH MUSEUM
30
JAN

darling object was liberty, and they made not the leaſt heſitation to ſacrifice their lives in its defence.

With reſpect to their habitations, they conſiſted only of mean huts, ſome of which were formed of boughs of trees and reſembled arbours, while others were made of mud and clay, and generally covered with turf. Their towns conſiſted of a number of theſe huts irregularly placed at ſmall diſtances from each other. They were ſituated in the middle of woods, and, by way of fortification, they blocked up all the avenues with felled trees. They often changed the places of their abode, which, in general, was done for the better convenience of feeding their flocks and herds.

Their diet was ſimple, and they were frugal in the uſe of it: their food conſiſted chiefly of milk, apples, and the fleſh of ſuch animals as they killed in hunting: their common drink was water, but, upon extraordinary occaſions, they indulged themſelves with a kind of fermented liquor made of barley, honey, or apples. This was their mode of living, and to this, together with the hardineſs of their nature, may be aſcribed their great longevity; for, according to Plutarch, they only began to diſcover the effects of infirmity at the age of one hundred and twenty years. Their abſtemiouſneſs, however, was not the effect of natural temperance alone, but in ſome meaſure took its riſe from religious principles, as they were ſtrictly prohibited from eating fowl, hare, gooſe, or fiſh: the three former they brought up as domeſtic animals, but never attempted to take the latter, becauſe they imagined that the waters were the habitation of the gods, and that every thing contained in them was, of courſe, conſecrated to their uſe. On the arrival of the Belgæ they had introduced ſome knowledge of agriculture, ſo that in the courſe of time they had an additional and much more ſubſtantial kind of food, which was bread made of rye and barley, and which was afterwards commonly uſed in all parts of the iſland.

Previous to the invaſion of Divitiacus, the Britons were poorly provided with warlike weapons, either for annoyance or defence. The arms of the better ſort were, a broad ſword without a point, a ſhort dagger, a javelin and arrows: thoſe of the common people conſiſted of ſticks ſharpened at both ends, and long ſtaves edged with flint, or headed with copper, having at the lower extremity a braſs bell, with the noiſe of which they endeavoured to terrify the enemy. They had neither coats of male nor helmets, but defended themſelves with light round targets made of wood or twigs interwoven, covered with ſkins, and, by way of ornament, ſtudded with nails of braſs.

The moſt deſtructive implements they had was their war chariots, the form and uſe of which they obtained from the Phœnicians. They were decorated with rude carvings and paintings, had ſharp ſcythes fixed to the axle-tree, and were built in ſuch a manner, that they could be ſtopped and turned on the declivity of hills with aſtoniſhing dexterity. They were generally drawn by two horſes, which were ſmall, but very ſwift. Each contained the driver and a ſingle warrior, who darted his javelins at the enemy, and even drove among the thickeſt ranks, terrifying, trampling, and cutting them in pieces with the long ſcythes fixed to the axle-tree of the wheels. When they approached an enemy, they claſhed their arms together, made a diſmal ſound with their rude trumpets, gave a loud ſhout, and then continued their march, ſinging the actions of their renowned anceſtors. Thoſe who directed their chariots generally attacked the enemy's cavalry, and the warriors would frequently alight, and fight on foot, till they were either fatigued or overpowered, when they reſumed their ſeats; and they were ſo remarkably expert in the management of their chariots, that they could ſtop or turn them when on full ſpeed, and could leap out or in them as occaſion required. They charged with an impetuoſity hardly to be reſiſted; but if once repulſed by the enemy, confuſion immediately enſued, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty they could be rallied to renew the engagement. They always engaged in ſeparate bodies, drawn up at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, that they might have room to act, and ſuſtain thoſe who wanted ſuccour.

This martial diſpoſition was far from being confined to the male ſex. The women were naturally endowed with uncommon valour and perſeverance; they generally accompanied their huſbands to the field, and, by their preſence and heroic examples, animated them to acts which produced both conqueſt and glory.

With reſpect to commerce, the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt of Britain were accuſtomed to traffic even from the time of Teutat, but to enumerate the different articles in which their commerce conſiſted, is morally impoſſible. Their chief traffic was with the Phœnician merchants, who, after the diſcovery of the iſland, which, according to Sammes, happened before the Trojan war, exported annually great quantities of hides and tin, which they ſold to the Greeks and other eaſtern nations. After the Belgæ had introduced agriculture, the corn and wool of Britain were conſidered as valuable commodities, and were purchaſed with great avidity by the traders on the continent.

Commerce was chiefly carried on by barter, as they had not then any kind of coin: the articles they uſed as a ſubſtitute for that convenience conſiſted of iron and braſs rings, which being made to a certain weight paſſed among themſelves as current. The commodities they imported were gold, ſilver, ivory and pearl: theſe were at firſt conſidered as matters of curioſity, but, in a ſhort time, they turned them to advantage by converting them into ornaments, which were purchaſed and worn by their principal people. This commerce, in proceſs of time, was greatly increaſed: by their induſtry and ingenuity, they found the art of manufacturing them into chains, bits, bracelets, collars, wreaths, &c. which they brought to great perfection, and re-exported them to conſiderable advantage.

The art of ſhip-building was totally unknown to the ancient Britons. Their navy conſiſted of nothing more than a few open boats made of ſlight timber, interwoven with wicker, and covered with pitched hides. The tempeſtuous ſeas of Britain were not to be navigated with ſuch ſlight veſſels as theſe; and ſuch voyages as they made muſt have been very ſhort. It is moſt probable that the fartheſt voyage they undertook was

to the coaſts of Gaul, and that they performed theſe only in the ſummer months, and when the weather was calm and ſerene. The art of navigation, as well as ſhip-building, was not known till after the arrival of the Romans in this iſland, which was about fifty-five years before the Chriſtian æra.

The antient Britons, like the principal part of the univerſe, at that time, were groſs idolaters, their worſhip being as rude as their manners were ſimple. But of this, as well as the nature of their civil policy, we ſhall treat at large in the enſuing chapter.

CHAP. III.

Of the civil policy of the antient Britons. Of the Druids, and the different claſſes into which they were divided. Their great power and importance. The nature of their religion and mode of worſhip. Their diſtinguiſhed veneration for the oak, and particularly its natural appendage called the miſſeltoe. Their religious and political tenets, &c.

THE antient Britons were, like the Gauls, divided into three claſſes, or orders, namely, the Druids, the Equites, and the Plebeians, the latter of whom had not any ſhare in the adminiſtration. The Equites were the nobles who commanded in war, and the ſupreme magiſtracy was veſted in the Druids, who, though generally conſidered as prieſts, acted in a civil as well as eccleſiaſtical capacity, in the former of which their influence was exceeding great, and in the latter abſolute and unlimitted. The reaſon of their being poſſeſſed of the ſecular as well as clerical authority was owing to a notion being prevalent among the people that none ought to ſubmit to puniſhment for any crime whatever, but by divine authority, which authority was delegated to, and lodged in, the prieſthood only. Hence the Druids had an uncontrouled power over the minds and perſons of the laity. They decided in all controverſies, whether the diſpute was in conſequence of miſdemeanors, capital crimes, inheritance or property. The ſentence pronounced was ſure to be executed; for if any perſon refuſed to obey it, he was interdicted from all religious rites, deprived of the benefit of the laws, rendered incapable of any office of truſt or honour, and held in univerſal abhorrence, as a monſter of ſacrilege and impiety.

The term Druid is derived from the Britiſh word *dryw*, which ſignifies *oak*, and from whence they were ſo called on account of the peculiar veneration they had for that towering monarch of the Britiſh plains. They diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the nobles and Plebeians by wearing their hair very ſhort, and their beards exceeding long. They carried a long ſtaff in their hand, and about their neck hung an ornament enchaſed in gold, which was called the Druids Egg. Their outſide garment reached to the feet, and in general was of different colours, but when employed in the diſcharge of religious ceremonies, they always wore a white ſurplice.

The Druids were divided into three orders, or claſſes, viz. Druids properly ſo called, Bards, and Eubates or Vates.

The firſt of theſe claſſes preſided over, and regulated all public affairs, as well civil as eccleſiaſtical: they were particularly appointed to perform the ſacrifices, and were employed in the more ſolemn rites and myſteries of religion.

The ſecond claſs, ſtiled Bards, were thoſe who compoſed the verſes which were ſung at their religious ceremonies: they alſo preſerved in memory the noble exploits of their heroes; ſo that they were at the ſame time both prieſts, hiſtorians and poets. They ſuperintended the education of perſons of rank, and were probationers for admittance into the firſt order.

The third claſs, or Eubates, devoted themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy, augury, divination, magic, natural philoſophy and phyſic; ſo that they were ſkilled in every art that could excite the aſtoniſhment, and eſtabliſh the veneration of an ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude.

Theſe three claſſes, or orders of Druids, acted in ſubordination to a chief, called the Arch-Druid, who was choſen out of their own body. This ſupremacy he enjoyed for life, and his perſon was deemed ſacred. He inſpected the conduct of the ſovereigns or princes of the reſpective ſtates, depoſed ſuch as he thought acted inconſiſtent with their characters, and appointed others in their ſtead. His office was not hereditary, for on the death of one, another was choſen in his ſtead by a majority of thoſe who were of the prieſtly order. If any diſturbance ever happened among the Druids, it was in conſequence of the death of their primate, when ſuch earneſt endeavours were uſed to get appointed to that honourable and powerful office, that the freedom of election was ſometimes interrupted by appeals to the ſword. In all other caſes they acted with great moderation and temperance, and thereby obtained the general reſpect and affection of the people.

The power and authority inveſted in the Druids was unlimited, but it muſt be obſerved, to their honour, that they always exerciſed it with a becoming dignity, incorruptible integrity, and uncommon fortitude. Strangers to every ſpecies of effeminate luxury, they were ignorant of its attendant vices: they never ſuffered private intereſt to take the pre-eminence of public welfare, nor endeavoured to ſupport the former at the expence of the latter. They were compoſed of the principal nobility of the kingdom, and conſequently by birth, as well as education, devoted to the ſervice of their country. When any civil diſcords took place, they interpoſed, and, by their prudent admonitions, buried all diſputes in oblivion.

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Their authority was ſufficient even to ſoothe the rage of exaſperated armies when on the very point of engaging. Fearleſs of the danger, and armed only by their ſacred character, they often ruſhed between them, diſarmed them of their rage, and effected an accommodation by the ſtrength of their remonſtrances, and the irreſiſtible power of their elocution.

As they engroſſed the learning of thoſe days, ſo they took every poſſible precaution to confine it within their own order. All their ceremonies and literary precepts were performed and delivered extempore, nor would they ſuffer any of their maxims or religious tenets to be committed to writing. They had two motives for this peculiar injunction, the firſt of which was, that the common ſort of people ſhould not become acquainted with their myſterious learning by means of any manuſcripts; and the latter, that, by continual exerciſe, the retentive faculties of their pupils might be ſtrengthened and invigorated.

At certain times in the year they held a kind of court in ſome conſecrated place for the purpoſe of adjuſting all diſputes between contending parties, as alſo for determining the fate of thoſe accuſed of having violated the laws of the nation; and at theſe times they likewiſe took the opportunity of not only making an harangue to their pupils, but likewiſe to the people in general on the ſubjects of religion, law and philoſophy.

They profeſſed, and propagated, the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, together with that of tranſmigration, the latter of which, it is generally ſuppoſed, they communicated to the Pythagoreans. They diſplayed, in the moſt pleaſing light, the rewards with which a life of virtue would be crowned in a future exiſtence; but at the ſame time pointed out the dreadful conſequences that would attend the wicked and abandoned. Their idea of the Deity was noble and ſublime: they believed his preſence filled the univerſe; that his power ſupported the pillars of heaven; and that his eye pervaded the inmoſt receſſes of the heart. That this was the grand principle of their religious notions appears evident from Tacitus, who ſays, "It was an "opinion univerſally eſtabliſhed in all the coun-"tries where the religion of the Druids prevailed, "that to ſuppoſe the preſence of the Deity to be "confined within any incloſed place, to repre-"ſent him in an human form, or by any mate-"rial image, was at once derogatory to his ho-"nour, and incompatible with his Divine at-"tributes."

But notwithſtanding they entertained ſuch juſt notions of the Supreme Being, yet, ſtrange as it may appear, their religious tenets in general teemed with the groſſeſt ſuperſtitions. They admitted an inferior kind of deities, and paid Divine honours to Jupiter, Mars, Apollo and Mercury, under the names of Taranus, Heſus, Belenes and Teutates. To theſe, after being invaded by the Romans, they added Minerva, Diana and Hercules, the latter of whom they diſtinguiſhed by the name of Ogmius, which, in the Britiſh language, ſignifies, the god of Eloquence.

Their external mode of worſhip was compoſed of prayers, thankſgivings, invocations, oblations and ſacrifices. At firſt their oblations conſiſted only of fine meal or flower ſprinkled with ſalt, or a cake compoſed of the like ingredients mixed with water; and their ſacrifices of beaſts and birds. This ſimplicity was preſerved till they formed an intercourſe with the Phœnicians from whom they adopted the horrid practice of offering up human victims, the manner and ceremonies attending which were of the moſt cruel nature. At firſt, malefactors only were the objects of this barbarous rite; but, in proceſs of time, innocent perſons alſo became the victims of their horrid ſuperſtition. They even improved on the cruelty of that nation from whom they had received ſo horrid a practice: they grew ſtrangers to the feelings of humanity, and carried their ſuperſtitious barbarity to the moſt unbounded lengths, forming wicker idols of ſuch a monſtrous ſize as to contain whole crouds of people, who were burnt at once, together with thoſe prodigious incloſures, to expiate the anger of their gods. This inhuman and deteſtable cuſtom was continued till the iſland was ſubdued by the Romans, when thoſe people, contrary to their uſual clemency, and political regard for conquered nations, totally extirpated it, together with almoſt every memorial of that ſuperſtition which had ſo long been preſerved by the Druids, previous to their arrival. After their departure, however, the Druids reſumed their former practices, which they continued till the reign of the emperor Nero, when Paulinus Suetonius reduced the iſland of Angleſea, which was the principal place of their retreat, and overwhelmed them with ſuch unexpected and ſudden deſtruction, that the knowledge and tradition which had been conveyed to them by their predeceſſors was almoſt annihilated.

The religious ceremonies of the Druids were performed in groves conſecrated to their reſpective idols. Theſe groves were compoſed of, ſurrounded by, and fenced in with, lofty oaks, that tree being the greateſt object of their eſteem and veneration. In moſt of their ceremonies they likewiſe took occaſion to uſe ſome parts of this tree. Their altars were covered with its branches, their victims adorned with the ſmaller boughs, and all concerned in the ſacrifices decorated with garlands made of its leaves. Nor was their veneration confined to the tree itſelf: the miſſeltoe, which nature has made to grow on, and embrace the ſturdy oak, they eſteemed as the choiceſt gift of heaven: and held the application of it to be univerſally efficacious in medicine. This myſterious arcanum they annually ſought for with great eagerneſs, found with tranſport, and gathered in the midſt of a great number of people, who flocked from all quarters at the ſtated times appointed for the ſolemnity, to welcome what they called the pledge and earneſt of future felicity. On this occaſion, the Archdruid, clad in a white robe, aſcended the tree, and, with a conſecrated golden knife or pruning-hook, cropped the miſſeltoe, and received it in his white robe, with the greateſt marks of ſatisfaction. With this precious acquiſition, he deſcended from the tree amidſt the joyful acclamations of the enraptured multitude, who deemed it the happy omen of a proſperous year. In acknowledgment of this happy event, the Archdruid made a ſacrifice of two bulls. during which ceremony he invoked the powers preſiding over the healing art to render the miſſeltoe efficacious,

and

and that by its application all who were diſeaſed might be cured of their reſpective infirmities. The tree on which the miſſeltoe had been found was conſidered as particularly favoured by the Deity, and conſequently entitled to a more than common veneration. This ſuperſtitious notion greatly encreaſed, and at length ſuch was their unbounded regard for this tree, that they made it the immediate object of their adoration.

The maxims and tenets of the Druids, as well thoſe of a civil as religious nature, have been principally buried in oblivion by the all-devouring hand of time. But notwithſtanding this powerful invader, ſome few have been preſerved, and we are happy in having it in our power to lay them before our readers. We have extracted ſome of them from the moſt antient records on the ſubject, but the greater part from a moſt curious and valuable manuſcript now in the poſſeſſion of a Britiſh nobleman, and to whom, for his great condeſcenſion in permitting us to communicate to the public ſo diſtinguiſhed a piece of antiquity, we are in duty bound to return our moſt ſincere and grateful acknowledgements.

Theſe maxims, or tenets, may be divided into three claſſes, namely, religious, political and miſcellaneous. And firſt, their

Religious Tenets.

1. There is but one ſupreme God, who is infinite and omnipotent.
2. Every thing upon the face of the earth derives its origin from above.
3. The ſoul is immortal, and every human being after death ſhall be brought to account for his conduct on earth, and puniſhed or rewarded in a future life according to his actions.
4. The world, if ever deſtroyed, will be either by fire or water.
5. There is another world, and thoſe who kill themſelves to accompany their friends thither, will live with them there.
6. The diſobedient muſt be excluded from ſacrifices.
7. Money lent in this world will be repaid in the next: that is, thoſe who have relieved the indigent here will be rewarded for it hereafter.
8. Letters given to dying perſons or thrown on their funeral piles, will be faithfully delivered to whom they are addreſſed in the other world.
9. Malefactors, priſoners of war, or, in caſe of neither, innocent perſons are to be ſlain upon the altar, or burnt alive, incloſed in a wicker Coloſſus, in honour, and to appeaſe the anger, of the gods.

Political Tenets.

1. All maſters of families are ſupreme lords of their own houſhold; they have abſolute dominion over their wives, their children, and their ſlaves.
2. Children are to be educated apart from their parents, and never to be admitted publickly into their company till they attain the age of fourteen years.
3. Upon extraordinary emergencies a man may be ſacrificed for the good of his country.
4. When the ſafety of the ſtate requires it, a man may be ſlain, in order to foretel future events, from the manner of which the body falls; from its motion after it has fallen; from the flowing of the blood; from the appearance of the wound, or from inſpecting the motions of the vital parts.
5. Thoſe who are excommunicated for their diſobedience or diſloyalty, ſhall be deprived of the benefit of the law, ſecluded from ſociety, and rendered incapable of any employment.

Miſcellaneous Tenets.

1. No inſtruction muſt be given to youth but in the ſacred groves.
2. All commerce with ſtrangers is prohibited.
3. The ſecrets of the ſciences muſt not be committed to writing, but fixed in the memory.
4. He merits death who comes laſt to the aſſembly of the ſtates.
5. Miſſeltoe muſt be gathered with reverence, if poſſible, on the ſixth day of the month, and cut with a golden bill or pruning hook.
6. The powder of miſſeltoe is a ſovereign remedy againſt all diſeaſes.

Though the Druids had not originally any public ſtructures, either becauſe they were ignorant of the art of building, or held it impious to worſhip the Deity in confined places made by the feeble hands of man; yet, in proceſs of time, they followed the practice of other nations, and raiſed temples and monuments in honour of the inferior deities they adored. Theſe temples conſiſted of rude ſtone pillars placed in a circular form, with a ſloping altar in the middle, and the top left entirely open*. At ſome diſtance from the temple was a kind of obeliſk, in different parts

* There are ſtill many remains of theſe ancient edifices to be ſeen in different parts of the iſland; but the moſt conſpicuous are thoſe called Stonehenge, near Ambreſbury in Wiltſhire, a deſcription of which will furniſh the reader with a proper idea of the nature of the whole. It conſiſts of the remains of two circular and two oval ranges of rough ſtones, having one common center. The outer circle is 108 feet in diameter, and, when perfect, conſiſted of thirty upright ſtones, ſeventeen of which are ſtill ſtanding, and ſeven more lying on the ground, ſome whole, and others broken. The upright ſtones are from eighteen to twenty feet high, from ſix to ſeven feet broad, and about three feet thick, placed about three feet from each other. They are joined at the top by impoſts, with tenons fitted to mortiſes for keeping them in a due poſition. The upright ſtones are tapered towards the top, which appears to have been done with a chiſſel, but the impoſts are plain, and without the leaſt kind of decoration. The inner circle is about eight feet from the outward one, and conſiſted originally of forty ſtones; of theſe there are about nineteen left, eight of which are fallen down, and the remaining eleven ſtanding. Between theſe two circles is a walk of about three hundred feet in circumference, and from which the temple being viewed, affords a moſt ſurprizing and wonderful effect on the ſpectator. The temple is incloſed by a trench near thirty feet broad, and diſtance about an hundred feet from the inner circle. There are three paſſages to it over this trench, one of which is much more conſiderable than the other two, and, no doubt, was the grand entrance to the body of the temple.

For ſome diſtance round this famous monument are great numbers of ſepulchres, or, as they are called, Barrows, which are covered with earth, and raiſed in the form of a bell.

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parts of which were holes for the convenience of binding thoſe unhappy victims who were deſtined as ſacrifices.

Such were the maxims and tenets of the Druids, and ſuch the ſtate of the antient Britons at the time Julius Cæſar meditated the conqueſt of their country.

We have already obſerved that the Britons were a fierce, courageous and warlike people; but it muſt be remembered that they were very ill ſupplied with arms, had neither money or warlike ſtores, and, comparatively ſpeaking, were totally unacquainted with military diſcipline. Theſe were certainly great diſadvantages; but the moſt material evil that attended them was, a want of union, which aroſe from the number of ſtates or principalities governed by their own particular chieftains, who could not be always brought to act in conſort with the common enemy. Their country alſo was eaſy of acceſs, being open and unfortified; nor had they any place where they could conveniently rendezvous, or ſecure themſelves in a retreat, except their dreary foreſts, bogs, and mountains, which were ſituated in the northern parts of the iſland.

From theſe, and many other diſadvantageous circumſtances, they were expoſed to an invaſion from the moſt powerful nation on the earth, elated with former conqueſts, and headed by a commander, who had acquired more fame from his military atchievements than any general at that time known throughout the univerſe.

BOOK II.

From the firſt Arrival of the Romans in Britain, to their final Departure from the Iſland.

CHAP. I.

Julius Cæſar reſolves to invade Britain. His ſuppoſed reaſon for forming ſuch a reſolution. Embarks with his forces, and ſails to the coaſt of Britain. After ſome difficulty lands his troops, engages the Britons, defeats them, and obliges them to ſue for peace. Suſtains conſiderable loſs in his navy by a tempeſt. The Britons, in hopes of recovering their liberty, attack the ſeventh legion, but are repulſed by the unexpected arrival of Julius Cæſar. They gather together a conſiderable army, and proceed with great reſolution towards the entrenchments of the Romans. Cæſar advances againſt them, and a deſperate battle enſues, in which the Britons are defeated with great ſlaughter. In conſequence of this they again ſue for peace, which being granted, on certain conditions, Cæſar re-embarks his forces, and returns to Gaul.

THE ambitious hero, who aſpires after conqueſts, like the miſer who daily labours to encreaſe his riches, the more he endeavours to gratify his deſires, the farther he is off from accompliſhing his ends. But it muſt be obſerved, that the purſuits of theſe different characters have very different tendencies. The ambitious and generous man is deſirous of increaſing his poſſeſſions, that he may have the opportunity of liberally conferring favours on his friends in particular and the diſtreſſed in general; while the miſer, too frequently by the baſeſt of means, accumulates wealth, and then ſordidly conceals it.

The firſt of theſe characters is juſtly due to Julius Cæſar, who is univerſally acknowledged to have been at once the man, the hero, the politician, and the friend. His only failing was ambition, the purſuit of which he carried to the greateſt lengths, and the conſequences reſulting from which perpetuated his name with honour to ſucceeding generations.

At the time Julius Cæſar meditated the conqueſt of Britain, the Roman empire had arrived at its meridian of military glory. He had long been at war with the Gauls, who were ſo diſtinguiſhed for their martial courage and diſcipline, as to be a terror to all around them. Cæſar was determined, if poſſible, to diveſt them of this diſtinction; and, from his ſuperior courage, and military proweſs, at length obtained his ends, and made them totally ſubject to the Roman yoke.

Elated with this ſucceſs, and prompted by ambition, his darling paſſion, Cæſar reſolved to extend

They extend to a conſiderable diſtance from the temple, but are ſo placed as to be all in view of it. Many of theſe have been opened, and in them were found either human ſkeletons, or aſhes of burnt bones, together with different kinds of warlike inſtruments. From theſe ſepulchres being within ſight of the temple, we may conclude, that the antient Britons, like the Chriſtians of the preſent age, thought it moſt proper to bury their dead adjoining to thoſe places where they worſhipped the Supreme Being. Indeed, all worſhip indicates a ſtate of futurity, and they might reaſonably imagine that no place was ſo proper for depoſiting the relics of their departed friends, as the ſpot dedicated to the ſervice of that Being with whom they hoped to live for ever.

tend the glory of his arms beyond the boundaries of the ocean, and to join realms by conqueſt, which were ſeparated by nature. The iſland of Great Britain was at that time almoſt unknown to the Romans. They had, indeed, heard of ſuch a place, but could not form any idea of its ſituation; nor had they ever entertained the notion of undertaking a naval expedition to any country ſeperated by the continent from the ocean. This was a taſk reſerved for Cæſar, whoſe martial genius, and perſevering diſpoſition, prompted him to engage in enterprizes of the moſt hazardous nature, and ſuch as had never been thought of by his predeceſſors.

What were the motives that induced Cæſar to form the reſolution of invading Britain has been a matter of ſome diſpute among the learned. One reaſon aſſigned is, that he did it in order to puniſh the iſlanders for having ſent ſuccours to the Gauls while he was at war with that nation, as alſo for having given refuge to the Belgæ, who had excited a revolt. Admitting theſe circumſtances, we need not wonder that Cæſar ſhould form the reſolution of commencing hoſtilities againſt the Britons, it having been long an eſtabliſhed maxim with the Romans to conſider all auxiliaries as principals, and not to allow any one who aſſiſted their enemies to eſcape with impunity.

Beſides theſe, there are other reaſons aſſigned for Cæſar's invading Britain. Suetonius is of opinion, that he was induced to it from the hope of finding a great quantity of pearls, which were then in the higheſt eſteem, and which he imagined to be one of the natural productions of the country; though in this he was greatly miſtaken, they being only an article of traffic, and purchaſed by the Britons from the Phœnician merchants. Cicero inſinuates, that his ſtrongeſt motives were, to get poſſeſſion of the mines in Britain, which at that time were conſidered of ineſtimable value. We cannot, however, in juſtice to Cæſar, admit of either of theſe as reaſons for his forming the reſolution of invading Britain.

It is certain that avarice did not conſtitute any part of his character; and therefore it is moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe that he was, on this occaſion, actuated by that ambition and thirſt for glory which appears to have been the characteriſtic of his diſpoſition, and to have, in a peculiar manner, diſtinguiſhed him from the reſt of mankind.

But whatever was the real motive that excited Cæſar to undertake this arduous taſk, it is certain that the precautions he took preparatory to the execution of this deſign, were of the moſt judicious nature, and diſcovered him to be at once the politician and the general. He firſt reſolved to make himſelf acquainted with the nature of the place he was about to conquer. To effect which he ſent for ſeveral of the merchants that frequented the coaſts, of whom he made enquiries relative to the extent of the iſland, the ſituation of its harbours, and what number of veſſels each would contain, the nature of its fortifications, and the genius, laws, cuſtoms, and military diſcipline of its inhabitants.

Not being able to obtain any ſatisfactory anſwer to theſe reſpective queſtions, and at the ſame time perſuaded that caution was abſolutely neceſſary in ſo critical an undertaking, Cæſar diſpatched C. Voluſenus, a tribune of his army, to reconnoitre the coaſts, ordering him, after he had gained all poſſible intelligence, to make the beſt of his way to the territory of the Morini, or Picardy, whither he would aſſemble his forces, both naval and military, and from whence he ſhould embark them for the intended expedition.

In the mean time the inhabitants of the maritime parts of Britain, being informed of Cæſar's deſign by the merchants who traded to the iſland, were greatly alarmed. They had heard of the fame of the Romans, and were fearful of engaging with ſo formidable a power. They therefore called a general aſſembly of the people, in order to deliberate on what meaſures were moſt neceſſary to be taken to avert the impending ſtorm. The reſult of this meeting was, that ambaſſadors ſhould be immediately diſpatched to Cæſar, offering ſubmiſſion to the Roman power, and promiſing to deliver up hoſtages for their future fidelity.

Cæſar received theſe ambaſſadors with the moſt apparent tokens of reſpect, and after exhorting them to continue ſtedfaſt in their allegiance, diſmiſſed them to their own country, accompanied by a Britiſh prince named Comius, whom, for his firm attachment to his intereſt, he had appointed king of the Atrebates. In this perſon Cæſar had placed the greateſt confidence, and being ſenſible that he was held in high eſteem by his countrymen, thought him the moſt likely perſon to bring them over to his intereſt. He therefore directed him to viſit the different ſtates, and exert his utmoſt efforts in perſuading them to ſolicit the protection of the Romans; and to promiſe them, that when himſelf ſhould arrive in Britain, which would be very ſpeedy, they ſhould be amply rewarded for their ſubmiſſion.

This ſcheme, however, proved abortive; for no ſooner did Comius land, and deliver his commiſſion than he was apprehended and loaded with chains. The nature of his commiſſion was, indeed, a kind of treaſon againſt that community of which he was a member, and therefore he was conſidered and treated as a traitor to his country.

This was not the only diſappointment Cæſar met with in his firſt efforts towards executing his deſign of invading Britain. Voluſenus, whom he had diſpatched to ſurvey the coaſts, returned in five days from his cruiſe, but without being able to give him any ſatisfactory information: he had, indeed, examined different parts from the ſea, but from the great numbers of people that appeared on the ſhore, in an hoſtile manner, he was fearful of attempting to land, and therefore returned without accompliſhing the ends for which he was ſent.

A. C. 55. But theſe diſappointments were not ſufficient to check the ardour of Cæſar. He had formed the reſolution of invading Britain, and was determined, at all events, to carry his deſign into execution. He accordingly embarked his infantry, conſiſting of two legions, on board eighty tranſports, and allotted eighteen ſhips for his cavalry, whom he ordered to follow with the utmoſt expedition. The reſt of his army he ordered to be cantoned among the Menapii and part of the Morini, under the command of two experienced officers; and left a third, with a ſufficient garriſon, to occupy the place and harbour during his abſence.

Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions, and embarked

The first DESCENT *of* JULIUS CÆSAR *on the Coast of* BRITAIN.

embarked his troops deſtined for the expedition, Cæſar ſet ſail from Morini, or Picardy, about one o'clock in the morning, on the 26th day of Auguſt, in the year of the world 3949, and fifty-five years before the Chriſtian æra.

About ten o'clock the next morning he arrived on the coaſt of Britain, at that part now called Dover, where he ſaw the rocks and cliffs covered with an infinite number of armed iſlanders, who, from the nature of the place, could oppoſe his landing with the greateſt advantage He, however, gave orders for the ſhips to caſt anchor, and lay out for ſome time in ſight of the Britons, expecting the arrival of that part of his fleet which he had ordered to follow with the cavalry. Theſe, however, not appearing according to his expectations, and finding it impoſſible to effect a deſcent on that part of the coaſt, he ordered the ſhips to weigh anchor, in order to find out a more plain and eaſy ſhore. They accordingly ſet ſail about four o'clock in the afternoon, and after proceeding about three leagues to the northward, came to a part which appeared much better calculated for effecting their deſigns than the former; and which, according to the opinion of the moſt authentic hiſtorians, was the place now called Deal.

The Britons, having cloſely watched his motions, and ſuſpecting his deſign, immediately diſpatched their cavalry and chariots to be in readineſs to diſpute his landing till they could be ſupported by the infantry, who were ordered to follow with all poſſible expedition. The ſight of ſo formidable an army ſtruck a terror in the Romans; and nothing but the genius and perſevering diſpoſition of Cæſar could have ſurmounted the difficulties that now oppoſed his enterprize. He was a ſtranger to the method of landing troops in the face of an enemy: he wanted boats, and, at the ſame time, his ſhips drew too much water to come cloſe to the ſhore. Theſe obſtacles being obſerved by the Britons, who were convinced of their deſign to effect a landing if poſſible, they determined to take proper advantage of it. Accordingly, without waiting for an attack, great numbers of the cavalry rode into the water, and engaged the enemy at a diſtance with the moſt undaunted reſolution. The Romans were loaded with heavy armour, and therefore could not move with that alertneſs to which they were accuſtomed on ſhore; while the Britons, having the free uſe of their limbs, and poſting themſelves in thoſe parts which they knew to be ſhallow, diſcharged their darts and javelins with great advantage. This unexpected oppoſition had the moſt alarming effect on the Romans: their former courage and intrepidity forſook them; and, according to Cæſar's own confeſſion, they ſhrunk from the attack.

The Roman general, perceiving the diſadvantage under which his ſoldiers laboured, gave directions for his gallies to be rowed near the ſhore, and attack the Britons with their ſlings, engines, darts and other miſſile weapons. This expedient, in ſome degree, ſucceeded; for the Britons being no leſs confounded at the ſtrange appearance of the gallies and the motion of the oars, than intimidated at the damage they ſuſtained from the ſtones and miſſile weapons thrown by the enemy, ſuddenly pauſed, and then retreated to a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore.

But notwithſtanding this advantage, the Romans were ſtill averſe to leaving their veſſels, which being obſerved by the ſtandard-bearer of the tenth legion, in order to animate them, he leaped overboard with the ſtandard in his hand, crying aloud, "Follow me, my fellow-ſoldiers, "unleſs you want to betray the eagle into the "hands of the enemy; for I am determined to "diſcharge the duty I owe my country." This ſpeech had the deſired effect: the ſenſe of honour now prevailed over the ſenſe of danger; and reproach effected what perſuaſion had attempted in vain. The whole legion inſtantly leaped out of the ſhip after their ſtandard-bearer, and their example being followed by the reſt of the army, they all moved in a body towards the ſhore. In conſequence of this, a very obſtinate battle enſued, which had liked to have proved fatal to the Romans, who finding it impoſſible to form in the water, could not avail themſelves of their diſcipline and military ſkill, while thoſe who gained the ſhore were ſurrounded and cut to pieces by the Britons.

The fortune of Cæſar was now on the point of deſerting him: he ſaw the danger, and hoping to avert it, commanded his gallies to be filled with ſoldiers, in order to row about, and ſuſtain thoſe who wanted ſuccour. This expedient had the deſired effect: the Romans were ſoon enabled to gain firm footing on the beach, where, forming in proper order, they proceeded to charge with their uſual confidence. They now profited by that heavy armour which had before encumbered them; they attacked the iſlanders with ſuch fury, that they ſoon gave way, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation to their woods and foreſts. Cæſar, however, did not chuſe to purſue them, owing, as he himſelf informs us, to his want of the cavalry, which were ſtill detained by the contrariety of winds.

As ſoon as the diſpirited Britons had collected themſelves together, and were a little recovered from the conſternation into which they had been thrown by their late defeat, they debated on what meaſures were moſt prudent to purſue in order to avert the calamities that threatened their country. Convinced of the ſuperiority of the Romans, and dreading the effects of farther oppoſition to an enemy now conſidered invincible, they reſolved to ſubmit to the conqueror. Accordingly they diſpatched an ambaſſador to Cæſar, in order to ſue for terms of peace; and, as the moſt effectual means of obtaining it, releaſed Comius, and joined him in the embaſſy, hoping that his mediation might ſoften the reſentment of the victorious Roman. In the meſſage ſent by theſe ambaſſadors to Cæſar they apologized for their conduct in having made Comius a priſoner, aſcribing it to the fury of the ungovernable multitude, and begging pardon for the offence; they likewiſe promiſed, in caſe he ſhould accept of their ſubmiſſion, to deliver up ſuch hoſtages as he ſhould require, and in future to pay a ſtrict obedience to his commands.

This offered ſubmiſſion was higly pleaſing to Cæſar, who, after reproaching them for violating a former treaty, granted them a peace on very eaſy terms, but demanded hoſtages of his own nomination, as a proper ſecurity for their future fidelity.

Theſe

These demands were readily agreed to by the Britons; and some of the hostages were immediately delivered, with assurances that the rest should be sent him with all convenient speed. In the mean time the Britons dismissed their army, and, in a general assembly of their princes, determined to recommend themselves and their country to the clemency and protection of Cæsar. But this great submission only arose from necessity, as they took the first opportunity that offered of revolting, and endeavouring to recover that liberty which they prized as the dearest and most valuable enjoyment of life.

At the time Cæsar was elated with the thoughts of having subdued the Britons, he received intelligence that the vessels which contained his cavalry, and had sailed from Gaul with a gentle breeze, were, on their approach near the British coast, overtaken by a dreadful tempest, and the whole dispersed. Some of them were driven back to the place from whence they came, and others to the western parts of England; from whence, as soon as the storm abated, they made the best of their way to the continent. This storm, which happened at the full moon, and in the middle of the night, did considerable damage to the fleet which lay in the Downs. Twelve of the principal vessels were dashed to pieces, and the rest so much injured by the loss of their anchors, cables, masts and rigging, as to be totally unfit for service.

This dreadful disaster spread universal horror and consternation among the Romans. They had lost their ships, and therefore were deprived of the means of returning to Gaul: their provisions began to grow scarce in the camp, they were in a strange country, and could not expect supplies from the islanders, whom they had reason to look upon as their most inveterate enemies. These were circumstances of the most alarming nature, and such as made even the intrepid Cæsar tremble for the consequence.

The British ambassadors, who were still in Cæsar's camp, saw with pleasure the calamity that had befallen the Romans. Fired with the most sanguine love of liberty, as well as inveterate detestation to slavery, they could by no means neglect so favourable an opportunity of attempting the recovery of their independence, and therefore held several meetings together to consult the proper means of effecting what they so earnestly desired. It was at length determined to quit the Roman camp with the utmost privacy, repair with all haste to their countrymen, and endeavour to cut off all supplies of provision from the enemy. This design was immediately carried into execution: they quitted the camp, collected together their disbanded troops with all possible expedition, and made every necessary preparation the situation of affairs would admit.

Though Cæsar had not received any intelligence of their design, yet, from the sudden disappearance of the ambassadors, and the delay of the hostages, he was strongly induced to suspect it; and therefore took every precaution to render the attempts of the Britons abortive. He ordered all the harvest of the neighbouring fields to be secured, and a magazine of corn to be collected within the fortifications of his camp. Considering likewise the importance of his fleet, he dispatched one of his gallies to Gaul in order to fetch the necessary materials for refitting those vessels which had been damaged in the late storm; and such was their assiduity, that in the space of ten days the whole fleet was rendered fit for service.

The Roman soldiers had gathered in the greater part of the harvest without disturbance, and the passive behaviour of the Britons seemed to convince them that their alarming apprehensions had no other foundation than their own fears. The most distant field of corn, however, was yet untouched, and the seventh legion was dispatched to reap it. But they had hardly begun, when they found themselves attacked by a numerous army of Britons, who had concealed themselves for the purpose in a neighbouring wood. The Romans perceived their danger, and would gladly have retreated, but that was rendered impossible by the enemy totally surrounding them. The Britons fell on them with the most inveterate fury, and the whole legion must inevitably have been cut to pieces, had it not been for the advanced guard of the Romans, who lay before the camp. These perceiving an extraordinary dust arising from that quarter, and judging the cause, immediately communicated the intelligence to Cæsar, who instantly flew to their assistance, and thereby prevented a general slaughter. On his arrival he found that the furious attack of the British chariots had prevented his men from forming: they had, however, thrown themselves into a compact body, hard pressed by the darts and javelins of the enemy, who had then quitted their chariots, and were charging them on foot with the utmost vigour. The presence of Cæsar, together with his reinforcement, animated the Romans and cooled the courage of the Britons, who chose to evade a general engagement in hopes of protracting the war, depriving the enemy of necessary provisions, and thereby obliging them to quit the island before the expiration of the winter. They therefore retreated into the woods, and Cæsar, after maintaining his ground a short time in the field, returned to his camp.

The Britons, convinced that the Romans were not invincible, and elated with their late success, now imprudently undertook what it was not in their power to perform. Animated with the hopes of repelling these invaders of their liberties and properties, they dispatched messengers to all parts of the island, representing the small number and dejected state of the Romans, and intimating the glorious opportunity they now had of enriching themselves with the spoils of their enemies, and delivering their country from the miseries of future invasions.

These remonstrances had the desired effect. The brave and hardy Britons assembled in prodigious numbers, and gallantly advanced to the very entrenchments of the enemy, whither they had no sooner arrived than they began the attack with all the fury of an enraged multitude. Cæsar, with great tranquillity, beheld the irregular manner in which they began the assault, and the disorder into which they were soon thrown. He drew out his legions before the principal gate of his camp, and charged the undisciplined Britons with such impetuosity that they were obliged to seek their safety by flight, and leave the field of battle to the conquerors.

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The Britons, disheartened at this second defeat, and unwilling to make any farther efforts, once more applied for peace to the invader of their country. Cæsar was far from being averse to granting their request. Destitute of cavalry, he found it impossible to pursue his advantages by following the enemy into the inland parts of the island, which was the only method he could take of securing his conquest. Provisions began to grow scarce in his camp, the harvest was over, and his army, though victorious, had suffered greatly, and were averse to winter in an enemy's country, and in an island to them almost wholly unknown. In consequence of these considerations Cæsar readily admitted the ambassador, and signed another treaty of peace with the Britons, the principal condition of which was, that they should send him double the number of hostages he had before demanded.

But though the Britons had thus humbly solicited what, in fact, Cæsar, for his own safety, could not deny, yet the Roman general was convinced, in his own mind, they would no longer observe the peace than they were compelled to it from necessity. He was sensible that if he wintered in the island his army would be exposed to the most imminent danger, and therefore determined to quit it. Accordingly having embarked his legions, and ordered the hostages to be sent after him, he set sail from Britain on the 20th of September; and after a short and easy passage landed safely on the continent of Gaul.

Thus ended Cæsar's first expedition to Britain, which, though unattended with any other solid advantage than that of making him acquainted with the coast of the island, and the temper of the inhabitants, was extolled at Rome above all the victories he had obtained on the continent, and a triumph of twenty days was decreed by the senate on the occasion. This was certainly a very extravagant and ridiculous decree, considering the little progress he had made in his first descent; and the trifling victory he obtained; but at the same time it plainly indicates the high estimation in which those conquerors of the world held the valour of our hardy and resolute progenitors.

CHAP. II.

Cæsar makes a second descent on Britain, and lands without opposition. Marches against the Britons, whom he engages and defeats. His fleet sustains great damage by a storm. The Britons unite together, and appoint Cassivelaunus their leader. They for some time harrass the Romans, but are at length routed with great slaughter. Cæsar crosses the Thames, and penetrates into the territories of Cassivelaunus, whose capital he takes, and puts great numbers of the Britons to the sword. Cassivelaunus makes his escape, and, as the last resource, solicits four petty kings to form a junction, and attack the Roman camp. They comply with his request, but prove unsuccessful, and one of them is taken prisoner. On this Cassivelaunus sues for peace, which is readily granted by Cæsar, who, after imposing a yearly tribute on the Britons, and taking a great number of hostages, embarks his forces, and returns to the continent.

NO sooner had Cæsar quitted the island after his first expedition, than the Britons determined to renounce the treaty they had made with him previous to his departure; and two only out of all their states sent over their hostages according to the articles of convention. This afforded Cæsar a very fair pretence for re-commencing hostilities, to which, without doubt, he was prompted by the desire of completing his design of subjecting the Britons to the Roman yoke. As soon, therefore, as he had settled his army in their winter quarters, he issued a general order for repairing those vessels that were damaged, and building others of various constructions, for the greater convenience of transporting their legions and cavalry, as well as of floating in shallow water, that they might be landed with equal care and safety.

These orders were executed during the course of the winter; and in the beginning of the spring warlike preparations were made in the ports of Gaul with the greatest vigour and dispatch: military stores were collected in the harbours of Spain, and every measure that could be thought of taken for riveting the chains of slavery on the arms of the Britons.

The orders and directions of Cæsar being fully compleated, he saw his fleet increased with six hundred new transports and twenty-eight gallies, which, with the remains of the old squadron, he considered as abundantly sufficient for his intended enterprize. This numerous fleet rendezvoused in the port of Itium (now called Calais) on account of its being nearest to the British shore. Here Cæsar embarked his forces, which consisted of five legions of foot, and ten thousand horse, leaving Labienus at Itium with three legions and two thousand horse, in order to be a check upon the Gauls, and provide corn for the British expedition.

A. C. 54. All things being ready, Cæsar left the port of Itium about sun-set, in the beginning of the month of August, fifty-four years before the birth of Christ. They sailed the whole night with a gentle southerly wind, and by noon the next day the whole fleet arrived at that part of the British coast, where they had made their former descent.

The appearance of so numerous a fleet upon the coast greatly alarmed the Britons, who imagining Cæsar's force to be more formidable than it really was, thought it advisable to depart from their first design of opposing his landing, and draw off their forces to the more covered part of the country; so that the shore being clear Cæsar landed without any opposition.

As soon as the landing was compleated, and the ground marked out for the camp, Cæsar pro-

vided himſelf with guides, and leaving ten cohorts and three hundred horſe under the command of Q. Atrius, to guard the ſhips that lay at anchor in the Downs, he began his march in queſt of the Britons. After advancing about twelve miles towards the north, he diſcovered the Britiſh army advantageouſly poſted upon an eminence, with the river Stour in their front, and a thick wood in their rear. As the Romans advanced, the Britons prepared to diſpute their paſſage over the river, and at firſt oppoſed them with their chariots; but the Roman horſe charging them with great vigour, they retreated into the wood, in the midſt of which was a kind of fortification raiſed with timber. Here the Britons for ſome time withſtood all the efforts of the Romans, till at length the ſeventh legion took it by ſtorm, killed great numbers of the Britons, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

Elated with this ſucceſs, early the next morning Cæſar ſent detachments of cavalry and infantry in purſuit of the fugitives. But before they were out of ſight he received a meſſage from Q. Atrius, informing him, that during the preceding night a dreadful ſtorm had thrown ſeveral of his ſhips on ſhore upon the beach, deſtroyed their rigging, and done great damage to the whole fleet. In conſequence of this information Cæſar countermanded the march of his troops, and immediately repaired to the ſea-coaſt, where he was an eye-witneſs of the ravage which had been done by the ſtorm. On a proper examination he found that no leſs than forty of his principal veſſels were entirely loſt, and many of the reſt ſo much damaged as to be unfit for the ſea, till they had undergone a thorough repair.

The preſervation of the navy now engaged the whole attention of Cæſar, and, for the preſent, obliterated all thoughts of farther conqueſt. He ordered all the carpenters of the army to ſet about repairing the ſhips that were damaged, and diſpatched a meſſenger to Labienus at Itium, deſiring that all his workmen there might be inſtantly employed in building a number of new veſſels, and that they ſhould be ſent to him with all expedition. So indefatigable were his people in repairing the damaged ſhips, that in the ſpace of ten days the whole that remained were fit for ſervice; and in order to prevent the like misfortune in future, Cæſar ordered them to be drawn on ſhore, and fortified with the ſame trench and rampart that ſurrounded his camp.

While Cæſar was thus employed in refitting and ſecuring his navy, the Britons were taking every meaſure they could project to fruſtrate any future deſigns of reducing them to ſubjection. The former feuds and animoſities which had ſubſiſted between the princes of the reſpective ſtates were now laid aſide, and they united their whole ſtrength for the mutual defence of what they held moſt ſacred, namely, that glorious freedom they had enjoyed unmoleſted, till annoyed by Roman ambition.

Having gathered together a very numerous and formidable army, they convened a general aſſembly of the ſtates, in order to deliberate on a proper perſon who ſhould be inveſted with the chief command. Several perſons were propoſed, but at length they made choice of Caſſivelaunus, a prince who had acquired great reputation for his military proweſs, and whoſe territories (comprehending Hertfordſhire, Bedfordſhire and Bucks) were divided from the maritime ſtates by the river Thames.

Caſſivelaunus having taken upon him the ſovereign command of the Britiſh forces, immediately proceeded on his march, and took poſſeſſion of the ſame poſt in the wood from whence they had been before diſlodged; whither they had not been long before Cæſar arrived with the main body of his army, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the ſpot he had left when he received information of the deſtruction of his fleet by the late ſtorm.

Experience had convinced Caſſivelaunus that his forces were far from being an equal match for the Romans in the open field: he therefore took the wiſe precaution of avoiding a general engagement, and for ſome time continued to harraſs the enemy with flying parties, and cutting off their proviſions. The effects of theſe prudent meaſures were ſoon felt by Cæſar: his forces were continually attacked, with amazing impetu ty, by ſmall parties, who iſſued ſuddenly from .eir coverts, and as ſuddenly retreated. In moſt of theſe ſkirmiſhes the Britons were worſted, but at length they got the advantage, for the Romans following them too far into the thicket, were attacked on every ſide, and obliged to retreat wi very conſiderable loſs.

Theſe diſadvantages greatly affected the min of Cæſar. He ſaw his troops perpetually harraſſed by flying parties of the enemy, and dreaded the conſequence of being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. He therefore determined to fortify his camp, and endeavour to bring the Britons to a general engagement. But while he was making the neceſſary preparations, Caſſivelaunus, who had cloſely watched all his motions, perceiving the deſign, determined to fruſtrate it, by attacking his army before the ramparts were finiſhed. Accordingly, while the Romans were engaged in their works, he made a ſudden and reſolute ſally from the woods, and falling with great fury on the advanced guard, put them to the rout, and a great ſlaughter enſued. Cæſar ſaw their diſtreſs, and immediately diſpatched a reinforcement to their aſſiſtance; but they were ſo diſmayed at the amazing reſolution of the Britons, that they loſt their uſual vigour, and thereby gave them an opportunity of breaking through their ranks, and ſecuring their retreat to the thickets from whence they had ſallied. In this action ſeveral Roman officers were ſlain, among whom was Quintus Laberius Durus, a tribune; and from Cæſar's manner of relating ſome peculiar circumſtances, it is evident that the Britons gained very ſingular advantages. His words are theſe: "This engagement (ſays he) happening in view of the whole army, every one perceived that the legionary ſoldiers were not a fit match for ſuch an enemy, becauſe the weight of their arms would not permit them to purſue, nor durſt they go far from their colours; neither could the cavalry encounter them, becauſe the Britons often pretended to make a retreat, and having drawn them from the legions would forſake their chariots, and fight on foot to great advantage; and when they were mounted, they were equally fatal to our horſe,

horſe, whether we purſued or fled. Another diſadvantage was, that the enemy never fought in a cloſe battalion, but in ſmall parties at a great diſtance from one another, each of them having their particular part allotted, from whence they received ſupplies, and the weary were relieved by the freſh."

On the day after this obſtinate action the Romans perceived a remarkable abatement in the vigour of the Britons. They ſhewed themſelves, indeed, at a diſtance upon the hills, but without manifeſting their former eagerneſs and alacrity in provoking the enemy to battle. This change of conduct appeared very myſterious to Cæſar, who, about noon, detached three legions of foot, ſupported by all his horſe, on a foraging party, under the command of C. Trebonius. This formidable detachment was, however, ſoon attacked by the Britons, who fell with great fury on the horſe, and even penetrated to the enſigns and legions; but the Romans had learned from experience to ſupport their horſe with their infantry, and the Britons, being attacked by a compact body, were utterly routed.

This defeat was deſtructive to the Britiſh army: the auxiliaries who had joined them from different parts of the iſland were ſo diſpirited that they took the firſt opportunity of returning to their reſpective diſtricts; nor did the Britons ever after, as an united body, engage the Romans in a pitched battle.

The brave Caſſivelaunus was greatly alarmed at this defeat of the Britons. He perceived the gathering ſtorm, and took every poſſible precaution to break its force. He marched with his diminiſhed army to Coway near the Oatlands, and croſſing the river Thames, there reſolved to make a ſtand againſt the conqueror of the world.

The politic Cæſar being informed of the diſperſion of the auxiliaries, and the retreat of Caſſivelaunus, reſolved to purſue him, and accordingly advanced with his army to the banks of the river Thames, with an intention of paſſing it where fordable. On his arrival at the place, he found that Caſſivelaunus, being informed of his deſign, had taken every prudent precaution in his power to render it abortive. He had lined the oppoſite bank with a large body of troops, fortified it with palliſadoes, and driven into the bed of the river a great number of ſtakes, which were ſharpened at the top, and concealed under the ſurface of the water.

But the Romans were not to be intimidated by dangers, nor interrupted by difficulties. At the inſtigation of their intrepid and reſolute commander they plunged into the river with great fortitude, and proceeded with ſuch celerity, even when up to their chins in water, that the enemy, being ſtruck with conſternation, could not ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, but, abandoning their works, conſulted their ſafety in a precipitate retreat.

The brave Caſſivelaunus now found it was in vain to make any farther attempts in oppoſing the Roman power in regular engagements; but at the ſame time he determined to conduct himſelf with ſpirit blended with caution. He therefore diſbanded his troops, reſerving only about four thouſand charioteers. With theſe he marched towards the capital of his territories; in the way to which he cut off ſeveral ſtraggling parties that were ſent to forage, watched the march of the main body, gave them frequent alarms, and ordered his people to drive the cattle from the fields through which he knew the Romans muſt paſs, that they might find it impoſſible to ſubſiſt on the caſual ravages of his country.

The conduct of Caſſivelaunus at this time was more alarming to Cæſar, than all the attacks he had hitherto received from the army of the Britons. He was exceeding cautious how he advanced, keeping his men together as much as poſſible; nor could he obtain any other ſubſiſtence for them but what aroſe from the plunder of a few trifling villages, moſt of which he reduced to aſhes.

While Cæſar was thus in ſlow purſuit of Caſſivelaunus, an incident occurred which facilitated the deſign of the former, and totally deſtroyed all the prudent meaſures taken by the latter. He received an embaſſy from the Trinobantes, a powerful people inhabiting Middleſex and Eſſex, who promiſed to yield him obedience, on condition that he would ſend their own prince Mandubratius to aſſume the regal authority among them, and protect him from the malice of Caſſivelaunus, who had killed his father Imanuentius *. Cæſar accepted their offer, complied with their requeſt, and having received forty hoſtages, and a conſiderable quantity of proviſion for his army, reſtored the young prince to his ſubjects, and promiſed them his future protection.

The puſillanimous conduct of the Trinobantes was followed by ſeveral other ſtates of the Belgic Britons, the firſt of whom were the Ceni Magni, or inhabitants of Surry. Theſe, perceiving that the Trinobantes were freed from the calamities of war, and lived in tranquillity under the protection of Cæſar, reſolved immediately to follow their example. They accordingly ſent ambaſſadors to the Roman general with offers of ſubmiſſion, which being accepted, a peace was concluded, and the Ceni Magni immediately ſent proviſions for the relief of the Roman army.

In the mean time Caſſivelaunus, being deſerted by his allies, and underſtanding by what means the Roman army was ſupplied with proviſions, gave up all hopes of engaging the Conqueror with any advantage: and therefore, as the only ſecurity for himſelf, he retreated with his reduced forces to the capital of his territories, which is ſaid to have been Verulam, now called St. Albans, in Hertfordſhire.

Cæſar being informed of the retreat of Caſſivelaunus, immediately purſued him with his forces,

* At the time the different ſtates aſſembled in order to make choice of a proper perſon as chief commander of the army, a warm conteſt took place between the partizans of Imanuentius, king of the Trinobantes, and thoſe of Caſſivelaunus, which was carried to ſuch lengths that an engagement enſued, each party being headed by their reſpective favourites. In this engagement, Caſſivelaunus proved victorious, and his antagoniſt Imanuentius was ſlain, which put an end to the controverſy, and Caſſivelaunus was choſen general without farther oppoſition. Mandubratius, the ſon of Imanuentius, would have ſuffered the like fate with his father, had he not fled and craved the protection of Cæſar, who now, at the requeſt of his ſubjects, reſtored him to the royal dignity.

forces, marking his rout with blood and devaſtation. Every village was laid in aſhes, and the whole country appeared, as it were, like a ſmoking deſert. On his arrival at the place he found it ſituated in the center of a wood, the avenues to which were ſtrongly fortified by ditches, ramparts of earth, and felled trees. Theſe fortifications, though formed in the rudeſt manner, appeared formidable to the Romans. They had before experienced the difficulty of ſtorming ramparts defended by troops driven to deſpair. Cæſar ſaw the danger, and therefore ordered the fortifications to be attacked at two different places at the ſame time. This ſtratagem ſucceeded to his wiſhes: the brave Caſſivelaunus, for want of proper aſſiſtance, could only defend one place at a time, which he did, indeed, with ſuch ſucceſs, that the Romans were repulſed. But he could not divide his attention, and therefore, at length, thought it moſt prudent to retreat. In conſequence of this the Romans forced the rampart, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the place, upon which the Britons immediately betook themſelves to flight, but being purſued, many were killed, and great numbers taken priſoners. This was an advantageous conqueſt to Cæſar, who was now plentifully ſupplied with every kind of proviſion, the Britiſh general having adapted his capital as a magazine for thoſe articles.

Caſſivelaunus was now reduced to the utmoſt ſtate of diſtreſs: deſerted by his friends, defeated by his enemies, his capital taken, and his territories laid waſte, he knew not what ſteps to take, or by what means he could extricate himſelf from the labyrinth into which he was involved. Nothing but his own greatneſs of ſoul could have ſupported him under this dilemma. He ſtill retained the noble ſpirit of his anceſtors, by preferring liberty in diſtreſs to ſlavery in affluence; and though unable any longer to ſupport the cauſe of his country, he planned an expedition, which, had it ſucceeded, would have greatly diſtreſſed, if not abſolutely ruined, the invaders of his country.

Cæſar, as we have before obſerved, left his navy within the entrenchments of his camp on the ſhore, and he was now with the main body of his army upwards of ninety miles diſtant. Caſſivelaunus now thought a favourable opportunity offered for deſtroying the whole fleet of the Romans. He therefore, as general of the confederates, ſent expreſſes to Cingetorix, Cornelius, Taximagulus, Segonex, (princes whoſe territories lay in Kent, Wilts, and Hampſhire, and who yet remained faithful) requeſting them to aſſemble all their forces with the utmoſt expedition and privacy, and ſtorm the naval entrenchments of the enemy, while Cæſar was at too great a diſtance to afford them any relief.

This, no doubt, was a well-concerted plan, but the accompliſhment of it was attended with more difficulty than Caſſivelaunus had imagined. The fortifications thrown up by Cæſar were more than ſufficient to render every attempt of the Britons abortive. The four princes, however, readily complied with the requeſt of their chief, but the enterprize did not ſucceed according to their expectations. They aſſaulted the Roman camp with great reſolution, but the enemy making a vigorous ſally they were ſoon repulſed, great numbers killed, and Cingetorix, the commander in chief, taken priſoner.

This overthrow made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Caſſivelaunus, who was now convinced that all farther oppoſition would be in vain. He therefore reſolved to put a concluſion to a diſadvantageous war by making his peace with the conqueror, which he eaſily obtained through the mediation of Comius, and Cæſar's great deſire of returning to the continent. The conditions of the treaty between Cæſar and Caſſivelaunus, and, through him, with the Britons in general, were, that they ſhould pay an annual tribute to the Roman ſtate, deliver a certain number of hoſtages by way of ſecurity, and (as a private clauſe) that Caſſivelaunus ſhould reſign the ſovereignty of Britain to Mandubratius, prince of the Trinobantes.

Peace being thus concluded, Cæſar marched back with his hoſtages, and a great number of priſoners, to the ſea-ſide, and made immediate preparations for his departure. His ſhips were launched and refitted with the greateſt expedition, and his army, together with the priſoners and hoſtages, being put on board at two different embarkations, he ſet ſail for Gaul, whither he arrived a few days before the autumnal equinox *.

Thus ended Cæſar's ſecond expedition into Britain, on a candid examination of which it will appear to have been rather ſplendid than effectual. It is true he penetrated much farther into the iſland than in his firſt expedition, and formed alliances with ſeveral of the petty princes; but he retained not a foot of ground, nor did he procure any ſolid advantage to his country. As he left no garriſon, and made no ſettlement in Britain, it is probable the nations never paid the tribute ſtipulated in the pacification with Caſſivelaunus; or at leaſt it may be ſuppoſed to have been rejected by all the inhabitants, except the Belgic colonies, whoſe chief dependence being on trade, they durſt not refuſe paying the impoſition, leſt their merchandiſe ſhould be ſeized by the Romans; ſo that it ſeems to have been rather a duty on commodities, than a general tribute, with which the natives could not be ſaddled by any treaty with Caſſivelaunus, whoſe ſovereignty many ſtates no longer acknowledged. All the honour, therefore, that juſtly belongs to Cæſar is, that he carried the Roman arms beyond the boundaries of the ocean, and defeated the inhabitants of an iſland that was before unknown to his countrymen.

* After ſtaying a ſhort time at Gaul, Cæſar returned to Rome, where he offered a croſlet of Britiſh pearls at the ſhrine of Venus Genetrix, from whom he was ſaid to be deſcended; and to fix a laſting remembrance of his expeditions into Britain, he employed his priſoners in adjuſting the tapeſtry ſcenes of the theatre, on which the victories he gained over the Britons were repreſented; while others of a more robuſt conſtitution were employed in carrying the ſedans of the ſenators and principal nobility.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Auguſtus Cæſar reſolves to make an expedition into Britain, but is prevented from carrying his deſign into execution. The Britons cultivate a peaceable correſpondence with the Romans. Cunobeline becomes the moſt powerful prince in Britain, and coins money for paying the duties levied by the Romans. He is greatly diſturbed by his eldeſt ſon, who endeavours to raiſe a rebellion againſt him, and prevails on the emperor Caligula to make another deſcent on the iſland. Caligula engages to undertake the conqueſt of Britain, and for that purpoſe embarks with a great body of forces; but returns without even making an attempt to accompliſh his deſign. The emperor Claudius is ſtimulated to invade Britain at the inſtigation of a Britiſh prince named Beric, and for that purpoſe orders A. Plautius to embark with a conſiderable body of forces from Gaul. A mutiny takes place among the Roman ſoldiers, which, for ſome time, retards the execution of the deſign; but at length the troops are embarked, and land on the coaſt of Kent. Plautius purſues the Britons, paſſes the Thames, and defeats Caractacus and his brother Togodumnus in ſeveral ſucceſſive battles, in one of which the latter is ſlain. The emperor Claudius arrives in Britain with a conſiderable reinforcement. Takes Camelodunum, the capital of the Trinobantes, and reduces many petty ſtates to his obedience. Diſpirited by conqueſt, great numbers of the Britons go to Claudius, and offer ſubmiſſion to the Roman power. Claudius treats them with great moderation, and, leaving Plautius with his army, returns to Rome, where he is received with univerſal acclamations by his ſubjects. After the departure of Claudius, Veſpaſian ſignalizes himſelf in the conqueſt of ſeveral Britiſh nations, and on his return to Rome is honoured with a triumph. Plautius is recalled from Britain, and P. Oſtorius Scapula appointed Proprætor in his ſtead.

HOW far the Britons fulfilled their engagements with Cæſar after his ſecond departure from the iſland we are not informed; nor, indeed, are there any remarkable events upon record relative to the ſtate of Britain for ſome years after. The death of Cæſar produced univerſal diſtraction throughout the Roman empire, and the affairs of Britain were forgotten amidſt the general anarchy and confuſion that ſubſiſted, for ſome time, in the then capital of the world. The Britons, during this confuſion, lived in great tranquillity, without feeling the rod of arbitrary power, or the oppreſſive impoſitions of avaricious proconſuls. They enjoyed an uninterrupted eaſe, and were either too ignorant, or too negligent, to tranſmit to poſterity the tranſactions of their country. All, therefore, that can be collected is, that after the departure of the Romans Caſſivelaunus (ſtill retaining the ſovereignty in his own hands, contrary to the treaty made with Cæſar) ſeverely chaſtiſed the Trinobantes for having joined the invaders of his country; and that, at his death, he left the government to his nephew Tinuantius, who was ſucceeded by his ſon Cunobeline, a prince of the moſt diſtinguiſhed talents.

A. D. 1. The inteſtine commotions, which had diſtracted the Roman ſtate, ceaſing in the reign of Auguſtus, the immediate ſucceſſor of Cæſar, that emperor, in the ſixth year of his imperial dignity, formed the reſolution of making an expedition into Britain, in order to improve the conqueſts which had been made by his predeceſſor. He accordingly advanced into Gaul to carry his deſign into execution; but was diverted from his purpoſe by a revolt in Panonia, one of the provinces ſubject to the Roman empire. As ſoon, however, as the tranquillity of that province was reſtored he again marched into Gaul for the purpoſe of invading Britain; but the chiefs of the iſland being informed of his intent, found means to divert the ſtorm, by ſending a ſolemn embaſſy to ſue for peace, at the ſame time promiſing ſtrictly to fulfil the treaty they had made with Julius Cæſar previous to his departure from the iſland. Auguſtus, conſidering the great expence that would attend ſuch an enterprize, and being fearful that ſome diſagreeable commotions might take place during his abſence, received the Britiſh ambaſſadors with great courteſy, a peace was immediately concluded, and Auguſtus returned with his forces to Rome.

In conſequence of theſe pacific meaſures the Britons maintained a friendly correſpondence with the Romans during the reign of Auguſtus, paying only a trifling duty on merchandize exported to the continent. Several of the Britiſh princes reſided at Rome, and many of the noblemen ſent their ſons thither for their education.

A. D. 8. The Britons preſerved this friendly intercourſe with the Romans during the whole reign of Tiberius, the immediate ſucceſſor of Auguſtus. Indeed this emperor was bound in honour and gratitude to ſhew the kindeſt treatment to the Britons; for, when a detachment of Roman troops under the command of Germanicus, in their return from the victory they had gained over Arminius on the banks of the Weſer, were ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Britain, the reguli, or chiefs, not only relieved the diſtreſſed Romans with the utmoſt hoſpitality, but likewiſe ſent them back in ſafety to their general.

Cunobeline, who ſucceeded in lineal right to the government of Britain, lived in good correſpondence with the Romans, and punctually paid the tribute in pieces of coin ſtruck for the purpoſe, and inſcribed with the word Taſcia. This prince was properly the chief of the Caſſivelauni, but he extended his dominion over the Dobuni, inhabiting Glouceſterſhire and Oxfordſhire. He alſo reduced the Trinobantes and other provinces, and acquired ſuch acceſſion of territory as rendered him the moſt powerful prince in the iſland.

During the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius Cunobeline enjoyed a continued ſeries of proſ-

perity. From his wife and gentle adminiſtration he was beloved by his ſubjects, and eſteemed by foreigners; but unfortunately the cloſe of his reign was ſullied with a misfortune that diſturbed his own peace and the tranquillity of his country. His eldeſt ſon Adminius, who was of a cruel and tyrannical temper, endeavoured to raiſe an unnatural rebellion againſt him, the conſequence of which was that the people were greatly diſtreſſed, and laid their complaints at the foot of his throne. Cunobeline expoſtulated with his ſon on the baſeneſs of his conduct: but all the arguments he could uſe to prevail on him to deſiſt were of no effect. For ſome time he knew not what meaſures to take: he was embarraſſed by parental fondneſs on the one hand, and a love of juſtice on the other; but at length the latter prevailed, and Adminius was baniſhed.

Exaſperated at a ſentence which he conſidered as cruel, and determined, if poſſible, to revenge the diſgrace, Adminius immediately repaired to Rome, in order to put himſelf under the protection of Caligula, who then ſwayed the imperial ſcepter. He repreſented to the emperor the cruel treatment he had received from his father, and pointed out to him the great eaſe with which he might reduce the Britons to a ſtate of ſubjection. He told him they were a weak and divided people, averſe to union, and unable to defend their country againſt the attack of a formidable enemy, and if he would but make the attempt there was not the leaſt doubt but it would be crowned with ſucceſs.

A. D. 36. Caligula, who was vain and impetuous, though cowardly and irreſolute, received with apparent complacency the application of Adminius, and aſſembling an army of 200,000 men advanced in perſon to the northern coaſt of Gaul, in order to invade the Britiſh iſland. Pleaſed with the idea of making ſo important a conqueſt without danger or fatigue (as he had been induced to expect from the repreſentation of Adminius) he embarked his troops with the utmoſt expedition; but before the ſhips were ready to ſail he was informed, to his great ſurprize, that the Britons, apprized of his intentions, were under arms on the oppoſite ſhore, and determined to ſpill the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their country. This information ſtruck a forcible damp on the ſpirits of the puſillanimous Caligula: but his vanity was equal to his cowardice: he was deſirous of receiving the honours of a triumph, without treading the thorny path of conqueſt, and of wearing the wreath of victory, without facing an enemy. He embarked, attended by his principal officers, on board a galley, ſailed within a league of the Britiſh coaſt, took a view of the Britons, whoſe formidable appearance he did not at all like, and then haſtened back with as much oſtentation as if he had atchieved ſome great action. As ſoon as he landed he ordered his army to be drawn up in battle array, and after making a curious harangue to the ſoldiers, gave directions that they ſhould diſperſe themſelves, and fill their helmets with ſhells from the ſea ſhore. Theſe orders being obeyed, and a prodigious quantity of ſhells collected, Caligula commanded that they ſhould be carefully packed up, and, to compleat the farce, ſent them with the moſt pompous parade to Rome, as the ſpoils of the Britiſh ocean, demanding, at the ſame time, that the ſenate would decree him a triumph for the important ſervices he had done the empire. Strange as this requeſt may appear, the venal ſenate readily complied, and put themſelves to an immenſe expence to render the emperor magnificently contemptible in the face of the whole world. To perpetuate this ridiculous expedition, or rather to tranſmit his own folly to poſterity, he erected a tower on the Belgic coaſt, oppoſite to Norfolk, and called it Turris Ardens, in alluſion to the deſign of its being a light houſe for ſhips at ſea. This ſtructure was afterwards repaired by Charlemagne, and ſtill continues a noble monument of Roman antiquity.

The puſillanimous and frantic behaviour of Caligula greatly leſſened the Roman power in the eyes of the Britons, who not ſuſpecting any farther attempt would be made to diveſt them of their liberty, neglected to continue in that defenſive ſtate they had hitherto done. The long intercourſe they had now carried on with the Romans greatly abated their natural averſion to thoſe people. They cultivated their arts and imitated their manners, both of which might have been ſerviceable, had they not imported their luxuries. The conſequence of this was, that they ſunk into indolence and eaſe; their natural love of liberty and independence was ſoftened by effeminacy, and that union which forms the only bond of ſecurity, in times of diſtreſs was diſſolved. They did not enjoy that tranquillity which they might have derived from the abſence of the Romans; on the contrary, it afforded leiſure and opportunity to the different ſtates and chieftains to renew their former bickerings, and enabled the more powerful potentates to ſubdue the petty ſovereignties that lay contiguous to their dominions.

The Britons remained unſubdued by the Romans till the reign of the emperor Claudius, when they rather fell victims to their inteſtine broils than to the power of that empire. Jealouſy did what their enemies ſwords could not effect; and while ſome ſtates had the virtue to oppoſe the Romans, others joined them, and were ſolicitous for the deſtruction of their country.

Cunobeline, who did not long outlive Caligula, was ſucceeded on the Britiſh throne by his two ſons Togodumnus and Caractacus, two princes univerſally reſpected for their mental abilities, natural courage, and military proweſs. In the beginning of their reign they ſhook off the Roman power, by refuſing to pay the uſual tribute, the reaſon of which was, that the Romans had declined delivering up ſeveral traitors who had fled thither for refuge. One of theſe miſcreants, named Beric, a chieftain among the Dobuni of Dorſetſhire, was the moſt inveterate enemy to his country, and from whoſe exhortations and importunities the emperor Claudius was ſtimulated to make an attempt for the reduction of Britain. He painted to him the ſtate of the iſland in ſuch colours as preſented a flattering proſpect of glory and power, and which, he ſaid, might be acquired with little difficulty, and almoſt without danger.

While the traitor Beric was thus ſoliciting the deſtruction of his country, ambaſſadors arrived from the Britiſh court to demand the fugitives, and particularly the perfidious Beric. But this demand

demand was peremptorily refuſed, and the ambaſſadors treated with great indignity, which ſo enraged the Britons that they even refuſed to pay the impoſts and duties laid on the commodities exported to Gaul. They prohibited all future intercourſe with the Romans, and took every precaution in their power to defend the liberty and independence of their country.

The late ridiculous expedition of Caligula had given the Britons an high opinion of their own power. They imagined the Romans were really afraid to croſs the ocean, and imputed that miſcarriage to fear, which was occaſioned by the timidity of the commander. At the ſame time they knew that Claudius was as indolent and cowardly as Caligula; but they did not reflect, that prudent counſellors might ſupply the want of abilities in the monarch, and able generals his deficiency of military proweſs.

The conduct of the Britons, in refuſing to pay the uſual tribute, gave Claudius a plauſible pretence for commencing hoſtilities. He accordingly gave the command of his army in Gaul to Aulius Plautius, a citizen of great reputation, and famous for his military abilities, with orders to tranſport a conſiderable army into Britain, enjoining him, at the ſame time, not to finiſh the conqueſt himſelf, but ſend him timely information, that he might reap the fruits of victory in perſon. He was deſirous of enjoying the honours of a triumph, without experiencing the fatigues of a campaign.

In obedience to the imperial orders, Plautius marched at the head of a conſiderable body of forces to the ſea ſhore, where a proper number of veſſels were provided for tranſporting them into Britain. Plautius had already acquired the moſt diſtinguiſhed reputation, both as a man and a warrior, notwithſtanding which the troops had no ſooner arrived at the ſpot from whence they were to embark, than a general mutiny prevailed, and they abſolutely refuſed being concerned in the intended expedition. They declared themſelves willing to follow their general to any part of the continent, but would not paſs the boundaries of the ocean, to enter a part which they called the new world.

Plautius, aſtoniſhed at the behaviour of the legions, uſed all the arguments he was maſter of to convince them of the abſurdity of their conduct; but all his remonſtrances proving ineffectual, he ſuſpended the embarkation, and immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to Claudius with an account of the general mutiny among his men. On the receipt of this intelligence the emperor ſent Narciſſus, a creature of his own, bred up in all the idle effeminacy of a court, to prevail on the ſoldiers to obey the orders of Plautius. This miniſter, though armed with the authority of the emperor, was deſtitute of power: he aſcended the roſtrum in order to harangue the troops; but his endeavours on this head proved totally ineffectual. The ſoldiers, exaſperated at ſeeing the place which had hitherto been filled with intrepid generals, who had ſhared in common with the dangers and fatigues of war, profaned by a minion, ſet up an univerſal cry, in which the voice of Narciſſus was totally loſt: they would not ſuffer a perſon whom they knew to be deſtitute of merit, and a ſtranger to virtuous principles, to interpoſe in the cauſe of a Roman army. The uproar increaſed; the banners of mutiny were diſplayed, and the imperial orders no longer regarded. Plautius perceived the gathering ſtorm, and trembled for the conſequences: but generoſity prevailed, when power had exerted its force in vain. The ſoldiers revered the virtue of Plautius as much as they deſpiſed the effeminacy of Narciſſus, and after ſhewing their contempt for the latter, expreſſed their reſpect and ſubmiſſion to the former, by promiſing to obey his commands, and to follow him wherever he ſhould direct.

A. D. 46. Plautius took advantage of this favourable diſpoſition among his troops, and embarked his whole force at different ports, that the failure of one embarkation might not prevent the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe. They were, however, all driven back by contrary winds, and much diſheartened; but the appearance of an aurora borealis recalled their ſpirits, for the Romans, imagining this meteor to be an happy omen, again ſet ſail, and, after a ſhort paſſage, landed on the Kentiſh coaſt without oppoſition.

The Britons were far from being ſtrangers to the intended deſcent of the Romans, and had made the neceſſary preparations for preventing their landing; but being informed of the mutiny that had taken place in the Roman army, they took it for granted that their deſigns were fruſtrated, and concluded the danger was over. In conſequence of this they thought it unneceſſary to guard the coaſt when no enemy was expected, and broke up their camp but a ſhort time before the Roman legions appeared. It was now too late to regain the advantage they had loſt; and inſtead of joining in a general body, and attacking the enemy before they were ready to receive them, they retired into the inland parts of the country, and divided their forces into ſmall parties, under different chieftains. The two principal bodies were commanded by Togodumnus and Caractacus, both celebrated for their military abilities, their intrepidity and their virtue. But jealouſies prevailed among the petty princes of Britain: they envied the talents they could not equal, and ſacrificed the liberties of their country to the ſpirit of malignity.

Plautius, having prepared his army for marching, advanced by the ſame rout which Cæſar had formerly taken, till he reached the Thames, which he paſſed at Wallingford, and entered the territories of the Danbuni, then under the command of Togodumnus, as the Caſſivelauni were under that of Caractacus. Plautius firſt met with the army under Caractacus, whom he immediately attacked, defeated, and put to the rout; after which he turned his victorious arms againſt Togodumnus, and met with equal ſucceſs, great numberr of the Britons being ſlain, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

But though theſe misfortunes greatly weakened the power of the Britons, yet they did not depreſs their ſpirits. They repaired from all parts to the ſtandard of Caractacus, who, after joining his brother, encamped on the banks of the Thames, in the country of the Regni.

In the mean time Plautius, having left proper garriſons

garriſons in thoſe parts he had already reduced, determined to purſue his conqueſts, and accordingly marched along the banks of the Thames, till he came oppoſite to the ſpot where the Britons were encamped. The ſtream here was too deep, and the current too rapid, to be forded even by cavalry, a circumſtance which lulled the Britons into a fatal ſecurity; and though they ſaw the enemy they made no preparations for defence. But they ſoon found they were far from being ſo ſafe as they had imagined. Plautius had in his army a conſiderable body of German auxiliaries, who had long been accuſtomed to ſwim acroſs the moſt rapid rivers in their armour. Theſe he ordered to plunge into the ſtream, which they accordingly did with ſuch intrepidity, that the Britons were aſtoniſhed, and retired ſome diſtance from their camp in the utmoſt confuſion. The Germans no ſooner gained the oppoſite ſhore, than, according to the order of their general, they aimed their arrows and darts at the horſes of the Britons, and by the ſlaughter of thoſe animals rendered the chariots totally uſeleſs. But as the Germans were not able of themſelves to encounter the whole Britiſh army, a body of the Roman infantry, animated by the example of the auxiliaries, followed them under the command of Flavius Veſpaſian and his brother Sabinus. As ſoon as theſe had reached the oppoſite ſhore, they immediately joined the Germans, and forming themſelves into ranks, marched againſt the Britons, who had fled for ſecurity to the neighbouring woods. Here a ſlight ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the Britons were obliged to retreat, but as night was coming on, the Romans did not think it prudent to purſue the advantage.

Far from being diſpirited by this check the Britons next day charged the Romans with ſuch intrepidity, that victory continued for a long time doubtful. They broke through the Roman ranks, and with all the fury of men exaſperated to madneſs, thinned the ſquadrons of the enemy. Veſpaſian himſelf was ſo circumſtanced, that he muſt either have loſt his life or his liberty, had he not been reſcued by the activity and courage of his ſon. At the ſame time C. Sidius Geta, another general officer, who was thought to have been taken priſoner, found means to diſengage himſelf and his party from the enemy, and improving the opportunity of the tumultuous ſecurity into which the proſpect of victory had thrown the Britons, charged them afreſh with the utmoſt impetuoſity. This diverſion giving the Romans time to recover themſelves, they at length wreſted the victory from the hands of the Britons, great numbers of whom were killed, and the reſt compelled to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. Geta was conſidered as the principal cauſe of the victory, and a triumph was afterwards decreed him by the ſenate on that account, though he had never paſſed the conſular dignity.

After this unſucceſsful effort, Caractacus and his brother retreated with their armies along the banks of the Thames, and being well acquainted with that river paſſed the ſtream near Greenwich, (the loweſt place where it was then fordable) and encamped in the marſhes on the other ſide of the river. Plautius followed the Britons at ſome diſtance, and coming to the banks of the Thames, oppoſite to where the Britons were encamped, his German troops ſwam over as before, while Plautius, with his legions, paſſed the ſtream by means of a bridge erected at ſome diſtance above the ford. As ſoon as they had all gained the oppoſite ſide of the water they immediately formed themſelves into ranks, and marched with great reſolution to attack the Britons. A deſperate battle enſued, which laſted ſome time, but was at length determined in favour of the Romans, Togodumnus being ſlain, and the Britiſh army routed with grear ſlaughter.

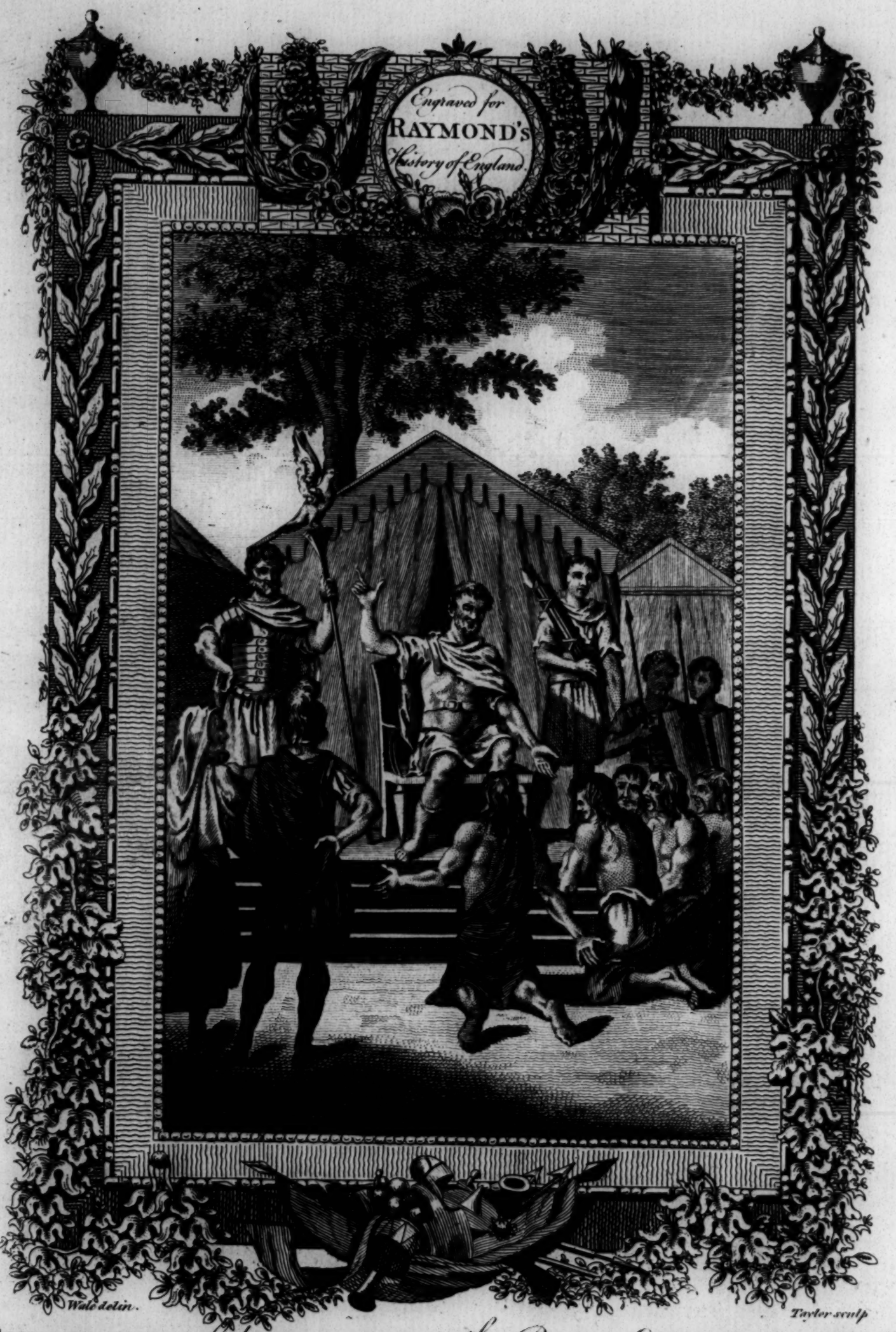
But notwithſtanding this overthrow the Britiſh ſpirit was not yet conquered. The gallant Caractacus rallied the ſcattered remains of his army, and, croſſing the river, encamped oppoſite to the army of Plautius. The Roman general now evidently declined an engagement, which the Britons imputed to fear: but in this they were greatly miſtaken, for the inactivity of Plautius did not ariſe either from timidity or caution. He had already obtained ſeveral ſucceſſive victories, and thought it was now high time to give the emperor notice of his proceedings, according to the inſtructions he had received, that he might have the honour of putting an end to the war in perſon. Plautius accordingly diſpatched letters to the emperor, informing him of his ſucceſs, and requeſting his preſence as ſoon as poſſible, that he might be perſonally crowned with the laurel of conqueſt.

A. D. 48. No ſooner did Claudius receive the ſucceſsful intelligence from his general in Britain, than he immediately transferred the civil government to Vitellus, and embarked with a conſiderable body of forces at Oſtium for Marſeilles, about the latter end of July. From Marſeilles he proceeded by land to Boulogne, where he took ſhiping for Britain, and landed ſafe at Sandwich, from whence he marched at the head of his legions to the camp of Plautius.

The junction of the emperor's forces with thoſe of Plautius formed a more powerful army than had ever been ſeen in the iſland. The Britons perceived the ſtrength of the enemy, and prudently avoided a general engagement. But the deſire of retaliating the injuries they had received from the enemies of their country animated them to hover round the Roman camp, by which means they cut off many of their ſtraggling parties.

Claudius, having now aſſumed the chief command, croſſed the river with his troops in the face of the Britons, who bravely diſputed their paſſage. On their arrival on the oppoſite ſhore, a general engagement enſued, which for ſome time was attended with great ſlaughter on both ſides; but at length the Roman diſcipline prevailed, the attacks of the Britons were effectually repelled, and their whole army put to flight.

After this conqueſt Claudius advanced into the country of the Trinobantes, and made himſelf maſter of Camelodunum (now Malden in Eſſex) the capital of the late Cunobeline. This ſucceſs, together with the late defeat, quite diſpirited the Britons, who now thought more of endeavouring to make peace than retrieving their affairs, and determined to court the confidence inſtead of oppoſing the progreſs of the conqueror. They accordingly in general threw down their arms, and deputies from the different ſtates flocked daily to the Roman camp to make their ſubmiſſion



SUBMISSION *of the* BRITONS *to the Roman Emperor* CLAUDIUS.

BRITISH MUSEUM
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miſſion to Claudius. The antient inhabitants, indeed, could not be perſuaded to part ſo eaſily with their liberty: the brave Caractacus ſtill kept the field at the head of the Caſſivelauni, hoping that the Romans would retire on the approach of winter.

Claudius now gave orders for ſettling a military colony at Camelodunum, which was accordingly done, and that part of the iſland reduced to a Roman province. The ſettling of colonies was found the beſt method of ſubduing thoſe countries in which the Romans had gained footing by their arms, as it diſſeminated their arts, their language and their manners, among the people. It is, therefore, at this period that we ought properly to date the reduction of the Britons by the Romans, as the previous expeditions rather tended to diſturb than ſubjugate the country.

Having diſarmed thoſe that ſubmitted, and reduced many petty ſtates to his obedience by force of arms, Claudius was ſeveral times proclaimed Imperator by the ſoldiers; and the vanquiſhed were ſo touched with his generoſity in leaving them to enjoy their poſſeſſions, that they not only erected temples to his honour, but even ranked him among their deities.

Thus ſatiated with glory and ſucceſs, Claudius, after a ſtay of ſixteen days in Britain, left Plautius to finiſh the campaign, and returned to Rome, where he was received amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. The conqueſt of any part of Britain was thought of ſuch importance, that no honours, in the power of Rome to beſtow, were conſidered as too great for the conqueror. Accordingly, triumphal arches were erected upon his entering Boulogne in his way to Rome, and on his arrival at the capital a ſplendid triumph was immediately decreed by the ſenate. A naval crown was fixed upon the imperial palace, as an emblem of his having eſcaped the dangers of the ocean, and his dominion over the ſeas of Britain. Claudius himſelf expreſſed the higheſt gratitude to the noble Romans who had aſſiſted him perſonally in this expedition, for he beſtowed upon thoſe who were ſenators, but without conſular dignity, triumphal ornaments; and the ſenate, to crown all his honour, decreed to himſelf and his family the ſurname of Britannicus, a circumſtance that clearly demonſtrates the importance of ſuch an acceſſion to the Roman dominions.

After the departure of Claudius from Britain, Plautius, who was left in the character of Proprætor, or governor of the iſland, proceeded in the conqueſts of thoſe ſtates that ſtill refuſed to ſubmit; and while he was carrying on his operations againſt the inland, warlike and original iſlanders, who lived among woods and mountains, Flavius Veſpaſian, the ſecond officer in command, was employed in reducing the maratime places occupied by the colonies of the Belgæ, who had diſperſed themſelves on the whole coaſt, from the promontory of Kent, to the Land's End in Cornwall.

Veſpaſian was as ſucceſsful in his enterprizes as might have been expected from the valour and military abilities of ſo experienced a general. In his ſeveral excurſions he fought and defeated the remote Britons in no leſs than thirty battles; took twenty towns, ſubdued the Iſle of Wight, and even added the Orkney Iſlands to the imperial territories. The greateſt difficulty he met with was, in reducing the inhabitants of Wilts, Dorſet, and Somerſetſhire, where inacceſſible hills, and prodigious moraſſes, afforded them abundant opportunities of ſurprizing any commander leſs cautious than Veſpaſian. But theſe difficulties he ſurmounted, and reduced them to ſuch a ſtate of ſubjection, and ſo won them over by his moderate government, that they even furniſhed him with ſoldiers to aſſiſt him in ſubduing the more northern inhabitants. After having ſettled the country his arms had reduced, Veſpaſian returned to Rome, and, for his diſtinguiſhed ſervices, obtained a triumph, a conſulſhip and other honours.

Plautius, the Proprætor, was far from being ſo ſucceſsful as Veſpaſian; nor could it, indeed, be expected, as he had much great difficulties to encounter. He was oppoſed by the antient Britons under Caractacus, a prince endowed with the moſt undaunted courage, and the moſt invincible fortitude. He had a natural talent for war, and had acquired, by long experience, ſuch a degree of military knowledge, as could not have been expected in one of his country. He was patient under misfortunes; cool, penetrating, and fruitful of expedients. He never undertook any action, without ſecuring ſome advantage, and was generally ready for a ſecond engagement the day after he had ſuffered a defeat. Finding it impoſſible to withſtand the arms and military diſcipline of the Romans in battle, he reſolved to hazard nothing but ſkirmiſhes, and theſe only when he had a manifeſt advantage of ground, or a great ſuperiority in number: thus he ſtill hovered about the ſkirts of the Roman army, which he occaſionally haraſſed with great ſucceſs; and his parties, when overmatched, retreated to mountains, fens and faſtneſſes unknown and inacceſſible to the enemy.

But notwithſtanding the management of Caractacus, and the difficulties he otherwiſe met with, Plautius, by his vigilance, activity and conduct, found means to ſubdue the inhabitants of the counties of Glouceſter, Oxford, Middleſex and Eſſex: he alſo reduced Hertfordſhire, and carried his arms into the lower parts of the counties of Bedford and Northampton; in all which places he governed the inhabitants with ſuch wiſe and moderate regulations, that they quietly ſubmitted to their fate, and did not make any attempt to regain their liberty. Having obtained theſe ſucceſſes, Plautius was honourably recalled from Britain, and returned to Rome, where he was received by the emperor in perſon, and honoured with an inferior triumph; after which P. Oſtorius Scapula was appointed to ſucceed him as Proprætor, or governor of Britain.

CHAP. IV.

Oſtorius Scapula, on his arrival in Britain, finds the ſtate of affairs in great confuſion. He marches againſt the Britons, and defeats them. Erects a chain of forts along the banks of the Avon and Severn, and ſtrengthens the fortifications of Camelodunum. Engages and defeats the Iceni, and quells a commotion among the Brigantes. Marches againſt Caractacus, defeats him with great ſlaughter, and takes his family priſoners. Caractacus flies for refuge to Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, by whom he is betrayed, and ſent captive to Rome. His addreſs to the emperor Claudius, and the conſequences ariſing therefrom. Oſtorius is defeated by the Britons, in conſequence of which he dies with anxiety of mind, and is ſucceeded, as governor of Britain, by Aulus Didius. Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes, proves baſe and perfidious to her huſband Venutius, whom ſhe abandons, and marries the general of her army. Suetonius Paulinus takes the command in Britain, conquers the iſland of Angleſea, and exterminates the Druids. He is called from thence by a general revolt of the Britons, occaſioned by the ill treatment of Boadicea queen of the Iceni. The Britons, entering into a confederacy, form a very conſiderable army, and, headed by Boadicea, march againſt the Romans, with a full reſolution of revenging the inſults offered to the Britiſh princeſs. Boadicea makes an animated ſpeech to her ſoldiers on the occaſion. The Britons engage with Suetonius, but are defeated with great loſs; and Boadicea, giving up all hopes, puts a period to her own exiſtence. Suetonius, after this victory, commits great ravages in the country of the Britons: but, by means of Claſſicanus, the procurator, he is recalled, and Petronius Turpilianus appointed prætor in his ſtead.

A. D. 50. AS an interval of no leſs than two years elapſed between the return of Plautius to Rome, and the arrival of P. Oſtorius Scapula, his ſucceſſor, in Britain, the Britons had, during that period, taken the opportunity of attempting the recovery of their liberty; ſo that the new governor found the affairs of the iſland in great confuſion, and in a very different ſtate to what he had expected. As he did not land till the latter end of October the Britons imagined he would not attempt to attack them till the enſuing ſpring. But in this they were greatly miſtaken; for Oſtorius, ſenſible of the danger of any delay, determined to begin his operations immediately. He accordingly took the field, defeated ſeveral parties who ventured to oppoſe him, and purſued his advantage in ſo effectual a manner, that they were incapable of rallying or uniting. He diſarmed all the Britons whom he ſuſpected wherever he went, and, to reſtrain and confine them within proper bounds, erected a chain of forts on the banks of the rivers Avon and Severn. He likewiſe added conſiderable fortifications to the Roman colony at Camelodunum, or Malden; and London being ſettled much about the ſame time, the country between the Thames and the ſea was reduced into a province, and diſtinguiſhed by the name of Britannia Prima.

The precautions taken by Oſtorius to ſecure the obedience of the vanquiſhed Britons gave great offence to the Iceni, a powerful people inhabiting the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk and Cambridge. They had hitherto lived in amity with the Romans, but on the arrival of Oſtorius, they determined to oppoſe him, and to ſhake off that reſtraint which he meant univerſally to lay on the inhabitants of the iſland. They accordingly engaged in a confederacy with ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, and joing their forces took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt, which they encompaſſed with a rampart of earth, leaving only one avenue, which they paved with ſharp flint to prevent the approach of the Roman cavalry. But nothing could abate the ardour of Oſtorius. He led on his infantry to the camp, and attacked them with the utmoſt vigour. The Britons made a noble defence, and more than once repelled the aſſaults of the Romans. But their reſiſtance was in vain; the intrepidity of Oſtorius was not to be conquered: the Romans became maſters of the camp, and obtained a compleat victory.

Having thus ſubdued the Iceni, and their confederates, Oſtorius took proper meaſures for ſecuring the province from any future incurſions of thoſe nations. He added ſeveral ſtrong forts to thoſe he had already erected on the banks of the Severn, in order to ſecure the Roman conqueſts in that part of the iſland; he made Cogidunus, king of the Dobuni, who poſſeſſed the counties of Glouceſter and Oxford, a citizen of Rome, and even inveſted him with authority over ſome other Belgic colonies. This politic expedient ſucceeded to his wiſh, for it fomented diſſentions among the Britons, and attached a powerful prince to the intereſt of the Romans.

Oſtorius, encouraged by the ſucceſs he had already met with, advanced into the country of the Cangi, or Shropſhire, which he plundered, and penetrated almoſt as far as the ſea-coaſt of Denbighſhire. His deſign was to have reduced the whole country to ſubjection; but he was diverted from his purpoſe by a revolt of the Brigantes, a people of Yorkſhire, whither he immediately repaired, and having quelled the commotion in its infancy, cauſed the ringleaders to be executed, in order to prevent future inſurrections.

A. D. 51. But the moſt vigorous meaſures could not ſuppreſs the innate valour of the Britons. Liberty was ſtill their darling object; and they preferred death to the chains of ſlavery. The Brigantes, tho' they had experienced the power and ſeverity of the Roman general, were not to be eaſily ſubdued; they determined ſtill to oppoſe the Roman power with all their might, and, if poſſible, to ſhake off the ſhackles of ſlavery. They accord-

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CARACTACUS *the British Chief, basely* BETRAYED *into the Hands of the* ROMANS, *by* CARTISMANDUA, *Queen of the Brigantes.* —

accordingly formed a conſpiracy with the Silures, a powerful nation, inhabiting Herefordſhire and great part of South Wales. The famous Caractacus was at the head of theſe troops; and knowing himſelf to be inferior to the Romans in force, he endeavoured to ſupply that diſadvantage by a cautious conduct, and a proper diſpoſition of his poſts. He transferred the ſeat of war into the country of the Ordovices, or North Wales, as he knew the craggy rocks and high mountains in that part of the country would prove natural fortifications, and enable him to annoy the enemy with great advantage to himſelf. He formed his camp on the ſummit of a lofty mountain, the foot of which was waſhed by a deep and rapid river; and, to increaſe the natural ſtrength of the place, he fortified the bank of the river with ramparts of ſtones faced with ſharp-edged flints, and ſurrounded the whole by a body of his choiceſt troops.

The Roman general was far from being a ſtranger to the oſtenſible proceedings of the Britons under Caractacus, and, notwithſtanding the great power and abilities of their commander, was determined to reduce them to ſubjection. He led his legionary troops, compoſed of Roman veterans, againſt them; and, ſenſible of the danger of attacking forces fired with an enthuſiaſtic love of liberty, and led by a general, whom he knew to be prudent, intrepid and vigilant, he omitted no precaution that might ſecure his army from the irregular attacks of the enemy.

On the approach of the Romans, Caractacus drew up his army according to the different clans, and placed at the head of each their native chief. He then rode from rank to rank, exhorting them to exert their utmoſt courage and reſolution, and to act like men on ſo important an occaſion. He told them the hour was approaching that muſt either reſtore them freedom and independence, or reduce them to the moſt abject ſtate of ſlavery. At the ſame time he recounted to them the courage and intrepidity of their anceſtors, and by whoſe valour they had been ſo repeatedly delivered from the tyranny and oppreſſion of their enemies.

Theſe remonſtrances from the mouth of the Britiſh general had the deſired effect: the whole army anſwered by a general ſhout of applauſe, and declared their reſolution of either preſerving their liberties, or periſhing in the glorious attempt.

The Roman general, hearing the acclamations of the Britons, was alarmed for the event, and ſeemed averſe to begin the attack. The interpoſing river, the rampart faced with flints, the hanging crags, and the high embattled ranks of the enemy, preſented a gloomy ſcene: but the aſſailants were Romans; difficulty only encreaſed their courage, and glory rendered them impatient for action.

Oſtorius perceived the eagerneſs of his troops, but would not ſuffer them to engage, till he had carefully ſurveyed every paſs where an attack ſeemed practicable; having done which he led them to the charge. The river was eaſily paſſed, but the great difficulty lay in forcing the ramparts, which were defended by the Britons with the moſt unſhaken firmneſs. In attempting this many of the Romans fell; but at length, by dint of reſolution, they prevailed; the ramparts, which were compoſed of looſe ſtones, were thrown down, their legions poured in upon the Britons, and a general engagement enſued. The balance of victory was, for ſome time, equally poiſed, and fortune ſeemed undetermined on whom to beſtow the palm of conqueſt. At length the Roman veterans removed the dreadful uncertainty. Covered with armour, the ſwords of the Britons made little impreſſion, while death attended every blow ſtruck by a Roman arm. Finding the conteſt unequal, Caractacus retreated to his camp on the ſummit of the mountain, the aſcent to which was very long and ſteep. But the ardour of the Romans was ſuperior to every difficulty: they gained the ſummit, and attacked the camp of Caractacus. The conteſt was dreadful; the Britons fought for liberty, the Romans for glory. Urged on by deſpair, the Britons aſſaulted the ranks of the enemy with a fury bordering on madneſs, and the camp preſented a moſt horrid ſcene of blood and devaſtation. At length the legionary diſcipline prevailed, and the ſtandard of Britiſh liberty fell to the ground. The Britons were totally routed, and what added to their misfortunes was, that the daughters, and brothers of Caractacus, together with many other perſons of birth and fortune, fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Caractacus himſelf, indeed, eſcaped, but it was only to add a poignancy to his misfortunes by feeling the additional weight of treachery in diſtreſs. Diſtracted at the irreparable loſs he had ſuſtained, he unguardedly flew for ſafety to Cartiſmandua, queen of the Brigantes. This princeſs was not only well affected to the Romans, but bore an inveterate hatred to Caractacus, on account of his having taken part with her huſband Venutius, with whom ſhe had been long at variance. Happy, therefore, to have the object of her malice in her power, and to be able at once to oblige the Romans, and gratify her own revenge, ſhe baſely loaded Caractacus with chains, and in that ignominious manner delivered him into the hands of the conqueror.

The name of Caractacus had long been terrible to the Romans. He had, for nine years, bravely ſupported that formidable confederacy begun by Caſſivelaunus, and was deemed the moſt experienced of the Britiſh commanders. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that his defeat ſhould be conſidered at Rome in the moſt important light, and that the news of his captivity ſhould be received with the moſt uncommon acclamations. It was the univerſal wiſh of the people in that city to ſee a general who had rendered himſelf ſo conſpicuous as to check the flight of the imperial eagles, and whoſe military talents were at once declared and admired. Accordingly Caractacus and his whole family were ſent to Rome, in order to be expoſed as public ſpectacles to the populace.

On the day appointed for gratifying the general curioſity, the emperor and empreſs were prepared to receive the unhappy captives in great ſtate, each being ſeated on a magnificent throne, adorned with the moſt ſuperb military trophies. The grandees ſurrounded the monarch, the imperial guards were drawn up in order, and the whole inhabitants of the city crouded to be ſpectators of ſo unuſual a ſight. The proceſſion began

gan with the vaſſals and dependants of Caractacus, and an exhibition of the military ſpoils and trophies taken in the wars with the Britons. Next followed the brother of Caractacus, with his wife and daughters, whoſe tears ſufficiently ſhewed that their ſpirits were equally depreſſed with their fortunes. But the behaviour of Caractacus was very different: he marched on with a ſteady countenance and noble deportment; his ſoul ſoared above his then condition, and he looked down with contempt on the malice of his enemies. On his approach to the imperial tribunal, he fixed his eyes on the emperor, and cooly addreſſed him in the following words:

"If my moderation had been adequate to my "birth and fortune, I had entered this capital not "as a captive, but a friend. Nor wouldſt thou, "O Cæſar, have diſdained to rank, in the num-"ber of thy friends, a prince like me, deſcended "from illuſtrious progenitors, and veſted with "the ſupreme authority over many warlike na-"tions. Though my preſent condition reflects "diſhonour upon me, it adds luſtre to your glory. "I was maſter of men and arms, of horſes and "chariots of war, of riches and power. Can "you wonder that I fought to preſerve them, and "that I loſt them with regret? Though you are "ambitious of univerſal empire, yet it does not "follow that all men ought tamely to ſubmit to "your dominion. Had the hand of perfidy "ſooner betrayed me, I ſhould have been leſs diſ-"tinguiſhed by misfortunes, and you by glory. "Had I fallen in battle, both my name and for-"tune had been conſigned to oblivion. Puniſh "me with death, and I ſhall ſoon be forgotten; "permit me to live, and thy clemency ſhall be "immortalized."

This ſpirited ſpeech, added to the majeſtic air of the noble captive, greatly affected the whole audience; but none more than the emperor himſelf, who immediately ordered the chains to be taken off from Caractacus and all his family; and the empreſs, who was more than an equal aſſociate in the empire, received the captive Britons with the greateſt marks of kindneſs and compaſſion, and at the ſame time confirmed to them the enjoyment of their liberty.

The defeat of Caractacus procured Oſtorius a triumph; but it proved the termination of his ſucceſs. The Britons, fired with reſentment at the ignominious treatment of their leader, were rouſed to vengeance. They had acquired, by dear bought experience, ſome knowledge of the Roman diſcipline, and carried on the war with more prudence and better ſucceſs than formerly; while the Romans, fluſhed with victory, grew indolent and careleſs. They fell upon the legionary cohorts left to complete the chain of forts on the Severn, and would have cut them to pieces, had not a reinforcement fortunately arrived from the neighbouring forts and villages; though this did not happen before the prefect, with eight centurions, and a great many ſoldiers, were ſlain. Nor did the revenge of the Britons ſtop here; they attacked a foraging party, and routed them, together with ſome ſquadrons ſent to their ſupport.

The Britons, highly animated with theſe ſucceſſes, continued to purſue their advantages, when Oſtorius ſent out his cohorts to ſtop their progreſs; but they ſtill continuing to bear down all before them, he was at length obliged to bring up the whole force of his legions. Nor did even this ſuperiority daunt the Britiſh courage: they maintained the battle till night put an end to the conteſt, and then retired with very little loſs.

The Romans were no longer conſidered as invincible. The ſtandard of liberty was again diſplayed, and the Britons flattered themſelves with being able to retaliate the injuries they had received from the invaders of their country.

Theſe actions were followed by innumerable ſkirmiſhes fought with various ſucceſs, in all of which the Silures particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves as enemies to the Romans. A raſh word had, it ſeems, dropped from the mouth of Oſtorius, which had raiſed in their minds the moſt implacable reſentment. He ſaid that the Britons would never be quiet till the Silures were either exterminated, or tranſported to another country. In conſequence of this the Silures attacked the ſtraggling parties of the Romans wherever they met them; in wood-lands or fens, as chance or choice, temerity or precaution, reſentment or avarice directed; ſometimes with and ſometimes without the orders of their reſpective leaders. The Romans, indeed, had been guilty of ſome exceſſes, equally repugnant to the ſentiments of humanity and the laws of a well regulated policy. This conduct gave the Britons advantages which they could not otherwiſe have obtained. Two cohorts of auxiliaries, ſent out by rapacious officers, not taking the neceſſary precautions that men in their circumſtances, not blinded by avarice, would have obſerved, were ſuddenly attacked by the Britons, and cut to pieces while they were ravaging the country. The ſpoils taken from theſe two cohorts were, by the victorious Britons, diſtributed among the inhabitants of the neighbouring ſtates; and this generous conduct produced the deſired effect, by paving the way for a general revolt.

A. D. 55. Oſtorius, fearing that the ſplendor of his triumph would be ſullied by theſe ſubſequent misfortunes, fell a martyr to the anxiety of his mind, and died through grief for not being able glorioufly to terminate a war ſo proſperouſly begun. This event gave new ſpirits to the Britons, and they determined to hazard a general battle with their enemies. Manlius Valens, a Roman tribune, took the command of the imperial troops till the arrival of Aulus Didius, who was appointed by the emperor to ſucceed Oſtorius. The two armies coming to an engagement the Romans were defeated, and the Britons ſo fluſhed with ſucceſs, that they penetrated into the Roman provinces, included under the name of Britannia Prima, while the legionary troops were greatly diſpirited, and their auxiliaries thrown into the utmoſt conſternation.

On the arrival of Didius in Britain he found the ſtate of affairs in a much worſe condition than he expected, and perceived abundant cauſe to reprehend the conduct of Manlius. The Britons had gained conſiderable advantages, and were in the high road for recovering their liberty, and extirpating the invaders of their country; but this glorious opportunity was loſt through their own inteſtine broils, and diſcord gave what their enemies could not have taken from them.

Cartiſmandua

Cartiſmandua, the perfidious queen of the Brigantes, and who had betrayed the brave Caractacus into the hands of the Romans, now proved baſe to her huſband Venutius, whom ſhe abandoned, and took Vellocatus, the general of her forces, as the partner of her bed and throne. As ſhe governed a ſtate independent of Venutius, ſhe was not inſenſible that this ſtep muſt involve her in a war with her huſband; but, prompted by luſt, and depending on the aſſiſtance of the Romans, ſhe ſacrificed her intereſt, and the peace of her country, to a depraved inclination, and her character to the gratification of a lawleſs paſſion. She was not, indeed, miſtaken in her expectations of being ſupported by the Romans; but her opinion of their power was fallacious. Thinking her allies invincible, ſhe ſet no bounds to her paſſion: ſhe openly married her minion, and even carried her reſentment ſo far againſt Venutius, as to cauſe his brother and kinſman to be put to death.

Exaſperated at theſe ſhocking injuries, Venutius repaired to the Silures, to whom he repreſented, in the moſt forcible manner, the deteſtable conduct of Cartiſmandua, and expatiated on the irreparable injury ſhe had done her countrymen, by baſely betraying their intrepid leader. Venutius did not plead in vain. Rouſed by the ignominious treatment of their beloved general, they expreſſed their reſentment with a fury nearly allied to madneſs, and bound themſelves, by the moſt ſolemn acts of their religion, either to take ample vengeance on the infamous betrayer of their country, or periſh in the attempt.

As ſoon as Cartiſmandua was informed of the proceedings of Venutius, ſhe immediately flew to the Romans for ſuccour, by whom ſhe was received with great kindneſs and reſpect, and her requeſt readily granted. But the Roman power was now greatly weakened: diſcipline had given place to licentiouſneſs, and effeminacy had enervated the ſtrength of the conquerors of the world. The Britons, headed by Venutius, advanced with confidence and intrepidity, and the Romans marched out to meet them. A dreadful battle enſued, and the palm of victory was for ſome time doubtful; but at length the Britons gained the advantage, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the Romans could ſave Cartiſmandua from falling into the hands of her enraged huſband, while Venutius made himſelf maſter of the greater part of their territories.

This ſucceſs ſo raiſed the ſpirits of the Britons, that they made frequent attacks upon the Romans, and in general obtained conſiderable advantage. The proprætor Didius, who was very old and infirm when he firſt arrived in Britain, could not lead his army in perſon againſt them: he entruſted the command to generals much inferior to him in merit, and the conſequences reflected a ſtain upon the honour of the Romans. Didius ſaw with grief this ſudden reverſe of fortune, and fell a victim to the complicated attacks of diſeaſe and vexation.

A. D. 58. About this time the emperor Claudius paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded in the imperial dignity by Nero, his adopted ſon. This prince had no ambition for military honours, and would probably have declined all farther attempts to ſubjugate Britain, could he have done it with ſafety to himſelf. But the Romans conſidered Britain as one of the faireſt jewels in the imperial diadem, and Nero thought it prudent to tread in the ſteps of Claudius, whoſe memory he highly revered.

The proprætor Didius was ſucceeded in the government of Britain by Veranius, who boaſted much, but did nothing, as death overtook him before he could carry any of his projects into execution.

Veranius was ſucceeded by the celebrated Suetonius Paulinus, one of the greateſt generals of his time, and from whoſe military talents the Romans entertained the moſt flattering expectations. Indeed, a leader of courage and abilities had never been more wanting, as the Britons, elated by their ſucceſs, and exaſperated at the injuries they had received, threatened the Romans with deſtruction.

Soon after Suetonius arrived in Britain, he formed the reſolution of reducing the iſland of Angleſea (called by the Romans Mona) the chief ſeat of the Britiſh Druids, and the common retreat for fugitives who were enemies to Rome. Hence it became not only populous, but formidable, on which account Suetonius though it a place abſolutely neceſſary to ſubdue.

At this time Suetonius was encamped with the principal part of his army in North Wales; and as the Iſle of Angleſea was ſeperated from the land only by a narrow channel, he cauſed flat-bottomed boats to be conſtructed for carrying over his legions, but ordered his horſe to ford the ſtream. Suetonius perceived the inhabitants were drawn up at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, and therefore landed his troops with very little oppoſition. But the Britons ſoon advanced with the utmoſt fury to meet the Romans, who were ſtruck with a ſuperſtitious terror at a ſcene which now preſented itſelf to their view. In the rear of the Britiſh army were a prodigious multitude of women running about with their hair diſhevelled, and torches in their hands, making the moſt diſmal lamentations: while the Druids lifted up their hands to heaven, and made the air reſound with the moſt dreadful imprecations. This unuſual ſight, and the hideous yellings with which it was accompanied, ſtruck the Roman troops with ſurprize and horror; and during their conſternation, a flight of arrows from the enemy did great execution. At length, animated by their general, and abaſhed at being thrown into confuſion by women and prieſts, the Romans impetuouſly attacked the Britons ſword in hand, killed great numbers, put the reſt to flight, and made themſelves maſters of the iſland. After the defeat, Suetonius found a great number of fires in the conſecrated groves, and being informed that they were intended for the ſacrifice of the Roman priſoners who ſhould be taken in the battle (for the Druids had aſſured the people of victory) he was ſo exaſperated at the deſigned cruelty of thoſe prieſts, that he ordered all the Druids that could be ſeized to be thrown into the fires they had prepared, that they might ſuffer the death they had intended for others. He then overturned their altars, demoliſhed their magical woods, deſtroyed their myſterious groves, and put an effectual ſtop to Druidiſm. The ſmall remnant of the Druids finding themſelves deprived of

their ceremonies and habitations, and moreover expoſed to continual dangers from the averſion of the Romans, retired to Ireland and the Hebrides, which are ſuppoſed to have been the original ſeats of their worſhip, and Suetonius began to build forts for the preſervation of the iſland he had conquered.

A. D. 61. But while Suetonius was thus employed in the remoter parts of the kingdom, he was called to the interior provinces by an event of the utmoſt importance, and which threatened the total deſtruction of the Roman power in Britain. The vices of Nero were riſen to the moſt ſhameful height, inſomuch that the ſtate of Britain was entirely changed. A new mode of government was introduced, and an imperial exchequer eſtabliſhed in the iſland. Catus Decianus, a man of the moſt deteſtable character, was ſent to reſide in Britain as procurator, or ſuperintendant of the finances. Claudius had wiſely remitted the confiſcation of the eſtates belonging to the Britons, who had rebelled againſt him; but Catus eſtabliſhed a court of reſumption, by which he pretended to adjudge thoſe eſtates to the imperial treaſury. The oppreſſed Britons in vain preſented remonſtrances againſt ſuch unlawful practices; the procurator, at once a monſter of avarice and injuſtice, inſtead of granting them redreſs, treated them with inſolence; their misfortunes were increaſed, and their miſeries made a ſubject of ridicule. Theſe acts of wanton tyranny raiſed a general ſpirit of reſentment among the Britons, and the whole nation was ripe for a revolt, when an incident happened which kindled the latent ſparks of vengeance into a dangerous flame of open rebellion.

The Iceni, whoſe country bordered on the colony of Camelodunum, had, ever ſince their laſt defeat, lived under the protection of the Romans, but were governed by a prince of their own, whoſe name was Praſatagus. The friendſhip in which he lived with the Romans gave him great opportunities of enriching his family, though he never uſed any means to increaſe his wealth by illegal meaſures. He had no ſon, and only two daughters, whom, at his death, he left under the care of their mother Boadicea, a woman who poſſeſſed a ſpirit ſuperior either to birth or fortune. In order to ſecure a protection for his children, Praſatagus conſtituted Nero, the Roman emperor, coheir with his two daughters in all his wealth and poſſeſſions, imagining that gratitude would induce the Romans to become the friendly guardians of his family. But in this he was greatly deceived, for the generous legacy, inſtead of exciting gratitude, proved an incentive to rapacity. Catus Decianus, the inhuman procurator, ſeized upon the whole, and the dominions of Praſatagus became a prey to the licentiouſneſs of the Roman centurions.

Boadicea, the wife of Praſatagus, rouſed by the injuſtice done to herſelf and family, remonſtrated warmly againſt theſe iniquitous proceedings, and loudly exclaimed againſt the injury done to her daughters by depriving them of their inheritance; but inſtead of meeting with any redreſs, ſhe was treated in a manner that reflected diſgrace upon humanity. Catus Decianus, the inhuman procurator, regardleſs of the dignity of her ſtation, the rules of decency, and the reſpect due to the female ſex, ordered her to be publickly ſcourged, and ſuffered the common ſoldiers to violate the chaſtity of her daughters.

Theſe ſhocking barbarities, together with the many cruel and flagrant acts of injuſtice practiſed by Catus Decianus, the procurator, ſtirred up a general ſpirit of reſentment in the breaſts of the Britons, and an inſurrection immediately took place throughout the iſland. The Iceni, as being the moſt deeply intereſted, were the firſt who declared themſelves openly; and their example was immediately followed by their neighbours the Trinobantes. The next who joined the malecontents was Venutius, huſband to the baſe and perfidious Cartiſmandua. The partiſans of that vile woman, forgetting their particular quarrels, and former amity with the Romans, united with their countrymen on this occaſion, and even all the ſubjected ſtates engaged in the confederacy; ſo that the Britiſh army conſiſted of a much greater number of fighting men than had ever been brought into the field on any former emergency.

This powerful army was headed by Boadicea, who painted the injuries received by herſelf and her daughters in the moſt lively colours; the conſequence of which was, that the Britons, fired with a deſire of pouring deſtruction on the heads of their cruel oppreſſors, bound themſelves, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to revenge the injuries of their country, or periſh in the attempt.

The Britons began their operations by an attack upon the Roman colony at Camelodunum, which was taken by ſtorm, the garriſon put to the ſword, and the whole place plundered and burnt. They likewiſe deſtroyed the temple of Claudius, and, continuing their ravages, ſpread devaſtation over the whole country ſubject to the Romans. Petilius Cerealis, who commanded the ninth legion, marched to the aſſiſtance of his countrymen, and was met by the Britons. A dreadful conflict enſued, in which all the foot of the legion were cut to pieces, and Cerealis would have been taken priſoner, had he not fled on horſeback to the Roman camp.

During theſe tranſactions Catus Decianus, the infamous procurator, conſcious that his own rapacity and injuſtice had given occaſion to the inſurrection, and his negligence ſuffered it to grow formidable, fled to Gaul, and by that means eluded at once the vengeance of the Britons, and the hatred of his own people.

As ſoon as Suetonius was informed of the general inſurrection of the Britons, and the ravages they had committed, he immediately left Angleſea, and marched his army with the utmoſt expedition to London, which was then famous both for its wealth and commerce. But finding this place not ſtrong enough to reſiſt the attack of the enemy with the ſmall body of forces he had brought thither, he retired to a conſiderable diſtance on the Surry ſide of the Thames, taking with him ſuch of the inhabitants as preferred the preſervation of their lives to that of their wealth.

Boadicea, being informed that the Roman general had reached London, marched thither with her army, but finding it abandoned by the enemy, ſhe wreaked her vengeance on the inhabitants, putting every Roman to the ſword, and then reduced the place to aſhes. She had before deſtroyed

Stothard delin. Alger sculp.

BOADICEA *Queen of the Iceni,* BURNING *the City of* LONDON, *after it's being abandoned by the Roman Army under the Command of Suetonius.*

BRITISH MUSEUM
30 64
JAN

ſtroyed the city of Verulam, and put all the inhabitants to death; and the whole number who fell ſacrifices to her reſentment are ſaid to have been not leſs than ſeventy thouſand.

The Roman general, having collected, by the aſſiſtance of the Belgic Britons, who ſtill retained their allegiance to the Romans, a freſh recruit of ten thouſand men, advanced with indefatigable expedition, in order to retaliate on the Britons their late ravages and maſſacres. Senſible of the enterprizing ſpirit of Boadicea, at the head of a formidable army, he prudently poſted his forces in ſuch order as might beſt enable them to ſuſtain the impetuoſity of the firſt attack, without breaking their ranks. With this view he placed his legionary troops in the center, the light army on each ſide, and the cavalry on the wings, having in his rear a large wood, and an extenſive plain in his front, ſo that he was freed from all apprehenſion of ambuſcade, as well as ſecure of a retreat, if overpowered by the enemy.

In this ſituation did Suetonius wait the approach of the Britons; nor was it long before they appeared to his view. Elated by their late ſucceſs, and hoping to exterminate at once the whole power of the Romans, they haſtened to the attack; and thinking themſelves ſure of victory, took their wives and children with them, that they might be ſpectators of the ſlaughter, and aſſiſt in the plunder.

At the head of the Britiſh army appeared Boadicea, drawn in a chariot with her two daughters. She paſſed between the ranks of her army, and in order to encourage the timorous, and animate the brave, addreſſed them in a ſpeech to the following effect:

"I am not come hither, ſaid ſhe, from any "pre-eminence of royal birth, but from a ſenſe "of endangered liberty, which ought to be "cheriſhed in the breaſt of every individual, from "the higheſt to the loweſt. Indeed, the ſtripes "I have received, and the violated honors of "my daughters, were there no other motive, "would be abundantly ſufficient, as a private "perſon, to animate me to revenge; but there "is a greater call than my own injuries; the call "of my country. The Roman luſt is unbounded; it knows no diſtinction; the old as well as "the young are raviſhed: but Divine vengeance "never ſleeps on ſuch occaſions; it always treads "upon the heels of crimes like theſe. The only "legion that have dared to meet your arms in the "open field have been cut to pieces; while the "others meanly concealed themſelves from danger within the camp, or ſaved themſelves from "the avenging ſword of juſtice by a precipitate "flight. The very ſhouts of the Britons, without their weapons, are ſufficient to ſtrike the "Roman army with terror. Conſider the cauſes "of the war, and you will not heſitate a ſingle "moment in reſolving to conquer or periſh. "Though a woman, this is my fixed purpoſe: "you that are men may, by refuſing the alternative, live and be ſlaves."

This ſpeech was received with univerſal applauſe by the Britiſh army, who teſtified their ſatisfaction by the loudeſt ſhouts and acclamations. Nor was the Roman general behind hand in endeavouring to animate his troops to face ſo formidable and reſolute an enemy. As the moſt powerful motive to excite their valour, he told them that though the enemy were ſuperior in number they were headed by a weak, daring and ambitious woman, and ſet before them the glory that would reſult from quelling ſuch lawleſs inſurrections, as were attended with every circumſtance of the moſt horrid cruelty. By theſe repreſentations he raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of emulation in his little army, that, with an univerſal plaudit, they declared themſelves ready for an immediate attack.

The engagement was begun by the Britons with a furious diſcharge of darts, which were no ſooner ſpent than the Romans ſallied forth, and charged them in the open plain with the utmoſt impetuoſity. The Britons fought with great obſtinacy and perſeverance, though without order or diſtinction; but at length they were obliged to yield to the diſcipline and valour of their enemies, who routed them with great ſlaughter. Their loſs amounted to 80,000 killed in the battle and in the purſuit, beſides an infinite number of captives doomed to perpetual ſlavery. The Romans had not above 400 killed, and as many wounded; but it is to be conſidered, that the carnage of the Britons was more general by their having ſurrounded the field by a chain of carriages, which, after the defeat, impeded their flight, and ſo fatally retarded their retreat, that many were ſacrificed to the reſentment of the Romans, who might have otherwiſe made their eſcape.

Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of this attempt, the Britons were ſo far from being diſheartened that they prepared themſelves for another attack; but they were diverted from this reſolution by the ſudden death of Boadicea, who, finding her hopes fruſtrated, and diſappointed of her revenge, put a period to her own exiſtence by poiſon. This calamity diſconcerted all their meaſures, and after having performed her funeral obſequies, the main body of the Britons immediately diſperſed, and retired with all haſte to their reſpective diſtricts.

The Roman general took every advantage of his ſucceſs, and uſed the moſt cruel means to prevent the Britons from re-aſſembling their forces. He deſtroyed the countries of thoſe who had appeared as enemies with fire and ſword, and drove away the cattle from the Britons wherever he went. Unfortunately for themſelves, they had no corn; for Boadicea had perſuaded them, that it was unneceſſary to ſave any, as the Roman granaries would ſoon be in their poſſeſſion. Thus improvidently confident of ſucceſs, they had neglected the duties of agriculture, and by their own remiſſneſs, the horrors of famine ſucceeded thoſe of war.

But notwithſtanding theſe complicated circumſtances of diſtreſs, great numbers of the Britons determined not to lay down their arms; but kept wandering about the country in ſmall parties, reſolved rather to periſh by famine than make the leaſt offer of ſubmiſſion to the Romans. Julius Claſſicanus, who ſucceeded Catus in the proprætorſhip, amazed at ſuch an hardy reſolution in a people ſo diſtreſſed, was led to impute it to the ſeverity of Suetonius Paulinus; and therefore wrote to Rome, informing the emperor that unleſs that officer was recalled, the war could not be brought to a termination.

On the receipt of this information, the emperor immediately diſpatched his freedman Polycletus

to

to Britain, in order to take cognizance of the affair, and enquire into the truth of what Classicanus had asserted. The report of Polycletus was greatly in favour of Suetonius, notwithstanding which, as that general had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Britons, on account of his destroying the Druids, it was deemed politically prudent to recall him, and Petronius Turpilianus was appointed to succeed him as prætor of Britain.

CHAP. V.

Petronius Turpilianus treats the Britons with great moderation, and after governing them for three years, returns with honour to Rome. He is succeeded by Trebellius Maximus, under whom the legions mutiny, and oblige him to desert the island. The emperor Nero dies, and during the short reigns of Galba and Otho, his successors, the Britons continue undisturbed. Vitellius, being established on the imperial throne, appoints Vectius Bolanus prætor of Britain. He continues in the government during the reign of Vitellius, but on the accession of Vespasian he is recalled, and Petilius Cerealis appointed prætor in his stead. The Britons, under Venutius, make several attacks upon the Roman territories, but are defeated by Cerealis, who reduces the whole country of the Brigantes. Cerealis is succeeded by Julius Frontinus, who subdues the Silures. He is recalled, and Julius Agricola appointed prætor in his stead. He reduces the Ordovices, and completes the conquest of Anglesea, which had been begun by Suetonius. By his wise administration he procures the good will and affection of the Britons, who follow the manners and maxims of the Romans. He advances into Scotland, and fortifies the isthmus between the Forth and Clyde. Marches against the Caledonians, and defeats them. Has a second engagement with them, and obtains a complete victory. Reduces the Horesti and the inhabitants of the Orkney Islands, after which he sails round the whole coast of Britain. He is recalled, and put to death by the emperor Domitian.

A. D. 62. PETRONIUS Turpilianus, the successor of Suetonius, arrived in Britain at the beginning of the year sixty-two, and by the mildness of his administration accomplished what the military severities of his predecessor could not effect. Instead of harrassing the Britons, and keeping alive their resentment by new injuries, he suffered them to enjoy unmolested repose. By this prudent conduct their rage abated, their losses were forgotten, and many of the revolted states returned to their obedience. Peace once more extended her olive branch over the desolated country, and plentiful harvests crowned the fields that had been laid waste by the sword of war.

After Turpilianus had resided three years in Britain he returned to Rome, where he was received with the most universal applause. Triumphant honors were decreed him by the senate; and the Romans were convinced, from experience, that moderation and lenity were more effectual in subduing the Britons, than persecution and tyranny.

A. D. 65. Turpilianus was succeeded in the government of Britain by Trebellius Maximus, who, pursuing the same plan of conduct with his predecessor, the Britons were gradually reconciled to the laws and customs of the Romans. But the tranquil state of Britain not furnishing the Roman legions with those advantages they had expected, they became mutinous, and being encouraged by Roscius Celius, a professed enemy to Tribellius, the prætor was obliged to quit the island, and fly for protection to Vitellius, who then commanded the Roman army in Germany.

A. D. 68. About this time the world was delivered of that monster of nature, Nero, who, tired of life, put an end to his own existence. During the short reigns of the two succeeding emperors, Galba and Otho, the Britons continued in a perfect state of tranquillity. There was not any governor during this period, the Roman troops in Britain being commanded by their several tribunes, among whom Roscius Celius assumed the chief authority.

A. D. 69. On the accession of Vitellius to the imperial throne, Vectius Bolanus was sent to take the command of the Roman troops in Britain. This governor, being naturally of a quiet and easy disposition, suffered the Britons to live in peace and tranquillity, and at the same time retained the good will of his soldiers. He continued to govern during the reign of Vitellius, but on the accession of Vespasian to the imperial dignity, he was recalled, and Petilius Cerealis appointed in his stead.

Between the departure of Vectius Bolanus and the arrival of Petilius Cerealis, the injured Venutius, who was still at the head of the Brigantes, thinking this a favourable opportunity of revenging himself on the Romans for having espoused the party of his wife Cartismandua, persuaded them to revolt, and being joined by other nations, he made several attacks upon the Roman territories. In these attempts he might have proved successful, had it not been for the unexpected arrival of the new governor. Cerealis was at once an experienced and enterprizing general, and had particularly distinguished himself for his military abilities on the continent. No sooner, therefore, did he hear of the proceedings of Venutius, than he immediately marched against him, and, attacking the Britons, defeated them in several battles; nor would he rest till he had reduced the whole country of the Brigantes, which being the most potent of the British nation, rendered his name a terror to the rest.

A. D. 74. After Cerealis had continued governor of Britain about the space of four years he was recalled, and Julius Frontinus appointed

prætor

proprætor in his ſtead. This commander was perfectly ſkilled in the art of war, notwithſtanding which it might have been expected that he would have made a diſadvantageous figure, in coming after ſuch an illuſtrious general as Cerealis; but he ſupported the dignity of the empire with equal capacity, and acquired an equal portion of honour, in ſubduing the Silures, who inhabited the foreſt of Deane, and the counties of Hereford and Monmouth.

A. D. 78. Towards the latter end of Veſpaſian's reign Frontinus was recalled, and his place ſupplied by the celebrated Julius Agricola, who had ſerved in Britain under Suetonius and Cerealis; and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, on various occaſions, for his great valour and military abilities.

Soon after the departure of Frontinus from Britain, the Ordovices, or inhabitants of North Wales, revolted, and ſurprizing a body of Roman cavalry quartered upon their frontiers, cut them to pieces. In conſequence of this Agricola, who had juſt arrived, immediately aſſembled his army, and marched with the utmoſt expedition to ſuppreſs an inſurrection that portended the moſt dangerous conſequences. As ſoon as the Ordovices were informed of his approach, they fled to their rocks and mountains for ſafety; but theſe were of no effectual uſe againſt a commander of ſuch conſummate abilities: he routed them from plains, drove them from precipices, and purſued them through places before deemed inacceſſible. Finding, therefore, that neither the obſtructions raiſed by art, or perſonal courage, could avail againſt the ſuperior ſkill of the Roman commander, the Ordovices ſubmitted themſelves to his clemency, and peace was once more reſtored in that part of the iſland.

A. D. 79. Having ſubjugated the country of the Ordovices, Agricola, early in the following ſpring, determined to compleat the conqueſt of Angleſea, which had been begun by Suetonius, but who was ſuddenly recalled before he could compleat his deſign. After carefully ſurveying the ſtreight which ſeparates Angleſea from the coaſt of Wales, he diſcovered a ford, and commanding his cavalry to ſwim acroſs, they immediately obeyed his orders, and landed on the other ſide without the leaſt oppoſition. Intimidated at the ſight of the Romans, the inhabitants flew for ſafety to their woods and mountains; but reflecting that it would be in vain to oppoſe ſo powerful a commander, they came out of their hiding places, and ſued for peace, which was readily granted, and Agricola immediately took poſſeſſion of the iſland.

After this ſucceſsful expedition, Agricola returned to the northern provinces of the iſland, where he employed the winter in endeavouring to conciliate the affections of the Britons. Prudent by the errors of his predeceſſors, he made it his chief ſtudy to avoid the rocks on which they had ſeverally ſplit. He was moderate without relaxing in the diſtribution of juſtice, liberal without profuſion, and though affable to all, his dignity was never loſt to any. He was particularly careful to reform the diſcipline of his army, and to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of his troops, that no freſh cauſe of diſpute might ariſe from their inſolence and oppreſſion. He was ſevere, but not cruel. He puniſhed crimes with rigour, but often pardoned faults. The common ſoldiers became modeſt and agreeable, the officers generous and humane. He was an inveterate enemy to every ſpecies of corruption. No rigour was practiſed in collecting the tribute, no iniquitous impoſitions were ſuffered. He coveted not reſpect when it owed its origin to fear; but cheriſhed obedience when it flowed from the heart. The Britons were happy under his government; and rather revered him as a parent, than feared him as a tyrant. They cheriſhed a real attachment for his perſon, and imitated his conduct. From his wiſdom and lenity he was equally reſpected both by Britons and Romans, and became the favourite object of all parties: ſo that on the demiſe of the emperor Veſpaſian, which happened about this period, his ſon Titus, who ſucceeded him, confirmed Agricola in the government of Britain.

A. D. 80. Early in the enſuing ſpring Agricola proceeded to ſubjugate the remaining unſubdued provinces, by the political mode of extending the ſword with one hand, and the olive branch with the other, at once menacing the refractory Britons with all the horrors of war, and courting them to partake of the bleſſings of peace. This prudent meaſure had the deſired effect; the alluring arguments he uſed to invite them to ſubmiſſion proved efficacious, and he ſoon prevailed on ſeveral capital cities to receive Roman garriſons; ſo that partly by perſuaſion, and partly by his military abilities, he ſucceeded wherever he went, and at length finiſhed the conqueſt of what is now called England.

The following winter Agricola employed himſelf in making farther improvements on the civil regulations of the Britons, and took every meaſure he could project not only to reconcile them to the laws and power of the Roman empire, but likewiſe to the Roman cuſtoms, manners and arts. To effect this, he erected courts of judicature and other public buildings, and by encouraging induſtry, and diſcountenancing ſloth, excited a generous rivalry in the exertion of every faculty that diſtinguiſhes rational and intelligent beings. He erected public academies for the inſtruction and education of the ſons of perſons of power and property in the liberal arts, by which means many of the Britiſh youth diſplayed an extraordinary genius for the ſciences, and thoſe who before deſpiſed the Roman tongue, and the ornamental branch of oratory, now ſtrove to excel in reading the beſt authors with propriety and elegance. In ſhort, by preferring the riſing genius of the Britons to the confirmed abilities of the Romans, he prompted the former to ſuch vigorous efforts in equalling the latter, that at length the Roman language, habit, cuſtoms and manners univerſally prevailed; ſo that it may be juſtly ſaid to the honour of this great commander, that he introduced into the iſland an entire reformation in policy and literature, which are the greateſt ornaments of every nation throughout the univerſe.

A. D. 81. The following ſpring, which was the third year of his adminiſtration, Agricola having ſettled every thing to his ſatisfaction in South Britain, reſolved to enter upon new diſcoveries, and to explore the nothern parts of the

iſland. In conſequence of this determination he penetrated as far as the frith of the river Tay in Scotland, conquering all the countries as he went, and building forts to ſecure his conqueſts. Theſe forts were ſo advantageouſly ſituated, and ſo faithfully maintained, that not even one of them was ever taken, abandoned or betrayed. They were well ſupplied with proviſions, and garriſoned with brave and intrepid ſoldiers, who, by occaſional ſallies, kept the enemy in continual alarms.

A. D. 82. The fourth year of Agricola's government was principally ſpent in improving the conqueſts he had obtained the preceding ſummer. He led his army a conſiderable diſtance to the northward of the forts he had erected, and ſubdued ſeveral of the ſmaller tribes. Having done this he erected a chain of forts acroſs the iſthmus between the Clyde and the Forth, in order to prevent the incurſions of the Caledonians, a people then unſubdued, and governed by a prince of great courage and experience. By theſe forts all communication between the Britons and Caledonians was cut off, by which Agricola was enabled to purſue, with more attention, his favourite ſcheme of making the Britons fond of the arts and manners of the Romans.

A. D. 83. Agricola, being deſirous of extending his conqueſts, and exploring regions yet undiſcovered, ſet out for that purpoſe early in the enſuing ſpring. He penetrated beyond the Frith, and embarking his army on board a fleet equipped for the purpoſe, ſailed along the weſtern coaſts of Scotland, took a view of divers iſlands diſperſed in the Atlantic and Caledonian ſeas, landed in ſeveral places, and, in different engagements, defeated the clans who took up arms in defence of their country. In this expedition he took a ſurvey of Ireland, projected a plan for invading it, and afterwards tranſmitted to Rome a computation of the number of forces that might effect its conqueſt; nay, he even proceeded ſo far as to quarter his troops in that part of Britain which is oppoſite to the Iriſh coaſt. But he was prevented from carrying his deſign into execution by the envy and jealouſy of Domitian, who had then, on the death of Titus, ſucceeded to the imperial dignity.

The proceedings of Agricola greatly alarmed the Caledonians, who immediately raiſed a very powerful army in order to oppoſe the invader of their country. The Roman general, being informed of their intentions, ordered his fleet to ſail along the coaſt, while he himſelf marched forward at the head of his army, in order to engage them.

The Caledonians were headed by Galgacus, a prince admired for his military abilities, and, having ſerved under the Romans, was no ſtranger to their method of making war. His troops were greatly ſuperior in number to thoſe of Agricola, in conſequence of which, when the latter arrived, he divided his army into three ſeparate bodies, that he might not be ſurrounded by their numbers, or circumvented by their ſuperior knowledge of the country.

Galgacus, finding his deſign of ſurrounding the Roman army fruſtrated, immediately formed his forces into one body, and ſurprizing in the night the ninth legion, which lay at a diſtance from the army, attacked them with the utmoſt impetuoſity. Intelligence of this being made known to Agricola, he immediately diſpatched a reinforcement of light armed troops to their aſſiſtance, the appearance of whom intimidated the enemy, and animated with freſh vigour the deſpairing legion, who were on the very point of being cut to pieces. The Caledonians would have willingly retired, but as they were ſoon ſurrounded by the Romans, they found themſelves obliged to maintain the battle, which was fought for ſome time with equal obſtinacy on both ſides. At length the palm of victory was wreſted from the Caledonians, great numbers were killed, and the reſt fled for ſhelter to the adjacent woods and mountains, whither the Romans did not think it prudent to purſue them.

Though the Caledonians were defeated, they were far from being diſpirited: they imputed their overthrow rather to unforeſeen accidents than to the valour of the Romans, and reſolved once more to try the event of another battle. For this purpoſe they ſent all their wives and children into their fortified towns, and aſſembled an army ſuperior to that which they had firſt brought into the field. But before they were ready to march againſt the enemy, the ſeaſon was too far advanced, and Galgacus put them into winter quarters to be ready againſt the enſuing campaign.

A. D. 84. Agricola was not to be intimidated by any meaſures that could be purſued by Galgacus. Early in the ſpring he renewed his military operations, by ſending his fleet before him, with orders to land occaſionally in different places, and ſpread the alarm along the coaſt of Scotland; while he himſelf marched at the head of his army to the Grampian hills, on which he found the Caledonians poſted, to the number of 30,000, commanded by their prince Galgacus.

As ſoon as the Caledonian leader was apprized of the approach of the Roman army, he prepared himſelf for battle; and in order to impreſs the minds of his troops with ſpirit and intrepidity, he addreſſed them as follows: "When I conſider the cauſe of this war, and the preſent criſis, I have reaſon to preſume that the future happineſs and freedom of the whole iſland will date their births from this day; for we are the moſt valiant of the Britons, ſeated in the remoteſt regions beyond the ken of thoſe nations who are enſlaved by the enemy, ſo that your eyes are yet unpolluted, and free from the contagion of foreign tyranny; and this ſecret receſs, unknown to fame, has hitherto preſerved us in all the bleſſings of liberty—Beyond us is no nation, nothing but waves and rocks, and on that ſide, nothing but the bondage and ſlavery which is to be expected from the Romans, a people inſatiable in their luſts, and unbounded in their ambition. Thoſe robbers of the world, and ravagers of the univerſe, now the exhauſted continent can no more furniſh their rapines, endeavour to riſle the wide ſeas and ocean. When they meet with opulent enemies, their cruelty proceeds from avarice; when with the poor it riſes from ambition. The eaſt and weſt, extenſive as they are, cannot ſatiate their voracious minds. They, and they alone, with equal greedineſs, graſp at the riches and poverty of all nations: devaſtations, murders and extirpations paſs with them under the falſe names of empire and government; and they boaſt of eſtabliſhing peace

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in thoſe provinces they have rendered deſolate. Our goods are their tribute; our corn their proviſion, and our bodies their tools for all kinds of drudgery. Other ſlaves, whom nature and fortune have deſtined to ſervitude, are nouriſhed by their maſters; but the Britons alone purchaſe their own bondage, and maintain and ſupport their oppreſſors. Was the courage of our enemies in war equal to their debaucheries in peace, we might juſtly dread their arms, but their glory is all owing to our diſſentions. Our union will diſperſe their forces that are gathered out of many nations, ſo that one miſcarriage of theirs will diſſolve their whole power. In fine, there you ſee tribute and ſlavery; here, death or liberty. Therefore let us conſider the glory of our anceſtors, and the fate of our poſterity.

This ſpeech had the deſired effect: the Caledonians were animated to a degree of enthuſiaſm, and with one voice vowed to be revenged on their enemies, or periſh in the attempt. Nor did Agricola forget to animate his troops with all the energetic power of Roman eloquence.

The Caledonian army was diſpoſed in the moſt proper manner for ſtriking the enemy with terror, by a pompous diſplay of their numbers. The firſt line of the infantry was drawn up at the foot of the Grampian mountain, and the reſt on the aſcent behind, while the cavalry, with the chariots of war in the front of their line, ſkirted the plain beneath. The Romans were drawn up in two lines, one behind the other: the firſt conſiſted of eight thouſand auxiliary foot and three thouſand horſe; and the ſecond was made up of the Roman legions.

As ſoon as the ſignal was given for engaging, both armies began the conteſt with amazing intrepidity. The battle was fierce and obſtinate, and, for ſome time, greatly in favour of the Caledonians. The Roman general, perceiving the danger, quitted his horſe, and, at the head of his legions, cloſed upon the enemy, and engaged them ſword in hand. This attack determined the iſſue of the conteſt. The javelins of the Caledonians, on which they chiefly depended, and which they darted with the greateſt dexterity, were rendered uſeleſs, and their ſwords were too unweildy to be uſed with advantage. Unable to ſtand the ſhock of the legionary forces, they gave way; and the Romans, after penetrating the firſt line, ſoon put the whole army into diſorder. The Caledonian horſe broke in upon the foot; and though the charioteers drew up among the latter, they were unable to make head againſt the enemy, the ranks being too thick, and the ground too uneven, for them to do much execution. Galgacus uſed his utmoſt efforts to rally his forces, and lead them once more againſt the enemy; but finding it impoſſible to accompliſh his wiſhes, and the day being nearly cloſed, he retired, with the ſcattered remains of his army, into the woods and mountains, whither Agricola did not think proper to follow him. This was a fatal battle to the Caledonians, no leſs than ten thouſand being ſlain on the field, while the loſs of the Romans did not exceed three hundred and fifty. The diſtreſs of the unhappy fugitives is not to be deſcribed. Driven to deſpair, many of the chieftains maſſacred their own children, that they might not be expoſed to the miſeries of want, or violated and enſlaved by the inſulting Romans. The multitude, in the firſt tranſport of their phrenzy, ſet fire to their habitations, and then concealed themſelves in ſolitary cliffs and caves, and in thoſe unſocial receſſes bewailed their accumulated misfortunes.

The ſeaſon being far advanced, the victorious Agricola marched back with his army to the ſhire of Angus, inhabited by a people called the Horeſti, who immediately ſubmitted to his government, and delivered hoſtages for their good behaviour. From hence he embarked his forces on board the fleet, and ſailing to the northward, landed on the Orkney Iſlands, the inhabitants of which quietly ſubmitted. He then ordered the commander of his fleet to ſail round the whole coaſt of Britain, which was accordingly effected, and at length arriving at the port of Sandwich, he then diſembarked his troops, and led them into winter quarters.

The great atchievements of Agricola, inſtead of procuring him reſpect and eſteem from his royal maſter, not only brought him into diſgrace, but even proved fatal to him. The infamous Domitian, who then filled the imperial throne, grew jealous of the reputation of his general, and ordered him to be recalled. This he did under pretence of promoting him to the government of Syria, but, in reality, that a final period might be put to his victories. In obedience to Domitian's orders, Agricola returned to Rome, where triumphal honours, and a ſtatue crowned with laurel, were decreed him by the ſenate. But he ſoon fell a victim to the ſuſpicious fears of the cowardly Domitian, who, (according to all hiſtorians) found means to take him off by poiſon.—Thus fell the renowned and accompliſhed Julius Agricola, the celebrated governor of Britain. He introduced the Roman arts, their language, and their luxuries into this iſland; and ſpread deſolation and ſlaughter through an extenſive country, becauſe the inhabitants refuſed to part with their liberties, and tamely ſubmit to the Roman yoke of ſlavery. He waded through a ſea of blood to crop the laurels of victory, and fell a ſacrifice to that ambition which led him on to conqueſt. As a general, a governor, and a civil magiſtrate, he deſerves the higheſt honours. His talents were great, his judgment ſound, and his memory retentive: he was fruitful in reſources, and intrepid in danger; a friend to merit, and an implacable enemy to extortion. But he ſtained his laurels with the blood of a people who never injured him, and againſt whom he had no other complaint than their being tenacious of ther liberties, and true friends to their country.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Caledonians demoliſh the forts raiſed by Agricola on the iſthmus between the friths of Clyde and Forth. Julius Severus is ſent to repel them, but before he can make the attempt is recalled to quell a rebellion in Syria. The emperor Adrian arrives in Britain, and builds a wall from Solway Frith to the river Tyne. Lollius Urbicus takes the command in Britain, and erects a ſtrong wall between the Friths of Dunbriton and Edinburgh. The Caledonians renew their incurſions, but are repulſed by Ulpius Marcellus. A mutiny takes place among the Roman ſoldiers, which is quelled by Helvius Pertinax, who is ſucceeded in the government of Britain by Claudius Albinus. The Roman empire is greatly diſtracted on account of different competitors for the imperial dignity. Septimus Severus at length obtains it, and ſends Virius Lupus as proprætor to Britain. Lupus makes a peace with the Caledonians, who afterwards revolt, and invade the Roman territories. Severus arrives in Britain with a powerful army in order to chaſtiſe them. They ſend ambaſſadors to him to ſue for peace, which he refuſes to grant. He marches into their country, but meets with many difficulties, and loſes many of his troops. He, however, penetrates into the moſt northern extremity of the iſland, and then makes a peace with the Caledonians. Strengthens Adrian's wall and erects ſeveral forts, after which he retires to York, and leaves the command of his army to his ſon Caracalla. The Caledonians revolt, upon which Severus reſolves to take a ſevere revenge, but his deſigns are fruſtrated by the intervention of his death. His two ſons Caracalla and Geta make peace with the Scots, and then repair with their father's remains to Rome, where Caracalla cauſes his brother to be aſſaſſinated. Diocleſian and Maximian become joint emperors of Rome. The Franks and Saxons infeſt the coaſts of Britain and Gaul, upon which Carauſius, a perſon of mean extraction, but famed for his naval experience, is ſent to repel them. He proves ſucceſsful, obtains great riches, and forms an alliance with the Britons. The emperor Maximian, jealous of his power, ſends a perſon from Rome to diſpatch him, but the deſign miſcarries, and Carauſius lays claim to the imperial throne. He makes himſelf maſter of Boulogne, and then ſails to Britain, where he is proclaimed emperor by the Roman army. Marches againſt the Caledonians, whom he defeats in ſeveral engagements, and then makes peace with them. Is baſely aſſaſſinated by Alectus, one of his principal officers, who had always profeſſed himſelf his moſt intimate friend.

AFTER the departure of Agricola from Britain, nothing material occurred till the firſt year of the reign of the emperor Adrian, when the Caledonians, having gathered together their forces which had been diſperſed on the mountains, attacked the Romans with ſome ſucceſs, demoliſhed ſeveral of the forts which Agricola had built on the iſthmus between the Forth and Clyde, and then returned to their mountains laden with booty.

Intelligence of this irruption being made known to the emperor, he immediately diſpatched Julius Severus, a commander of great reputation, to Britain, in order to check the Caledonians, and drive them back into their own country. He accordingly arrived, and made the neceſſary preparations for obeying the imperial mandate; but before he could lead his forces againſt the enemy, he was recalled. A rebellion had broke out in Syria, and Severus, on account of his great military abilities, was thought the only general capable of reducing the inſurgents, and reſtoring peace to that fertile province.

The departure of Severus gave great encouragement to the Caledonians, who, taking advantage of his abſence, continued to make farther inroads into the Roman territories with ſucceſs. Lucius Antoninus, the commander of the Roman forces in Britain, marched againſt the inſurgents, and a ſmart battle enſued; but the Caledonians proved victorious, and Lucius narrowly eſcaped with his life.

A. D. 117. As ſoon as the emperor was informed of this defeat, he thought it high time to ſend an able general to head the Roman army, and accordingly diſpatched Priſcus Luſcinius into Britain for that purpoſe. But not being ſatisfied with this, he ſoon after followed himſelf, thinking his own preſence might ſtrike a greater terror into the enemy.

Adrian, having landed ſafely in Britain, proceeded as far as York, determined to chaſtiſe the Caledonians for their late inſults. But ſome old officers, who had ſerved under Agricola, gave him ſo dreadful an account of Scotland, and painted the difficulties that would attend the march of an army through bogs and foreſts in ſuch ſtriking colours, that the emperor thought proper to lay aſide his intended expedition.

When the Caledonians firſt heard of the arrival of Adrian in Britain, they immediately retired to their faſtneſſes in the mountainous parts of their country, thinking it imprudent to face the Roman army headed by the emperor himſelf. As Adrian, therefore, found it would be imprudent to attempt purſuing them, he reſolved, if poſſible, to prevent them from making any further incurſions into the Roman provinces. He accordingly continued his march from York to the forts which had been erected by Agricola on the iſthmus between the Clyde and Forth. Thinking theſe fortifications too remote from the main body of the Roman forces, he ordered them to be abandoned, and inſtead thereof erected a wall, or rather rampart of earth above eighty miles in length, extending from Solway Frith to the north of the river

river Tyne. In different parts of this rampart, at proper diſtances, he placed garriſons, and took every other neceſſary precaution for preventing any future inroads of the enemy.

After thus providing for the ſecurity of the Roman provinces, and the ſafety of his people, Adrian next applied himſelf to the removal of ſeveral abuſes that had crept into the government after the departure of Agricola, having done which he left Britain, and returned to Rome, where he was highly honoured by the ſenate, who conferred on him the title of *Reſtorer of Britain*.

A. D. 134. In conſequence of the precautions taken by Adrian for the ſecurity of the Roman provinces in Britain, together with the terror which his name ſtruck on the northern inſurgents of the iſland, they deſiſted from all farther hoſtilities during his reign; but no ſooner were they informed of his death, than, without knowing the abilities of his ſucceſſor, they demoliſhed his rampart in ſeveral parts, and renewed their ravages in the Roman provinces. Intelligence of this being ſent to Rome, the new emperor Antoninus Pius immediately diſpatched Lollius Urbicus to Britain, in order to chaſtiſe the Caledonians, and put a ſtop to their farther depredations. Urbicus ſoon drove them back into their own country, and, to prevent their making any future incurſions, he erected a ſtrong wall beyond that built by Adrian, extending from the frith of Dunbriton to that of Edinburgh. He likewiſe eſtabliſhed a ſtrong camp near it, in which he kept a body of forces to defend the wall, and defeat the attempts of the Caledonians. This wiſe conduct of Urbicus procured Antoninus the title of Britannicus, though he had never even ſeen the iſland.

A. D. 162. During the remaining part of the reign of Antoninus Pius no farther commotions took place among the Caledonians, and the ſouthern inhabitants continued to enjoy the bleſſings of peace. But on the death of Antoninus, the Caledonians, thinking it a favourable opportunity, began to prepare themſelves for making farther ravages, and for that purpoſe had gathered together a very conſiderable army. Theſe proceedings being made known to Marcus Aurelius, who ſucceeded to the imperial throne, he immediately ſent over Calpurnius Agricola as prætor, in order to reſtore the tranquillity of Britain. This governor's endeavours were attended with the deſired ſucceſs; and he left the inhabitants of the iſland perfectly reconciled to the Roman government.

From this period nothing worthy of notice occurred in Britain till the death of Aurelius, when the face of affairs were greatly altered, and a general commotion took place in the northern parts of the iſland.

A. D. 180. Aurelius was ſucceeded on the imperial throne by his ſon Commodus, a youth who was famous only for his vices. His indolence and timidity rendered him contemptible, and his criminal exceſſes made him an object of deteſtation. He employed only perſons like himſelf in his government, or ſuch as purchaſed their places with their wealth. Hence the chief poſts were occupied either by thoſe who were inſtrumental to his pleaſures, or had purchaſed them at an enormous expence, and therefore fleeced thoſe who were under them to reimburſe themſelves. Hence murmurs and diſcontents aroſe among the people, and mutiny and diſorder among the ſoldiers.

The Caledonians, being informed of the ſtate of affairs at Rome, thought this a very proper opportunity for once more attacking the territories of the enemy. They accordingly made a breach in the wall which had been built by Lollius Urbicus (though generally called that of Antoninus) and falling on the Roman garriſon in one of the principal forts, cut them entirely to pieces. The troops in the contiguous ſtations were ſo alarmed at this that they immediately abandoned them, and the invaders, being ſuffered to purſue their inroads without reſiſtance, filled the whole country with terror and devaſtation.

A. D. 183. As ſoon as Commodus was informed of the ravages and ſucceſs of the Caledonians, he immediately diſpatched Ulpius Marcellus, a general of great reputation, to take the command in Britain, and chaſtiſe the inſolence of the northern invaders. On his arrival he found the Roman diſcipline ſunk into a ſtate of ſloth and licentiouſneſs: the hardy veterans were become effeminate, and much fonder of the couch of indolence, than the honours which reſult from a vigorous campaign. Ulpius ſaw the neceſſity of reſtoring the antient diſcipline before he led his forces againſt the enemy; and accordingly applying himſelf to the taſk with great aſſiduity, his endeavours were ſoon crowned with ſucceſs. This difficulty being removed, Ulpius led his forces againſt the Caledonians, whom he defeated in ſeveral engagements with prodigious ſlaughter, and at length drove them back into their own country; where, from his prudent management, they were obliged to continue quiet during the remainder of the reign of Commodus.

But the glory of this expedition had nearly coſt Marcellus his life: the emperor became at once jealous and envious of his popularity. Poſſeſſing no virtues himſelf, he could not bear them in others, as they ſeemed tacit reflections on his own vices. His envy, therefore, prompted him to form the reſolution of putting Marcellus to death, but being perſuaded that ſuch a ſtep would prove prejudicial to himſelf, he at length conſented only to deprive him of his government.

A. D. 186. Some time after the recall of Marcellus from Britain, a mutiny broke out among the Roman troops, who openly renounced their allegiance to Commodus. To quell this dangerous commotion the emperor imprudently ſent his favourite Perennis to Britain, who, inſtead of appeaſing, purſued the very method moſt likely to increaſe the general diſcontent. He removed the veteran officers, placed his own creatures in their ſtead, and treated the whole army with the moſt unexampled ſeverity. Theſe proceedings diverted the reſentment of the troops from the emperor to himſelf, and induced them unanimouſly to accuſe him of high treaſon. Commodus believed, or pretended to believe, the allegation, and, happy to find the ſtorm turned another way, delivered his favourite up to the diſcretion of the enraged ſoldiery, who immediately ſacrificed him to their revenge by putting him to an ignominous death.

A. D. 187. But the fall of this miniſter was not ſufficient to appeaſe the diſcontent of the army in Britain: the grievances they complained of ſtill remained, and they even conſulted about chuſing a new emperor. In order to quell theſe diſturbances, and bring the ſoldiers back to their duty, Helvius Pertinax was ſent into Britain. He was a man poſſeſſed of very great talents, but the buſineſs he had to do was of a very difficult nature, and he found the attempt almoſt impracticable. On his firſt arrival the Roman troops, tired of being governed by ſuch a wretch as Commodus, offered him the ſovereignty; but he rejected their offer with diſdain, and proceeding with too great ſeverity againſt the mutineers, they were ſo highly exaſperated, that one of the legions openly revolted, a tumult enſued, and many were killed. But notwithſtanding this, Pertinax afterwards ſurmounted every difficulty, brought the army to ſubmiſſion, and reſtored tranquillity to the province. His ſeverity towards the mutineers, however, raiſed ſuch an unconquerable hatred among the ſoldiery, that he was ſome time after recalled at his own requeſt, and Claudius Albinus, a general of great courage and military abilities, appointed proprætor in his ſtead.

A. D. 193. After the appointment of Claudius Albinus to the government of Britain, the Roman empire was, for ſome time, in a diſtracted ſtate from internal commotions. On the death of Commodus (who was poiſoned by his concubine Martia) different pretenders to the imperial throne ſtarted up, and every part of the empire became a dreadful ſcene of blood and ſlaughter. Violence and oppreſſion uſurped the ſeat of juſtice, and anarchy erected her throne in the then capital of the world. The affairs of Britain were diſregarded in this general confuſion, and the Roman forces in the iſland became debilitated by luxury. The hardy veterans ſlumbered on the couch of indolence, and the deſire of acquiring glory loſt its force.

A. D. 197. Among the different competitors for the imperial dignity was Septimus Severus, who was at length choſen emperor by the general voice of the people at Rome. But notwithſtanding this he was fearful of the power of Claudius Albinus, proprætor of Britain, who, by his wiſe adminiſtration, was univerſally beloved by the whole inhabitants of the iſland. In order, therefore, to remove ſo great an obſtacle, Severus ſent Heraclitus to ſucceed him in the government; but Albinus knowing himſelf to be ſecure in the affections of the army, abſolutely refuſed to reſign his command. In conſequence of this Severus determined to take him off by poiſon, and accordingly diſpatched aſſaſſins into Britain to put the horrid deed into execution. But Albinus, being apprized of the ſcheme, cauſed the aſſaſſins to be ſeized, and, by torture, drew from them an ample confeſſion of the whole affair.

Albinus was now declared emperor by the Roman army in Britain, in conſequence of which he aſſumed the title of Cæſar, and immediately declared war againſt Severus, fully reſolved, if poſſible, to puniſh him for his treachery. Having embarked his forces he paſſed over to the continent of Gaul, and advanced as far as Lyons, where he was met by Severus at the head of a Roman army, whoſe minds he had, by falſe relations, highly exaſperated againſt Albinus. The battle was begun with great fury, and continued a long time with doubtful ſucceſs; the Britiſh troops charged with ſuch impetuoſity that Severus had like to have been worſted, but his general Lætus, coming up with a freſh body of men, changed the fortune of the day, and Albinus, ſeeing his legions routed, and the battle irretrievably loſt, fell upon his own ſword, and periſhed.

By this deciſive battle Severus became ſole maſter of the Roman empire, in conſequence of which he immediately diſpatched Virius Lupus into Britain with the title of proprætor, in order to oppoſe any attempts that might be made by the Caledonians on the Roman territories, which were then in a weak condition, on account of the number of troops carried to the continent by Albinus. To ſtrengthen his power, and to make himſelf more ſecure on the imperial throne, Severus, while he remained at Gaul, divided the Roman territories in Britain into two parts or provinces, namely, the northern and the ſouthern, the former of which he conferred on Lupus, and the latter on Heraclitus.

Lupus, on his arrival in Britain, found the Caledonians a very powerful people; they had been joined by the Meatæ, who inhabited the diſtrict between the walls of Antoninus and Adrian, and had made ſeveral incurſions into the Roman provinces. Lupus, not thinking his forces ſufficiently numerous to engage this confederate army, reſolved not to hazard a battle; and in order to procure a peace with the Caledonians he made them a preſent of a ſum of money, under pretence of redeeming ſome Roman captives then in their cuſtody.

The articles of the treaty being ſigned, all commotions ſubſiſted for ſeveral years, till at length the North Britons, tired of a ſtate of inactivity, or availing themſelves of the ſupineneſs and luxury which ſuch a ſtate had brought upon the Roman army, again invaded their territories, thereby breaking the treaty they had made with Lupus. Alarmed at theſe proceedings, the two proprætors joined their forces, and marching againſt them, made ſeveral unſucceſsful efforts to drive them back to their own country; in conſequence of which they immediately wrote to the emperor, informing him of the abſolute neceſſity there was either of his perſonal preſence, or a very formidable reinforcement, to quell the inſurgents, and ſecure the tranquillity of the province.

A. D. 207. Though Severus was far advanced in life, and at the ſame time greatly afflicted with the gout, yet he reſolved to go to Britain in perſon, conſidering that iſland as one of the moſt important provinces belonging to the Roman empire. He accordingly raiſed a very powerful army, and proceeded to Gaul, from whence he embarked for Britain, taking with him his two ſons Caracalla and Geta.

The arrival of Severus, who had long been diſtinguiſhed for his military talents, and the powerful army he brought over with him, greatly alarmed the Caledonians. They were fearful of the conſequences of his reſentment, and determined, if poſſible, to divert the ſtorm which was gathering

gathering round them. They therefore ſent ambaſſadors to him to ſue for peace; but Severus, being determined to humble them by conqueſt, detained the ambaſſadors on various pretences till he had made the neceſſary preparations for his expedition, and then diſmiſſed them with an equivocal anſwer. At the ſame time, that he might not meet with any obſtruction from the ſouthern inhabitants of the iſland, he left his ſon Geta with a body of forces in thoſe parts, but took with him his eldeſt ſon Caracalla, that he might ſhare in the dangers and fatigues of the campaign.

A. D. 203. The enterprizing Severus, though aged and diſeaſed, now marched at the head of his army into the country of the enemy. His troops, indeed, were too numerous for him to fear any oppoſition from the Caledonians; but he met with difficulties he did not expect. The country abounded with mountains, woods and marſhes, ſo that his forces underwent the moſt exceſſive fatigue without even ſeeing the face of the enemy. In their march they were obliged to cut down woods, level hills, make cauſeways acroſs the plains, and lay bridges over rivers, in which laborious work they met with great danger as well as fatigue, inſomuch that they are ſaid to have loſt 15,000 men in the arduous undertaking.

But notwithſtanding theſe almoſt inſuperable barriers, the intrepid Severus determined to march through all Caledonia, or North Britain, and having advanced almoſt to the extremity of the iſland, the inhabitants, terrified at his conſummate valour and matchleſs perſeverance in toil, made their ſubmiſſion, and obtained a peace on condition of laying down their arms.

Severus, however, well knowing that the Caledonians would obſerve the conditions of the treaty no longer than they were compelled to it by force, ſet about forming a ſtronger barrier between them and the Roman province. Accordingly, he ordered Adrian's wall to be faced with ſtone, forts to be erected at proper diſtances, and the whole to be finiſhed in the moſt firm and ſubſtantial manner. Having taken theſe precautions, he retired to York, leaving the command of the army to his ſon Caracalla. On his arrival at that city he aſſumed the title of Britannicus Maximus, and had a medal ſtruck on the occaſion with this inſcription: FUNDATOR PACIS, that is, *The Founder of Peace.*

A. D. 209. Caracalla, with whom Severus had left the command of the army, was a prince of the moſt profligate diſpoſition, and had been more than once engaged in conſpiracies againſt his father's life. While his father was at York, he made the moſt arbitrary uſe of his authority, and exaſperated the ferocious North Britons to break the peace they had ſo lately concluded. He ſuffered his ſoldiers to make incurſions beyond the wall, and to treat the inhabitants with the greateſt inſolence and cruelty. Incenſed at theſe repeated acts of tyranny, and deſirous of recovering their former independence, the Caledonians had again recourſe to arms, and ſeverely retaliated on every Roman ſoldier, who ventured beyond the wall, the miſeries their countrymen had ſuffered from the cruel Caracalla.

As ſoon as Severus heard of this revolt (not knowing the cauſe from whence it originated) he was incenſed to ſuch a pitch of indignation againſt the North Britons, that, infirm and diſeaſed as he was, he immediately left York, with a full reſolution of ſeverely wreaking his vengeance on the revolters. On his arrival at the camp he harangued the ſoldiers on the inconſtancy and perfidy of the Caledonians, whom, in a verſe of Homer, he exhorted them to extirpate, without paying any diſtinction either to age or ſex.

Severus having, by this harangue, inflamed the minds of his ſoldiers againſt the Caledonians, inveſted Caracalla with the command of the expedition, and being exceeding weak with his infirmities, immediately returned to York. He did not, however, live to ſee his cruel orders carrid into execution: his diſtemper daily increaſed, and he ſoon after fell a victim to its power in the 67th year of his age, after having preſided in Britain for the ſpace of three years.

As ſoon as Caracalla heard of his father's death, inſtead of proſecuting the war againſt the Caledonians, in obedience to the orders of Severus, he immediately renewed the peace with them and their confederates; and having received hoſtages for the performance of articles, he retired, with his forces, into the ſouthern parts of the iſland.

Severus had bequeathed the empire jointly to his two ſons, and the ſoldiers paid an entire ſubmiſſion to his will, by readily taking the oath of fidelity to both. But the manners of the Britons were not ſufficiently poliſhed to render their country a pleaſing retreat to perſons long acquainted with the luxuries of Rome, and Caracalla, with his brother, jointly reſolved to leave the iſland. Accordingly, taking with them their father's aſhes, they repaired to the capital of the empire, and depoſited the remains of Severus in the tomb of Adrian.

A. D. 211. Caracalla's great ambition was to reign alone, and he had concerted many ſchemes for obtaining his wiſhes long before he left the iſland. On his arrival at Rome, he determined, at all events, to be ſole monarch of the empire, but as the ſenate knew it was conjunctively left between him and his brother, he was ſenſible he could not obtain the throne by any legal meaſures. He therefore, actuated by the moſt furious ambition, reſolved to gratify his deſires at the expence of his brother's life, and accordingly, having hired perſons for the purpoſe, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated.

From the departure of Caracalla to the reign of Diocleſian, we can trace but few, and thoſe very imperfect accounts, of the ſtate of this iſland. The few facts that are collected derive their authenticity from coins and inſcriptions that have been found in different parts of England. From theſe it appears that in the reign of Gordian III. Mæciculus Faſcus commanded in Britain, when he repaired the barracks and arſenals which had fallen to decay: that two years after this event, Cneius Lucilianus the proprætor built a bath, with an exchange or portico; and that Nonius Philippus was governor of the iſland in the year that preceded the death of the emperor Gordian.

A. D. 242. During the reign of Gallienus, who ſucceeded Gordian, we learn, that there was a general revolt of the Roman troops, and that no leſs than thirty tyrants ſprang up from the corruption of his government. Six of theſe, namely,

namely, Lollianus, Victorianus, Posthumus, the elder and younger Tetricus, with Morius, seem to have declared for themselves in this island; at least the number of their coins found in the neighbourhood of Colchester greatly encourage this conjecture; and Porphyry the philosopher, who lived in those times, calls Britain a soil fruitful in tyrants.

A. D. 284. At the time Diocleſian acceded to the imperial dignity the Roman empire was in the utmoſt ſtate of confuſion, in conſequence of which he admitted Maximian, his adopted ſon, as a partner on the throne. Diocleſian himſelf had acquired the higheſt reputation as a ſoldier, and had acquitted himſelf with great political ſagacity in the civil parts of government. Indeed, he might ſingly have ſupported the weight of government with honour to himſelf, and advantage to his country; but from the then confuſed ſtate of the empire, he manifeſted the greateſt prudence in procuring the aſſiſtance of Maximian, who, though not poſſeſſed of equal accompliſhments with himſelf, had both courage and activity, which were then of greater uſe to the public than virtues more delicately illuſtrious.

A. D. 286. The anarchy and confuſion which now prevailed is not to be deſcribed. The continent was filled with rebels, and the ſeas covered with pirates. The coaſts of Britain and Gaul were infeſted with the fleets of the Franks and Saxons, who landed in various parts, and committed the moſt horrid depredations. Theſe diſorders called for an immediate remedy; and one Carauſius, a perſon of mean extraction, but famous for his courage and experience at ſea, was appointed to the command of the Roman fleet, in order to put a ſtop to the ravages of the pirates. His ſtation was near Boulogne, a port well ſituated for making him acquainted with the coaſts, harbours and the inhabitants of Britain. He punctually executed his commiſſion with reſpect to putting a ſtop to the depredations of the Franks and Saxons, but he converted the conſequences of his ſucceſs to his own advantage. He took a great number of prizes from the invaders, but neither made reſtitution to thoſe who had been plundered, nor remitted any part of the booty to the imperial treaſury; nay, it was obſerved, that he never attacked the pirates till after they had plundered the coaſts, and then intercepted them when they were laden with the ſpoils of the country.

As riches and power generally extend the operations of an enterprizing man, ſo was it with Carauſius. He found himſelf the indiſputable ſovereign of the ſea, and determined, if poſſible, to wreſt the imperial ſcepter from the hands of the conjunctive emperors. He therefore redoubled his attention to increaſe his navy, enlarged his riches from the ſpoils of the pirates, and, the better to further his deſign, formed a ſtrict alliance with the Britons.

The emperors Diocleſian and Maximian, alarmed at the power, and exaſperated at the conduct of Carauſius, diſpatched a perſon from Rome with a commiſſion to aſſaſſinate him. But the attempt miſcarried, the aſſaſſin was diſcovered, and Carauſius, in conſequence thereof, determined to publiſh his claim to the imperial ſceptre. This reſolution was highly approved of by the officers of his fleet, who unanimouſly declared that they would ſupport him to the laſt extremity.

Encouraged by theſe aſſurances, Carauſius made his firſt attempt on Boulogne, which he took by aſſault, and fortified the place as an occaſional retreat. But his chief hope and confidence were placed in Britain. The ſituation, as an iſland, rendered it impregnable to all but a maritime force, and his navy was ſuperior to any fleet the Romans could bring againſt him. Accordingly, he had no ſooner finiſhed the fortifications of Boulogne than he immediately ſailed with his whole fleet to the Britiſh coaſt, where he had no ſooner landed than he was proclaimed emperor, not only by the whole navy, but likewiſe the Britons, and all the Roman troops then quartered in the iſland.

In conſequence of this favourable reception Carauſius became poſſeſſed of the whole Roman province as far as the wall of Antoninus, which he immediately ordered to be repaired and enlarged. His next conſideration was to ſtrengthen his navy, to effect which he entered into a treaty of alliance with the Franks and Saxons, whereby it was agreed, that in caſe he ſhould be attacked by the Romans, they ſhould immediately ſend a powerful fleet to his aſſiſtance. He likewiſe enliſted a great number of their troops, whom he ſent to garriſon Boulogne, which he furniſhed with every kind of article neceſſary to endure a ſiege.

A. D. 287. While Carauſius was thus employed, the Scots and Picts, imagining that the Britons were unable to defend their country without the aſſiſtance of the Romans, began to make incurſions into the Engliſh territories. Intimation of this being given to Carauſius, he immediately marched againſt the invaders, defeated them in ſeveral engagements, and drove them back into their country with conſiderable loſs. Having thus ſignalized his courage, and convinced the Caledonians that he was at once a powerful and vigilant enemy, he made peace with them on very advantageous terms, hoping thereby to unite the whole power of the iſland, and render abortive any attempt that might be made againſt him by the imperial armies of Rome.

The prudent meaſures taken by Carauſius rendered him exceeding formidable, and he became at once the object of hatred and reſentment in the eyes of the two emperors. They would, indeed, have willingly eclipſed his power, but the affairs of the empire were ſo very tottering and precarious, that neither Diocleſian or Maximian were able to deſtroy the acquiſitions he had made or prevent him from taking ſuch ſteps as might contribute to the ſtrength he had already acquired. Some faint preparations of reſiſtance were, indeed, made by Maximian, and Carauſius was proclaimed a pirate and a traitor to his country; but neceſſity ſoon compelled them to lay aſide all hoſtile intentions, and to ſign a treaty of peace, by which the two emperors conſented that Carauſius ſhould enjoy one third of the imperial dignity.

This conceſſion not only rendered Carauſius nominal emperor at Rome, but real monarch in Britain; and it muſt be acknowledged, if he acquired his power by indirect means, he employ-

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it to laudable purpoſes. The Britons were no longer ſubject to the Roman power; they paid obedience only to their own ſovereign, and the laws of their country. Juſtice and equity were diſperſed with an even hand; the commerce of the kingdom was encouraged; and the Britiſh ſeas were cleared of pirates.

A. D. 289. The two emperors Diocleſian and Maximian, deſpairing of ever being able to reduce Carauſius, reſigned the government into the hands of their two ſons-in-law Maximinian Galerus and Conſtantius Chloris. Theſe two princes, being of a courageous and enterprizing diſpoſition, reſolved not only to diveſt Carauſius of being a ſharer in the imperial dignity, but likewiſe to eclipſe his power as governor of Britain. They accordingly applied themſelves to raiſing forces by ſea and land, the former of which was conſigned to Conſtantius, and the latter to Maximinian.

While Conſtantius was employed in fitting out his fleet, which he collected from the magazines on the Rhine, Maximinian, having raiſed a conſiderable army, marched to Boulogne, where Carauſius was then in perſon. On his arrival he immediately laid ſiege to the place; but as the ſea was open before it, Carauſius defended himſelf with very little difficulty, and thereby convinced his enemies that while he had this advantage, their beſieging the place would be to no purpoſe. To remove this obſtacle, Conſtantius, having arrived with his fleet determined to block up the port, which he effected by raiſing a bank of ſtone; ſo that Carauſius had no other reſource to prevent falling a ſacrifice, than by forcibly cutting his way through the Roman camp. This, by taking the advantage of a dark night, he effected at the head of a few ſoldiers, and embarking on board a ſmall veſſel, landed ſafely in Britain, where he had both a numerous fleet, and a powerful army.

In the mean time Maximinian made himſelf maſter of Boulogne, while his confederate Conſtantius, not having a ſufficient fleet to purſue Carauſius, collected ſhips from every part of his dominions, and ſtationed ſtrong ſquadrons on the coaſts of Britain, Spain and Gaul, to prevent the allies from joining the fleet of the intrepid Carauſius. Having taken this precaution he ſailed with the reſt of his fleet to meet the Franks, whom he ſo totally defeated, and purſued his victory ſo cloſely, that ſcarce a ſingle veſſel eſcaped. He then proceeded againſt the Cauci and Friſians, two other nations in alliance with Carauſius, whom he likewiſe ſubdued, and tranſplanted into remote countries.

A. D. 293. Carauſius was no ſtranger to the proceedings of Conſtantius. He knew his deſign, and took the moſt prudent meaſures he could to render it abortive. He collected his fleet, and ſtationed troops in every part of the iſland where the Romans could hope to land their forces: and, as a farther ſecurity he kept ſmall veſſels continually cruizing on the coaſt of Gaul, in order to give him the moſt early intelligence of the appearance of the enemy. But while he was thus preparing for the ſafety of his kingdom, he was baſely aſſaſſinated by Alectus, one of his principal officers, and one who had always profeſſed himſelf his moſt attached friend. Thus fell the courageous and enterprizing Carauſius, who, from the few particulars that are recorded of his life, appears to have been as ſucceſsful as he was ambitious, as bold as he was powerful, and as fit to command, as he was ready to execute. To him we owe the firſt dawnings of our naval power; from his conduct we were firſt apprized of our natural ſtrength as an iſland, and from his example we have learned to ſet all the powers of the continent at defiance.

CHAP. VII.

Alectus aſſumes the government of Britain. Engages the Romans, but is defeated and ſlain. Conſtantius gains the affections of the Britons, who conſider him as the deliverer of their country. He dies at York, and is ſucceeded by his ſon Conſtantine, ſurnamed the Great, who divides the iſland into four governments. He dies, and leaves the empire to his three ſons. Conſtans his ſecond ſon comes over to Britain, in order to repel the incurſions of the Scots and Picts. He is deteſted by his ſubjects, and at length put to death by Magnentius, who uſurps the imperial dignity. He goes over to the continent, and engages Conſtantius, but is defeated, and puts an end to his own life. The Britons are greatly oppreſſed by one Paulus, a notary, who is burnt alive by order of Julian the ſucceſſor of Conſtantius. The Scots and Picts renew their incurſions, and commit the moſt horrid ravages, in conſequence of which the emperor Valentinian ſends Theodoſius into Britain, who ſoon routs them, and reſtores peace to the iſland. On the death of Valentinian his ſon Gratian accedes to the imperial dignity, but being ſenſible of his own defects, takes Magnus Theodoſius as an aſſociate in the government. Maximus, the proprætor of Britain, attempts to obtain the imperial throne, and marches againſt Gratian, whoſe troops deſerting him, he flies to Lyons, and is there aſſaſſinated. Maximus then engages Theodoſius, but is defeated, taken priſoner, and put to death. Theodoſius ſends Chryſanthus into Britain, to put a ſtop to the ravages of the Caledonians, which he effects, and reſtores peace to the iſland. Great commotions take place in the Roman empire, in conſequence of which the Britons are deſerted, and again diſtreſſed by the inroads of the Caledonians. They apply to the emperor for aſſiſtance, which is granted, but at length the legions are recalled, and the Romans totally abandon the iſland.

THE treacherous Alectus, after having baſely aſſaſſinated Carauſius, took the government of Britain into his own hands; but he did not long enjoy the fruits of his villainy. Being at once ambitious and cruel, he was deteſted by the Britons, who paid him obedience only from fear,

fear, and were ready to join the Romans whenever they ſhould appear to diſpute his uſurped authority. Alectus was not inſenſible of the danger, but he wanted capacity to avoid it. He increaſed his navy, indeed, but not for the defence of his country. He employed his maritime forces rather as a pirate than a prince, and inſtead of protecting, deſtroyed the trade of his ſubjects, by cutting off all intercourſe between Britain and the continent.

As ſoon as Conſtantius heard of the proceedings of the uſurper Alectus, and the injuries ſuſtained by his ſubjects in conſequence thereof, he redoubled his efforts to collect a fleet ſufficiently powerful to engage him. This he effected in a very ſhort time, and embarking his forces at Gaul, ſet ſail from the coaſt of Britain.

Alectus, having received intelligence that the Roman fleet had left the harbour of Gaul, immediately ſtood off to ſea in order to intercept them; but Conſtantius eluded all his vigilance by means of a thick fog, which concealed both fleets from the ſight of each other; and the Romans ſafely reached the coaſt of Suſſex, where they landed without oppoſition.

As Conſtantius knew it would be impoſſible to defend his fleet from the attacks of the enemy, after his forces were landed, he prudently ſet his ſhips on fire. This was conſidered by the Britons as a moſt magnanimous act: they were ſatisfied in their minds that Conſtantius was determined to conquer or periſh, and therefore flocked from all quarters to his ſtandard, imploring his protection againſt the tyrant of their country.

The naval power of Alectus was far ſuperior to that of Conſtantius, but he wanted prudence to make a proper uſe of that advantage. He abandoned the only acquiſitions that rendered him formidable, and madly determined to meet the Roman army on the land. He accordingly diſembarked his forces, which were principally compoſed of Franks and foreigners, who were ſtrangers to military diſcipline, and held in the greateſt deteſtation by the Britons. Theſe he led againſt the Roman veterans, and raſhly engaged that part of the army under the command of Aſclepiodotus, captain of the guards of Conſtantius. From the great ſuperiority of a well-diſciplined force to a band of lawleſs robbers, the conteſt was of ſhort duration; the troops of Alectus were ſoon routed, and the tyrant, giving up all as loſt, ruſhed into the thickeſt part of the Roman army, and was cut to pieces, while a terrible ſlaughter was made among his foreign mercenaries.

A party of the Franks who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, marched directly to London, plundered the city, and fell down the river in veſſels loaded with the ſpoils they had taken. They were, however, met in their paſſage by a diviſion of the Roman fleet which had been ſeparated from the reſt by the late fog, and an engagement immediately took place, when the Franks being totally defeated, the booty they had taken was recovered, and the greater part of them put to the ſword.

In the mean time Conſtantius was received with open arms by the Britons, who being delivered from the tyranny of Alectus, flattered themſelves with enjoying peace and tranquillity. Nor were they, indeed, miſtaken. Conſtantius ſoon gave them ſufficient proofs of his great clemency, juſtice and diſcretion, and how deſirous he was to render them an happy people. He publiſhed a general pardon to all who had been concerned in the late revolt, and ordered reſtitution to be made to thoſe who had ſuffered on the occaſion. He diſpenſed juſtice with impartiality, and permitted the free exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion, which had, ſome time before, been planted in the iſland. He cleared the ſeas of pirates, reſtored commerce, ſubdued ſome northern nations, who had declared themſelves independent during the late troubles, and recovered the whole province of Britain, after it had been ten years diſmembered from the empire. Theſe judicious proceedings rendered Conſtantius dear to the Britons: they conſidered him as the deliverer of their country, and forgot that they were again ſubjected to the power of the Romans.

At this time the city of London was decorated with many elegant ſtructures, and was become conſiderable for its extent, its beauty, and its riches: it was the center of commerce, and the reſidence of many wealthy merchants. Conſtantius was pleaſed with theſe improvements, and thinking the iſland worthy his particular notice, he took up his reſidence in the metropolis, where he directed his attention towards cultivating the riſing merit of a people who conſidered him as their father.*

A. D. 306. The wiſe and equitable adminiſtration of Conſtantius was productive of peace and tranquillity to his ſubjects; and accordingly Britain enjoyed uninterrupted repoſe till his death, which happened at York in the 17th year of his reign. His ſon Conſtantine (afterwards ſurnamed the Great) no ſooner heard of his indiſpoſition, than he left Rome, and arrived at York juſt time enough to perform the laſt offices of his father, who appointed him his ſucceſſor on the imperial throne; a nomination ſo agreeable to the army, that they immediately declared him emperor.

The firſt ſtep taken by Conſtantine, after his acceſſion to the imperial dignity, was, to march againſt the Scots and Picts, who (as their uſual cuſtom was when they thought the imperial dignity uſurped or unſettled by vacancies, factions or foreign diſputes) had made ſeveral inroads into

* It is generally ſuppoſed that what principally induced Conſtantius to fix his reſidence in Britain was, the great attachment he had for the celebrated Helena, the mother of Conſtantine the Great, who ſucceeded him in the empire. According to ſome authors, this lady was a native of Colcheſter, while others affirm ſhe was the daughter of Collus, king of the Cumbrian Britons, who inhabited the countries between the two walls built by Severus and Antoninus. But whatever may have been her family or country, ſhe was certainly a Briton, and a woman poſſeſſed of the moſt diſtinguiſhed accompliſhments. She had long captivated the heart of Conſtantius, with whom ſhe was united in marriage, though he had, for reaſons of ſtate, been obliged to repudiate her, on his taking to wife the daughter of Maximian, to whom he owed his elevation. But notwithſtanding this Helena ſtill engroſſed his affection, and there is no doubt but it was ſolely on her account, that he took up his reſidence in Britain. She was a woman of ſo amiable a diſpoſition as to be univerſally beloved and admired. The many noble works ſhe carried on at her own expence ſufficiently diſplayed her public ſpirit; and her liberality, which at once attracted the love and veneration of the Britons, was unexampled.

into the Roman provinces. Theſe he ſoon ſubdued, and drove into their own country, leaving proper garriſons in the forts of the walls of Severus and Antoninus, to prevent any further attempts they might be inclined to make of a like nature.

A. D. 311. Having ſettled the commotions in the north, Conſtantine returned to the metropolis, and immediately raiſed a very conſiderable army of Britons. Theſe he joined with his Roman forces, and embarking the whole, proceeded to Gaul, where he conquered the Franks, who had rendered themſelves ſo powerful as to communicate their name to that country. From Gaul he marched with his army into Italy, in order to oppoſe Maxentius, who had aſſumed the imperial dignity, and was actually in poſſeſſion of Rome. Conſtantine's army was compoſed of 90,000 foot and 8000 horſe, all excellent troops, and himſelf the beſt general of his time. The greater part of his army was formed of Britons, moſt of whom had been ſome time converts to the Chriſtian religion, which Conſtantine himſelf privately profeſſed, though, for political reaſons, he did not think proper, as yet, to make publickly known.

Confident of ſucceſs, the uſurper Maxentius marched with his forces againſt Conſtantine, and a deſperate battle enſued. It was preſerved, for ſome time, with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of Conſtantine: the troops of Maxentius were routed, great numbers killed, among whom was their leader, and the reſt put to flight.

Conſtantine now being in poſſeſſion of the empire without a rival, publickly embraced the Chriſtian religion, which, in all probability, he was prompted to do from the diſtinguiſhed ardour of his Britiſh troops, the greater part of whom he knew to be of that perſuaſion. He then directed his attention towards preſerving peace throughout his dominions, which, from the meaſures he took ariſing from his natural humane and benevolent diſpoſition, was eaſily effected, and he obtained the univerſal good-will and affection of his ſubjects. Inſtead of ſullying, by examples of ſeverity, the glory of the victory obtained over Maxentius, he, with a magnanimity peculiar to himſelf, pardoned all who had fought againſt him, and reſtored the forfeited eſtates of his moſt rancorous enemies. He recalled thoſe who had been exiled by Maxentius, re-eſtabliſhed the ſenate in its antient ſplendour and authority, and made ſuch wiſe and effectual regulations to ſecure the peace and tranquillity of Rome, that, on the inſcriptions dedicated to his honour, he was ſtiled the Deliverer of the city, the founder of peace, the reſtorer of the republic, and univerſally ſaluted by the name of Conſtantine the Great.

A. D. 315. Having adjuſted all matters on the continent to the univerſal ſatisfaction of his ſubjects, Conſtantine returned to Britain, where he made ſeveral alterations in the government that were productive of general utility. As he had publickly profeſſed the Chriſtian faith, he now adorned his profeſſion of an inflexible adherence to Chriſtian principles, evincing throughout his whole conduct a degree of piety unmixed with enthuſiaſm, juſtice free from auſterity, and charity uninfluenced by oſtentation.

Under ſuch a prince, the bleſſings of liberty, plenty, union and tranquillity were diffuſed among his ſubjects. Neither diſturbances nor inſurrections took place during the whole courſe of his reign. This, no doubt, was owing to the prudent alterations he made in the government of the iſland, which he divided into four diſtricts, viz. Britannia Prima, including the country between the Thames and the ſea. Britannia Secunda, comprehending that part which lay weſt of the Severn to the Iriſh ſea; Flavia Cæſarienſis, conſiſting of Cornwall, Somerſetſhire, and part of Wilts and Glouceſter; and Maxima Cæſarienſis, which included the northern counties of England, with Nottinghamſhire, Derbyſhire, Staffordſhire, and Lincolnſhire. In conſequence of this diviſion, the military government of the iſland was inveſted in four perſons, named Prefects, who were appointed by the emperor, and whoſe buſineſs was to preſerve peace in the reſpective diſtricts to which they were allotted.

A. D. 337. After a long and proſperous reign of thirty-one years, the emperor Conſtantine paid the debt of nature on the 22d of May, 337. As he had lived univerſally beloved and reſpected, ſo he died univerſally lamented by his ſubjects, who had ſoon juſt reaſon to deplore the loſs of ſo diſtinguiſhed and amiable a ſovereign.

Conſtantine was, indeed, from his natural diſpoſition, formed for empire. His genius was piercing, his memory retentive, his learning uncommon, and his liberality unbounded. Being affable, polite, equitable and humane, he won the hearts of all his ſubjects, who revered him as a father, and loved him as a friend. No perſon ever retired diſſatisfied from his preſence; nor did any ever implore his aſſiſtance in vain. Inflexibly impartial in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and deeply affected with every ſpecies of diſtreſs in others, he often repaid from his own coffers the loſs which the needy had juſtly ſuſtained by his ſentence. His ſoul was a ſtranger to cruelty. The laurels of conqueſt were never ſtained with the blood of the vanquiſhed; but, on the contrary, he ſhewed the greateſt lenity and indulgence to his moſt inveterate enemies. To be unfortunate was a ſufficient recommendation to his protection, and the ſufferer was always ſure of finding relief. He openly declared himſelf a Chriſtian, and by that means gave a powerful blow to Pagan ſuperſtition. In ſhort, his life was the beſt comment on the tenets he profeſſed; and all his actions were directed by the pure and refined morality of the Goſpel.

Such is the character of Conſtantine the Great, who, on his death, left the empire to his three ſons. France, Spain and Britain he aſſigned to Conſtantine the eldeſt; but he did not live long to enjoy it. About three years after his acceſſion he was ſlain in a battle at Aquileia, in attempting to invade the territories of his brother Conſtans, in conſequence of which the victor became poſſeſſed of his brother's inheritance.

A. D. 343. Conſtans, ſome time after acquiring the poſſeſſions of his elder brother Conſtantine, came over into Britain, in order to repel the Scots and Picts, who, on the death of the late emperor, had made incurſions into the Roman territories. This buſineſs he ſoon effected, but the reputation he acquired from ſo doing was ſoon forfeited by his inattention to the welfare of his ſubjects. He was deſtitute of all the great qualities which rendered his father amiable. He employed

employed his time principally in hunting and rural diverſions, leaving the cares of government to perſons unworthy of the truſt, and who abuſed his confidence. By theſe means he incurred the contempt and deteſtation of his ſubjects, who, no longer able to bear with the oppreſſion under which they had laboured, entered into open rebellion againſt him. In this they were encouraged by one Magnentius, a Gaul of Britiſh extraction, who being of an ambitious and enterprizing diſpoſition, ſoon found means to take away the life of Conſtans, and then publickly laid claim to the imperial dignity.

A. D. 350 Conſtantius was now the only ſurviving ſon of the Great Conſtantine, and conſequently, by right, ſole monarch of the Roman empire. But the vices of his brother had alienated the affections of the Britons, who unanimouſly declared for Magnentius; and had that uſurper been contented with the government of the iſland, he might, in all probability, have ſupported his power againſt any attempts of his enemies. But he graſped at empire itſelf. He was ambitious of poſſeſſing the imperial throne, and raſhly paſſed over to the continent at the head of an army. He fought two battles with Conſtantius, and was unfortunate in both. At length, being driven to deſpair, and having only the wretched alternative of falling into the hands of the conqueror, or periſhing by his own hand, he choſe the latter, and put a period to his exiſtence at Lyons in France.

A. D. 354. On the death of Magnentius, the whole province of Britain acknowledged the authority of Conſtantius; but he made a very baſe and impolitic uſe of his good fortune. He was implacable in his hatred againſt the Britons for their defection in favour of Magnentius, and determined to puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity. He accordingly erected a court of confiſcation, and ſent over one Paulus, a Spaniſh notary, to act the part of inquiſitor-general. His buſineſs was to diſcover and proſecute the abettors of Magnentius, in order to confiſcate their eſtates to the imperial exchequer. Nurſed in the lap of extortion, and proof againſt every tender feeling, he executed his commiſſion in a manner peculiar to himſelf. Not contented with depriving them of their property, he committed the moſt violent outrages upon their perſons, condemning them to mines, fetters, impriſonment, tortures, ſlavery and death. The barbarity of this inhuman monſter rendered him an object of horror to the Britons: Martin, the vicar, or deputy of the province, ſaw his proceedings with grief, and the ſufferings of an injured people excited his compaſſion to intercede in their behalf. He therefore not only expoſtulated with him upon his flagrant injuſtice and cruelty, but even threatened to leave the iſland, and make a report of his conduct to the imperial court. Exaſperated at the threats of Martin, and terrified at the conſequences of having his conduct publickly examined, he ſuborned witneſſes to accuſe Martin of crimes againſt the ſtate. The deputy ſaw his danger, and determined not to ſuffer the intended diſgrace. When, therefore, called before the court, he looked ſternly at Paulus, drew his ſword, and made a thruſt at the tyrant's heart; but miſſing his blow, he turned the point of the weapon againſt himſelf, and ſheathed it in his own bowels. The baſe and cruel Paulus availing himſelf of this circumſtance, immediately haſtened to the governor's houſe, beſprinkled with the blood of Martin, as a feigned teſtimony of his having plotted againſt his life; and on this ſpecious pretence he exerciſed the moſt horrid cruelties on the friends and relations of that gallant and benevolent Roman. But at length this infamous wretch was juſtly puniſhed according to his crimes, being burnt alive in the reign of Julian, the adopted ſucceſſor of Conſtantius.

A. D. 362. During the remainder of the reign of Conſtantius, as alſo that of his ſucceſſor Julian, nothing material happened in Britain. Some few incurſions, indeed, were made by the Caledonians, but they were always repelled before they could make any conſiderable progreſs; and their attempts were not ſufficient to diſturb the general tranquillity of the iſland.

A. D. 363. On the acceſſion of Valentinian to the imperial dignity, the affairs of Britain were in a very critical ſituation. The Franks and Saxons committed the moſt dreadful ravages along the coaſts, while the Scots and Picts, having broke through the walls of partition, laid the inland parts of the country waſte. Fullofaudes, the then general of the Roman army in Britain, marched againſt the invaders, but unhappily falling into an ambuſcade, he was ſlain, and the greater part of his troops cut to pieces.

As ſoon as Valentinian was informed of this diſaſter, he immediately diſpatched Severus, one of his principal officers of ſtate, to ſuppreſs the invaders; but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he was recalled, and Jovinus appointed in his ſtead. This commander, on his arrival in Britain, found, from the great ſtrength of the inſurgents, and their diſperſion through the different parts of the iſland, that it was out of his power to repel them. He therefore diſpatched an officer to the continent, informing the emperor of the true ſtate of the iſland, and that if a large reinforcement of troops was not immediately ſent, the Roman power in Britain would be entirely loſt.

A. D. 364. In conſequence of this information, Valentinian immediately diſpatched Theodoſius, an officer of great abilities, and father to the firſt emperor of that name, at the head of a choice body of troops, to chaſtiſe the ferocious barbarians, and, if poſſible, reſtore tranquillity to the iſland.

Soon after the arrival of Theodoſius in Britain, the face of affairs was entirely changed. He marched with his veteran troops againſt the invaders, defeated them in different parts of the country, recovered the ſpoils they had taken, and generouſly returned them to the diſtreſſed owners, diſtributing only a portion among his troops as a reward for their courage and fidelity.

From theſe acts of juſtice Theodoſius obtained the general reſpect of the Britons, who followed his ſtandard with alacrity, and nobly aſſiſted him in repelling the barbarians. He purſued his advantages with ſucceſs, and, by degrees, drove the Caledonians into their own country.

A. D. 366. But Theodoſius well knew that he had yet effected only a temporary relief; the Caledonians were repelled, but not rendered incapable

capable of making any future attempts. He therefore formed the country, between the walls of Adrian and Antoninus, into a ſeparate province, and gave it the name of Valentia, in honour of the then reigning emperor. He repaired both the walls, added new works, and placed ſtrong garriſons at proper diſtances, that a ſufficient force might always be in readineſs to render abortive any attempt that might be made in future by the reſtleſs Caledonians. Having thus far perfected his commiſſion, he left the north, and made a triumphal entry into London, where he was honoured with the appellations of Deliverer and Protector of the people.

The northern invaders being quieted, Theodoſius next reſolved to take proper meaſures for extirminating the Franks and Saxons, who continued to commit the moſt horrid ravages on different parts of the coaſt. He accordingly fitted out a very ſtrong fleet, and having embarked his forces ſailed in queſt of them. In this enterprize he likewiſe proved ſucceſsful: he took a great number of their veſſels, and deſtroyed others, ſo that in a ſhort time theſe piratical invaders were totally routed, and the inhabitants of the ſea coaſt were again reſtored to their uſual tranquillity.

A. D. 370. Having thus provided for the general welfare of Britain, and ſettled every thing in ſuch a manner as to give entire ſatisfaction to the inhabitants, Theodoſius returned to Rome, where he was received by the emperor with the moſt public demonſtrations of friendſhip and affection; and the ſenate decreed him a ſtatue, which they ordered to be placed among thoſe of their moſt celebrated heroes.

Soon after the departure of Theodoſius, one Maximus, an officer of great merit, and of noble deſcent, and who had ſerved under Theodoſius, was advanced to the chief command in Britain. He was a man naturally well diſpoſed, and, by forming his conduct after the manner of his illuſtrious predeceſſor, acquired the eſteem not only of his own countrymen, but alſo of the Britons, ſo that for ſome time a profound peace reigned throughout the iſland.

A. D. 375. On the death of Valentinian the face of affairs was greatly changed in Britain, diſcord and rapine ſupplying the place of peace and tranquillity. Gratian, who ſucceeded his father Valentinian on the imperial throne, was a youth in every reſpect incapable of holding the reins of government, being wholly addicted to pleaſures, and directed by favourites choſen from the loweſt claſs of the people. He was, however, thoroughly ſenſible of his defects, and therefore made choice of Flavius Magnus Theodoſius, ſon of the great general of that name, to be his aſſociate in the government.

As ſoon as Maximus, the governor of Britain, heard of the promotion of Theodoſius to the imperial dignity, he was greatly incenſed againſt Gratian, and vowed to ſeek immediate revenge. Himſelf and Theodoſius had both ſerved under the celebrated conqueror of the Caledonians; but Maximus being the older officer was ſuperior in command. His ambition, therefore, would not ſuffer him to ſerve under a perſon whom he conſidered as greatly inferior to him. He complained loudly of the injuſtice that had been done him, and found means to prevail on the ſoldiers (who were averſe to Gratian's government) to take part with him in his deſign of endeavouring to obtain the imperial dignity. The Britons, who were greatly prejudiced in his favour, followed the example of the Roman forces, and declared themſelves his friends, in conſequence of which he was proclaimed emperor by the general voice of the people.

A. D. 382. Elated with this dawning of ſucceſs, Maximus collected all his forces, conſiſting of Romans, and the flower of the Britiſh youth, and paſſed over into Gaul, where the legions quartered in that country, and the neighbouring parts of Germany, joined his ſtandard. He took up his reſidence at Tiers, and was acknowledged emperor by moſt of the provinces on this ſide the Alps.

A. D. 383. The emperor Gratian, having collected together a very powerful army, marched at the head of them againſt Maximus, with a full reſolution of effectually deſtroying his claim to the imperial throne. The two armies accordingly met, and were both drawn up in order of battle; but before the ſignal was given for commencing the action, the greater part of Gratian's forces revolted, and went over to Maximus. This was a fatal ſtroke to Gratian, who, knowing it impoſſible to collect a ſecond army, fled to Lyons, where he was aſſaſſinated by Andragathius, a perſon of great power, and who had ever been his moſt inveterate enemy.

The overthrow of Gratian confirmed the power of Maximus, who, in all probability, might have enjoyed his good fortune and acquiſitions, had not his ambition rendered him preſumptuous, and prompted him to aſpire at the conqueſt of the brave Theodoſius, who inherited the virtues and valour of his father. Intoxicated with ſucceſs, he grew inſolent beyond degree, inſomuch that from inſult he proceeded to menaces. But Theodoſius was not to be intimidated: he advanced againſt him at the head of an army of veterans uſed to conqueſt under his ſtandard, routed him in two ſucceſſive engagements, took him priſoner at Aquileia, put him to death, and thereby defeated all his arrogant projects.

A. D. 385. During theſe ſtruggles for empire on the continent, the Britons, being robbed of their forces, and deprived of the fleets which uſed to guard their coaſts, were expoſed to invaſions of foreign nations. A conſiderable body of the Iriſh landed near Dunbritton, and committed the moſt horrid ravages; while the Scots and Picts broke through the partition walls, and made depredations in various parts of the adjacent country.

As ſoon as Theodoſius was informed of the deplorable ſtate of the Britons, he immediately ſent over Ghryſanthus (a valiant and experienced general) at the head of a powerful army, to repel the inſurgents. The intrepidity and judicious conduct of this commander ſoon wrought the wiſhed-for effect, and the face of affairs in Britain was totally changed. The northern invaders were driven back to their own country, the fleets of pirates, which had, for ſome time, infeſted the coaſts, were defeated, and the haraſſed Britons once more enjoyed the bleſſings of peace.

A. D. 393. During the reign of Theodoſius the Britons were ſecured from any invaſions by fo-

reign enemies, and poſſeſſed an uninterrupted ſtate of tranquillity; but, on the death of that prince, they were again expoſed to the depredations of the reſtleſs and turbulent Caledonians. Theodoſius left the empire to his two ſons Arcadius and Honorius, the eaſtern part being allotted to the former, and the weſtern to the latter. But as Honorius was only twelve years of age, the government, during his minority, was inveſted in the hands of one Stilicho, a man who had particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his great abilities ae well in the cabinet as the field.

A. D. 396. About this period one Neil-Naogaillac, the chief of the Iriſh monarchs, landed in England, and ravaged the counties of Eſſex, Kent, and other places on the ſea coaſt oppoſite to Gaul; while the Caledonians were carrying on their depredations in the northern parts of the iſland.

In this diſtreſſed ſituation the Britons applied to the imperial court for aſſiſtance; in conſequence of which Stilicho immediately ſent over Victorius at the head of a legion, who effectually repulſed the invaders, and ſoon after obliged them to quit the country.

A. D. 403. During the reſidence of Victorius in Britain the inhabitants enjoyed a profound tranquillity, but he being recalled with his legion to make head againſt Alaric the Goth, who threatened to attack even the capital of the Roman empire, the iſland was left without defence, and again expoſed to the ravages of foreign nations.

The Caledonians took particular advantage of this event, and marching towards the ſouthern provinces committed the moſt horrid depredations. In conſequence of this the Britons applied, in the moſt humble manner, for aſſiſtance; but they received no other favour from the emperor than a letter, in which he told them it was impoſſible for him to ſend them any troops, and therefore exhorted them to take up arms in their own defence, and repel, with their own force, the lawleſs invaders of their country.

A. D. 408. Driven to deſpair by the formidable power of the Caledonians, and the refuſal of aſſiſtance from the continent, the Britons for ſome time knew not in what manner to act, but at length they reſolved to diſclaim all connection with Rome, and to form themſelves into an independent ſtate. They accordingly ſeveral times elected a king, and as often hurled him from the throne. The names of theſe monarchs are inſignificant, their actions as ſovereigns immaterial and uncertain: they were elected, for ſome time adored, and then deſtroyed. Affairs were now become deſperate, and the Romans who reſided in Britain, being perſuaded that all reſiſtance againſt the Caledonians would be in vain, buried their treaſures and fled for ſafety to the continent.

A. D. 423. In this diſtracted ſtate did the Britons remain during the reign of Honorius, but on the acceſſion of Valentinian III. to the imperial dignity, the face of affairs was changed. The Caledonians had committed the moſt horrid ravages, and ſpread deſolation through the whole country, in conſequence of which the Britons once more applied to Rome for aſſiſtance. They repreſented their country as on the brink of deſtruction, and implored the emperor not to ſuffer the barbarity of foreigners to extinguiſh the glory of a province ſo long eminent under the Roman government. Valentinian, commiſerating their diſtreſs, immediately diſpatched a legion to their relief; and ſo ſucceſsful were they, that they defeated the Caledonians in ſeveral engagements, and in a ſhort time compelled them to retire to their own country. Having done this, they repaired the partition walls, and put the northern frontiers once more into a poſture of defence. Tranquillity was again reſtored, and peace prevailed throughout the iſland.

A. D. 445. While the Roman troops continued in Britain, the Caledonians remained quiet in their own country; but no ſooner were they withdrawn than thoſe reſtleſs invaders renewed their ravages: the frontier provinces were again filled with blood and ſlaughter; the fields were laid waſte, and every ſpecies of cruelty, that a ferocious enemy could invent, was practiſed on the wretched inhabitants.

Driven to deſpair, and unable to repair the attacks of the Caledonians, the Britons again applied, in the moſt humble manner, to the emperor for protection. Valentinian readily complied with their requeſt, and immediately diſpatched a legion under the command of Gallio, an able and experienced general. Succeſs again attended the Roman ſtandards; the Caledonians were driven back to their own country, and peace was once more reſtored to the iſland.

A. D. 447. But the tranquillity of the Britons, which had been obtained by Gallio, was of ſhort duration. The diſtracted ſtate of affairs on the continent prevented the emperor from being able to ſpare any of his forces, and Gallio, with his legion, was recalled from Britain. The Roman commander was anxious for the welfare of the Britons, and therefore, previous to his departure, gave them ſuch inſtructions as he thought moſt expedient for ſecuring them againſt future depredations from their northern neighbours. He adviſed them to repair and ſtrengthen the wall of Severus, and to build forts along the coaſts againſt the ſudden attacks of pirates. He told them, in very plain terms, that the affairs of the empire would not permit the Romans to give them any farther aſſiſtance, and therefore exhorted them to practiſe the art of war, to become expert and regular in military diſcipline, and to unite themſelves firmly in one body for their general good. He pointed out to them the natural advantages they poſſeſſed from their ſituation; and, in ſhort, gave them every inſtruction he thought neceſſary for the promotion of their welfare and future ſecurity.

Having performed theſe friendly offices, Gallio embarked his forces, took leave of the Britons in the moſt affectionate manner, and paſſed over to the continent. And thus was Britain evacuated, and totally abandoned by the Romans, A. D. 447, about 500 years after its being firſt invaded by them under the conduct of Julius Cæſar, and about 363 after the full conqueſt of it by Agricola, in the reign of the emperor Domitian.

With reſpect to the general ſtate of Britain during the time it was ſubject to the Romans, the only authentic particulars we have are the following, which were publiſhed about the year 410, in a book called the Notitia, containing an account of the

the principal events and revolutions of the Roman empire.

The iſland of Britain, which was conſidered as one of the dioceſes belonging to the diſtrict of the Præfectus Prætoria of Gaul, was under the juriſdiction of a governor or vicar, who, according to the number of provinces into which the iſland was divided, had five officers under his command, two of whom were conſulars, and three preſidents. Subordinate to theſe were others of inferior rank, who were appointed to aſſiſt them in the adminiſtration of the civil government of the nation.

The military government was under the ſuperintendance of three principal officers, the firſt of whom had the command of the troops and garriſons in the interior parts of the iſland, and the two latter of the eaſtern and northern coaſts. The whole number of forces under their command amounted to 1700 cavalry, and 19,200 infantry. Theſe were diſperſed in different parts of the iſland, ſome in garriſons on the ſea coaſts, and ſome on the northern frontiers, while others were encamped in Cambridgeſhire, and other interior counties of the kingdom.

In order to facilitate the more expeditious conjunction of theſe troops on any particular emergency, as well as to render the intercourſe of the people more eaſy and agreeable, the ſoldiers, during the times of peace, were employed in making public highways, which are to be ſeen in different parts of the kingdom *. Theſe roads, or public highways, were called by the Romans, the conſular, prætorian, regal and military ways; and afterwards by the Saxons, ſtradas, or ſtreets. The moſt remarkable of theſe were four in number, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Via Vitelingiana, or Watling-Street; Via Icenorum, or Ikenfield-Street; Ermine-Street, and Foſs-way. Two of theſe extended the whole length of the kingdom, and the other two the breadth from ſea to ſea. On theſe grand ways, at proper diſtances, were ſtationary houſes for the convenience of changing horſes, as alſo a great number of inns for the accommodation of travellers. The Romans likewiſe erected many handſome cities in different parts of the kingdom, as alſo a great number of caſtles, forts, towers, walls, &c.

At what exact period of time the Chriſtian religion was firſt introduced into Britain cannot be fully authenticated, but that it was eſtabliſhed during the time the Romans were maſters of the iſland is inconteſtible †. This is evident from the tranſactions that took place in the reign of Dioclesian, when the Britiſh Chriſtians were included in the perſecutions ſet on foot by that emperor. Many of theſe ſuffered martyrdom, the principal and firſt of whom was St. Alban, who was beheaded at Verulam (now St. Alban's in Hertfordſhire) on the 22d of June, A. D. 287, and a magnificent church was erected to his memory about the time of Conſtantine the Great. This edifice, however, was deſtroyed in the Saxon wars, but rebuilt by Offa king of Mercia, and a monaſtry erected adjoining to it, ſome remains of which are ſtill to be ſeen, and the church is a venerable Gothic ſtructure.

But the perſecution under Dioclesian did not prevent the progreſs of Chriſtianity in Britain: for we find that in 314 three Britiſh biſhops attended the council of Arles in France: the like number attended the council of Nice in 325; and in 359 three others attended the council of Arminium. From hence we can juſtly affirm that chriſtianity was very early planted in this iſland, and that the chriſtian church in Britain was originally (as it now is) independent of the church of Rome.

* Among the many monuments of Roman antiquity ſtill ſubſiſting in England, the moſt remarkable are the remains of Adrian's vallum, and the wall of Severus, ſituated principally in the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland. Theſe two run parallel to each other from the Solway Frith beyond Burgh on the Sands near Carliſle, to the neighbourhood of Newcaſtle upon Tyne, which is a diſtance of ſixty-eight miles. Adrian's vallum is a rampart of earth with a large ditch to the northward, and another rampart to the ſouthward, which ſeems to have ſerved as a military way. The wall of Severus was of ſtone, and much more extenſive than that of Adrian's. There are ſome remains of the latter ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral parts, but the moſt conſpicuous are thoſe of the former. They are ſtill called by the Welch Gaul Sever, and by the Scots Grinſdyke, which, in either of theſe languages, literally ſignifies the Wall of Severus. The remains of this famous wall may be traced from Stanwick near Carliſle weſtward as far as Foulneſs, and eaſtward through many meadows for eight miles; but in ſeveral places the wall has been broken down, ſo that there are only the remains of the exploratory towers, and the deep ditches on each ſide. From thence it extends eaſtward over an hill, where it is almoſt entire, and many of the towers are yet ſtanding. After running about three miles farther it croſſes the river Irthing on the borders of Northumberland: it then runs for ſome miles through an open common, in the courſe of which it is in many places from five to eight feet high. From hence it paſſes over Irthington Moor, where it croſſes a ſmall river called the Tippal, and is continued over ſeveral ridges of very ſteep rocks to the length of about nine miles, where it is from ſix to twenty-four feet high from the precipices. Continuing ſtill eaſtward, it paſſes Bankhead, a ſmall village, where it is almoſt entire; and near this place are the remains of a Roman camp ſtrongly fortified, and ſurrounded by a deep trench. From hence to Scavenſhale, about ten miles farther to the eaſt, it is not above three feet high, owing to the many inroads of the Scots and Picts, who always endeavoured to level ſuch parts as lay in their way. It terminates near the mouth of the river Tyne, but in many places no remains of it are to be ſeen. The ditch is about thirty feet broad, and notwithſtanding all the ravages of time, is in moſt places upwards of five feet deep.

† It is the opinion of ſome antient writers, that the doctrine of Chriſt was firſt preached in Britain by the apoſtle Paul. Clemens, in his famous epiſtle to the Corinthians, expreſsly tells us that, being a preacher both to the eaſt and weſt, he taught righteouſneſs to the world, and went to the utmoſt bounds of the weſt; and Theodoret and others inform us, that he preached not only in Spain, but went to other nations, and brought the Goſpel into the iſles of the ſea, by which it is conjectured, the iſland of Britain is included. And, in ſome farther obſervations on this head it appears, that they reckon the Gauls and Britons among the people whom the apoſtles, and particularly Paul, perſuaded to embrace the doctrine of Chriſt.

BOOK III.

From the final Departure of the Romans from Britain, to the total Diſſolution of the Saxon Heptarchy.

CHAP. I.

The Caledonians make great incurſions into the Britiſh territories, and commit the moſt horrid cruelties. The Britons apply to the Romans for aſſiſtance, but are refuſed. At the inſtigation of Vortigern, their prince, or leader, they invite over the Saxons to aſſiſt them againſt the Caledonians. Hengiſt and Horſa, the two leaders of the Saxons, have an interview with Vortigern in the Iſle of Thanet. The Saxons join the Britons, and drive the Caledonians into their own country. Hengiſt and Horſa invite over great numbers of their countrymen, and thereby conſiderably augment their army. The Saxons form an alliance with the Scots and Picts, and proceed to open hoſtilities againſt the Britons. Vortigern, the Britiſh leader, is depoſed, and his ſon Vortimer appointed in his ſtead. The Britons fight ſeveral battles with the Saxons, in one of which Horſa is ſlain. Hengiſt encreaſes his army from the continent, takes upon him the title of king of Kent, marches againſt the Britons, and commits the moſt horrid cruelties. The Saxons make themſelves maſters of that part of Britain now called England, which they divide into ſeven kingdoms, the whole diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Saxon Heptarchy. The names of theſe kingdoms, with the counties each contained.

A. D. 447. NO ſooner were the Caledonians informed that the Romans had finally relinquiſhed Britain, than they conſidered the kingdom as their own, and reſolved to make themſelves maſters of it with all expedition. They accordingly began their hoſtilities by attacking the wall of Severus, in doing which they met with very little oppoſition. Deprived of the animating example of the warlike Romans, and the military ſkill of experienced commanders, the few troops who were appointed to defend it ſuffered their ſpirits to ſink within them, and in the hour of exigence gave that time to deſpondency which ſhould have been employed in their defence. A breach was made, the Caledonians entered, the Britons fled, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſword made the beſt of their way ſouthward, while the Picts and Scots followed, and ſpread deſolation around as they went, marking their paths with blood, and leaving every where behind them veſtiges of the moſt dreadful devaſtations.

The wretched Britons now diſpatched ambaſſadors to the emperor Valentinian for aſſiſtance. With them they ſent a letter written in the moſt abject ſtrain, and inſcribed, "The groans of the people." Nor were the contents of the letter leſs abject than the inſcription: "The barbarians (ſaid they) drive us towards the ſea, the ſea throws us back upon the barbarians, and we have only the wretched alternative left us, of periſhing either by the ſword or the waves." But their requeſt was in vain: Valentinian himſelf was ſo cloſely preſſed by the Goths and Vandals, that no forces could be ſpared to aſſiſt the diſtreſſed iſlanders: the ravages on the continent were at leaſt equal to thoſe committed in Britain.

The refuſal of all aſſiſtance from Rome threw the Britons into an abſolute ſtate of deſpair: inſtead of attempting to take any meaſures for repelling the invaders of their country, they fled for ſhelter to their woods and mountains, neglected the cultivation of their lands, and, for ſome time, fought a livelihood from hunting.

A. D. 448. The retired ſituation of the Britons, and the total neglect of agriculture, produced a calamity more prejudicial than the ravages made by the cruel Caledonians. A dreadful famine took place, during which prodigious numbers of the Britons periſhed for want of food. The ferocious Caledonians ſeverely felt the conſequences of their inhuman depredations. They found it impoſſible to ſubſiſt in a country themſelves had laid waſte; and therefore retired to their mountains with the ſpoils they had taken from their puſillanimous neighbours.

As ſoon as the Britons found that the Caledonians had retired to their own country, they immediately left their woods and mountains, and returned to their former occupations. They applied themſelves, with great diligence, to the cultivation of the land, till at length famine fled before induſtry, and agriculture ſoon repleniſhed the exhauſted granaries. Bleſſed with the bounties of returning plenty, and cheared by the ſmiles of long loſt freedom, the Britons had now the faireſt opportunity of becoming at once an happy and formidable people; but, emerging from the moſt abject ſtate of miſery, they were not capable of bearing proſperity either with diſcretion or advantage. The public good was ſacrificed to private gratifications, and the intemperance of individuals proved eſſentially injurious to the ſtate. In proportion as they loſt their fears, they grew fond of pleaſures, and becoming the ſlaves of luxury, were incapacitated from every

Engraved for
RAYMOND's
History of England

ROMAN

SAXON

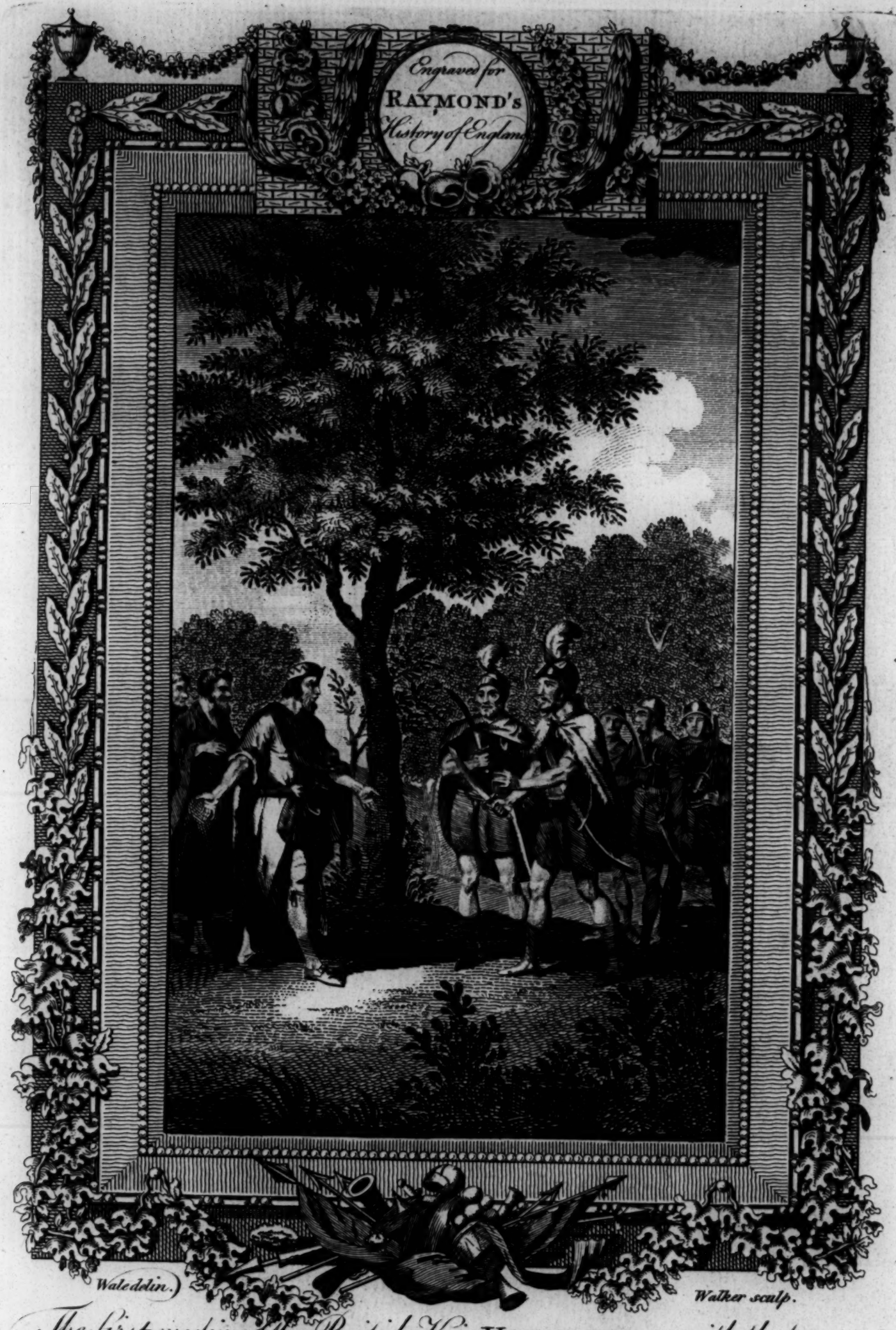
DANE

NORMAN

Portraits of a Roman Commander, *a* Saxon Chief, *a* Danish General, *& a* Norman, *all habited in the respective Dresses of the Times in which they invaded & conquered England, at different Periods.*

BRITISH MUSEUM
30 61
JAN

BRITISH MUSEUM
30 JAN 64



The first meeting of the British King VORTIGERN *with the two Saxon Chiefs* HENGIST *and* HORSA, *in the Isle of Thanet.*

every noble exertion. Their vices were proportioned to their diſſipation, till (ſays Gildas) "evil "was called good, and good evil. To be lewd "was thought honourable; to be virtuous, diſ-"graceful. Being blind themſelves, they be-"came haters of the light, and the meaſures of "their actions were what was moſt pleaſing to "their inclinations. All things were tranſacted "directly contrary to the public welfare and "ſafety, not only of the laity, but alſo the "clergy; and thoſe who ſhould have been ex-"amples of virtue often proved the ringleaders "of vice."

While the Britons continued in this diſſipated ſtate they choſe ſeveral kings of their own; but the power inveſted in them excited the envy of others, and proved fatal to themſelves. Among theſe monarchs was Vortigern, who obtained the ſovereign authority by murdering his predeceſſor, and tho' contaminated with every vice, governed, for ſome time, the degenerated Britons.

A. D. 449. The interior parts of the iſland had been greatly thinned by the ſword and famine; but now another calamity took place, which, for ſome time, threatened a total depopulation of the country. This was a dreadful plague, which raged ſo furiouſly, and ſwept away ſuch prodigious numbers, that, in many parts, the living were ſcarce ſufficient to bury the dead.

No ſooner had this dreadful calamity ſubſided, than the Scots and Picts, judging of the weakneſs of the nation from the reports they had received of the ravages occaſioned by the diſorder, immediately made an irruption into South Britain, and penetrated as far as Stamford in Lincolnſhire.

Alarmed at theſe proceedings, the debaſed and puſillanimous Vortigern, inſtead of animating his ſubjects to defend themſelves, formed a ſcheme for inviting over a foreign army to protect his people. Accordingly, a council was called, the propoſition approved of, and a deputation ordered to be ſent to treat with the Saxons for their protection and aſſiſtance.

At this time the Saxons * were a very formidable people, and inhabited the ſea coaſt from the mouth of the Rhine to Jutland. Their diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic was valour and the love of liberty. Their chiefs who led them to battle, and preſided in their councils, were far from enjoying a deſpotic power; they were ſubject to the regulations of the ſtate, and to the general voice of the people, who always went armed to the council, in order to declare their ſentiments. Their attachment to their leaders was remarkable: when any of them fell in battle, they thought themſelves obliged to revenge their deaths, and never to ſurvive a defeat. They were almoſt ſtrangers to agriculture: they had no lands they could properly call their own, a new diviſion being made every year, leſt the love of property ſhould leſſen their military ardour, which they conſidered as the true ſupport of the ſtate. Such were the Saxons, whom the Britons invited into their country, to defend them againſt the ravages of the Scots and Picts; but who ſoon convinced them that, inſtead of their having ſolicited a friendly alliance, they had taken ſome pains to procure a moſt implacable enemy.

It is little to be wondered at that the ſolicitation of the Britons ſhould be readily agreed to by the Saxons, a people long inured to the camp, who had lived by rapine, and whoſe country, at the time, was overſtocked with inhabitants. Hengiſt and Horſa, their two principal leaders, and who had particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their military proweſs, received the Britiſh deputies with great reſpect, and entered into a treaty with them for complying with the requeſt of their maſter. Theſe two commanders were brothers, and no ſtrangers to Britain, having often viſited the coaſts of the iſland in their piratical excurſions. They knew it to be a fertile country, and the climate inviting; and therefore had no great difficulty in perſuading their countrymen to engage in an enterprize which foreboded the moſt diſtinguiſhed advantages.

A. D. 450. The two Saxon chiefs having collected an army of 1600 choſen men, embarked them on board three veſſels, and ſailing with a fair wind arrived ſafe in the Iſle of Thanet in Kent, which was aſſigned them for their place of reſidence by Vortigern, and was conſequently the firſt piece of land they ever poſſeſſed in Britain.

As ſoon as Vortigern underſtood that the Saxons were arrived, he immediately repaired with his nobles to the Iſle of Thanet in order to compliment them on the occaſion. Hengiſt and Horſa approached the Britiſh monarch in the attitude of ferocious warriors, having in their hands their ſhort broad ſwords, which they uſed with ſo much dexterity and effect; and their troops followed them in the ſame poſture, in order to convince the Britons that they had not applied to a people incapable of affording them that aſſiſtance they had requeſted.

A treaty was now entered into between Vortigern and the Saxon chiefs, in which it was ſtipulated that the latter ſhould defend the Britons from the incurſions of their enemies, for which, beſides the portion of land aſſigned them, they were to be bountifully fed, and liberally rewarded.

The articles of the treaty being ſigned, Vortigern joined his forces with thoſe of the Saxons, and immediately marched againſt the northern invaders of his country. The Caledonians were ſoon convinced that victory was not confined to the Roman ſtandards: in ſeveral repeated engagements the Caledonians were defeated with great ſlaughter, owing to the diſtinguiſhed intrepidity of the Saxons, and were at length obliged to fly to the frontiers of their own country, leaving the prey they had taken to fall into the hands of the conquerors.

This eaſy victory gave the Saxons a very mean opinion of the power of the Britons, who were unable to repel the attacks of ſo undiſciplined a foe: they perceived their own ſuperiority, and determined to improve it to their advantage. Their different expeditions againſt the Scots had given

* The Saxons derived their name from the Gothic word *Seax*; a word which implies a ſhort, crooked, or hooked ſword, which they wore as their principal weapon, and for the dexterous uſe of which they were particularly celebrated.

given them the opportunity of ſeeing various parts of the country, which, from its beauty, verdure and fertility, they beheld with an eye of deſire; and obſerving, at the ſame time, that the Britons were enervated by luxury, and ſunk in vice, their ambition was awakened to the ambitious idea of ruling thoſe they came to defend, and enſlaving a people they had been employed to protect.

To effect this purpoſe, Hengiſt (the moſt artful of the two Saxon leaders) prevailed on the weak and undiſcerning Vortigern to make a more general invitation of his countrymen, telling him, that as the Saxons were particularly ſkilled in huſbandry, the ſoil of the country would be conſiderably improved, and the Britons would be initiated in that ſuperior kind of agriculture to which they had hitherto been ſtrangers. This argument had the deſired effect; a ſecond invitation was ſent to Saxony, and a fleet of ſeventeen ſail brought over a prodigious number of Saxons, Jutes and Angles. With theſe came Rowena, the daughter of Hengiſt, a lady of incomparable beauty, and who was afterwards eſſentially ſerviceable in facilitating the deſigns of her countrymen.

A ſhort time after the arrival of Rowena, Hengiſt invited Vortigern to a ſumptuous entertainment, at which he took care that his daughter ſhould not only be preſent, but that ſhe ſhould particularly diſtinguiſh herſelf by waiting on the king. This anſwered the deſigns of Hengiſt: for no ſooner did Vortigern behold the luſtre of Rowena's charms, than he became the ſlave of their attractions, and, though he had already got a conſort, demanded her in marriage. The artful Hengiſt pretended to decline ſo great an honour, on account of the inferiority of his daughter; but this only encreaſed the deſires of Vortigern, who appeared willing to ſacrifice every thing to the gratification of his paſſions. Hengiſt determined to take advantage of the then diſpoſition of the king, and therefore propoſed the following conditions: that the whole county of Kent ſhould be ceded to him; and that Vortigern ſhould divorce his queen, and make Rowena his ſole conſort. The infatuated Vortigern readily conſented to this propoſal: Kent was immediately given up to Hengiſt, and the Britiſh princeſs was cruelly divorced, though ſhe had borne her huſband many children.

The charms of Rowena ſo wrought upon Vortigern that he gave himſelf up entirely to her company; and ſhe obtained ſuch an aſcendancy over him that her will was law. This was eaſily perceived by Hengiſt, who determined to take advantage of it, and to ſtrike his ultimate ſtroke of policy. He accordingly deſired his daughter to propoſe to Vortigern that another body of his countrymen ſhould be ſent for, who, by inhabiting the northern parts of the iſland, would be a conſtant check upon any attempts that might be made in future by the Caledonians. Vortigern, without giving himſelf the leaſt trouble to think of the conſequences, readily conſented to this propoſal. Accordingly, a third embarkation took place; forty ſail of ſhips ſoon appeared on the Britiſh coaſts, and the northern parts of the iſland began (as the ſouthern had for ſome time done) to ſwarm with ſtrangers from the continent.

A. D. 451. From the great increaſe of the Saxons the army of Hengiſt was conſiderably augmented, the number of troops added to his army amounting to upwards of 5000 effective men. The Britons beheld this with the utmoſt anxiety of mind; and the very people in whom they had placed their confidence now became their terror. They had been witneſſes of their valour againſt their northern enemies, and dreaded the conſequences that would inevitably enſue ſhould they turn their ſwords againſt them.

It was not long before the Britons were made ſenſible that their apprehenſions were too juſtly founded. Hengiſt and Horſa, having ſucceeded to their wiſhes, now thought proper to throw off the maſk, and publicly avow their intentions. They accordingly began by demanding a larger ſum of money, and a greater quantity of proviſions, than what they were entitled to by the original ſtipulations, that thoſe of their countrymen, who laſt came over, might be as well provided for as thoſe who firſt landed. This requeſt was unanimouſly refuſed by the Britons, who remonſtrated with the Saxons on the unreaſonableneſs of their demand, as their number had ſo greatly increaſed, ſince their firſt arrival in the iſland. The refuſal was what the Saxons expected, and, in fact, wiſhed for, as it gave them the ſhadow of a pretence to commit hoſtilities, by pretending to pay themſelves, and take by force what, they affirmed, was unjuſtly with-held from them. They accordingly, without any farther heſitation, entered into an alliance with the Scots and Picts, ravaged the adjacent country, and laid waſte, with fire and ſword, the territories of a people who had called them to their defence.

A. D. 455. The deluded Britons now perceived the folly of the ſtep they had taken, and were deſirous of retrieving it. Filled with indignation at the perfidy of the Saxons, and exaſperated at the vices of Vortigern, they hurled the guilty potentate from his throne, and placed the ſceptre in the hands of Vortimer his ſon. Under the banners of that active prince they fought many battles with various ſucceſs, though the advantage was generally on the ſide of the Saxons. In one remarkable action, however, fought at Eglesford (now Ailsford) victory declared for the Britons, and Horſa, one of the Saxon generals, fell in the conflict.

A. D. 457. From the different engagements with the Britons, the Saxon army was greatly reduced, in conſequence of which Hengiſt (who was now the ſole commander of his countrymen) ſent over to Germany for a freſh ſupply of troops. On the arrival of theſe Hengiſt took upon himſelf the title of king of Kent, and marching at the head of his army marked his route with blood and devaſtation. Neither age or ſex were ſpared: the prieſts were burnt upon the altars, and the prince and the peaſant ſhared the ſame fate. The ſtructures dedicated to religion were levelled in the duſt; and the whole country through which they paſſed exhibited the moſt dreadful ſpectacle of horror and deſolation.

A. D. 465. The Britiſh monarch beheld the deſtruction of his country with the moſt poignant grief, and exerted his utmoſt endeavours to put a ſtop to the barbarous ravages of the Saxons. But before he could accompliſh this deſirable end,

death

death put a final period to his labours, and the Britons were left without a leader. As the fate of their country was now at ſtake no time was to be loſt in appointing one to ſupply the place of their late commander; and accordingly Ambroſius, a Briton of Roman deſcent, was choſen to the regal dignity by the unanimous voice of the people. A more proper perſon could not, indeed, have been choſen to hold the reins of government at this dangerous criſis. He was humane, prudent and intrepid: his conduct and valour were equally eminent; he was not to be intimidated by the power of the enemy, nor provoked to raſh meaſures by their cruelty. He endeavoured all in his power to unite his countrymen in their reſiſtance againſt the Saxons: nor were his labours wholly without ſucceſs; the military ſpirit of the Britons, who had been long ſunk into a fatal lethargy, was revived, and their ſtruggles for maintaining their liberty ſeemed to promiſe a favourable iſſue.

The Saxon leader perceived the great alteration in the conduct of the Britons, and was alarmed for the conſequences. Inſtead of extending his ravages, he found it difficult to keep poſſeſſion of his kingdom of Kent. Aſſiſted by the famous Arthur *, (whoſe exploits have given riſe to many fables) Ambroſius defeated ſeveral detachments of the Saxons, and, from his diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs, greatly alarmed the camp of the enemy. In conſequence of this Hengiſt ſent for another tribe of his countrymen under the command of his brother Octa; but inſtead of joing the Saxons in Kent, he ordered him to land and ſettle in Northumberland, in order to divide the forces and attention of Ambroſius; while himſelf continued with his army in the ſouthern parts of the iſland.

A. D. 468. While Hengiſt lay inactive, Ambroſius was aſſiduous in ſettling the affairs of his kingdom, and taking ſuch meaſures as might enable him to withſtand any future attempts of the enemy. He ſummoned a general aſſembly of the heads of the people at York, where orders were given for reſtoring the ſtate of the churches, which had been almoſt wholly deſtroyed by the Saxons; he likewiſe made many regulations for the benefit and welfare of his ſubjects, who were ſo well ſatisfied with his conduct, that they teſtified their approbation by ſolemnly crowning him king at Stonehenge in Wiltſhire, then the moſt ſacred and eſteemed place in the Britiſh dominions.

A. D. 477. During theſe tranſactions freſh forces were continually arriving from the northern parts of Germany, under different leaders. Among theſe the Angles made a conſpicuous figure, both with regard to number and military abilities. They were of a different nation from the Saxons; but being of the ſame religion, ſpeaking the ſame language, and coming upon the ſame errand, they joined the forces of Hengiſt, and, with them, acted in conſort againſt the forces of Ambroſius.

A. D. 478. In the beginning of this year one Ella, a Saxon chief, attended by his three ſons, Cymer Wlecing and Ciſſa, landed, at the head of his forces, on the coaſt of Suſſex. He was, however, bravely oppoſed by the Britons, and obliged to wait for freſh ſuccours before he could make any ſettlement in the country. Theſe being arrived, he committed the moſt horrid depredations, putting to death every perſon that fell in his way without diſtinction of age or ſex. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter fled, and took refuge in the foreſts, leaving their poſſeſſions to the conqueror, who ſoon after extended his dominion over all Suſſex and a great part of Surry, taking upon him the title of king of the South Saxons.

A. D. 495. The next diſtinguiſhed chief among the Saxons that arrived in England was Cerdic, who, accompanied by his ſon Kenrick, landed on the weſtern coaſt with a conſiderable army, about ſeventeen years after Ella had founded the kingdom of Suſſex. The forces of Cerdic were much ſuperior to thoſe of Ella, notwithſtanding which he met with much greater difficulties. The Britons, taught by paſt experience, were continually on their guard, and ſo well prepared to receive the enemy, that they gave Cerdic battle on the very day of his landing; and though vanquiſhed, the continued, for ſome time, to defend their poſſeſſions and liberties againſt the invaders of their country. At length the army of Cerdic being conſiderably reinforced, he conquered all oppoſition, and laid the foundation of the kingdom of Weſſex.

A. D. 527. While the Saxons were buſily employed in extending their conqueſts in the ſouth, a conſiderable body of them, headed by ſeveral leaders, landed on the eaſtern coaſt of Britain. After fighting many battles, of which hiſtory has preſerved no particular account, they eſtabliſhed three new kingdoms in the iſland, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Eaſt Anglia, Mercia, and Eaſt Saxony, or Eſſex. Uffa, a leader of the Angles, aſſumed the title of king of the firſt, Crida of the ſecond, and Erkedwin of the third.

Some time after Hengiſt had prevailed on the weak and deluded Vortigern to admit of a ſecond embarkation of his countrymen, great numbers of them ſettled in different parts of Northumberland; but not having a proper leader, they were for ſome time unable to ſubdue the inhabitants. At length, from the great conqueſts made by other chiefs, an enterprizing leader, named Ida, was induced to try his fortune in that part of the iſland. He accordingly embarked from the continent with a conſiderable army, and, joining his countrymen, marched againſt the Britons, whom he drove, with great ſlaughter, from their poſſeſſions, and having totally ſubdued the inhabitants of the counties of Northumberland and Durham, took upon himſelf the title of king of Bernicia.

While Ida was employed in reducing the northern parts of the kingdom, another Saxon prince, named Ella, ſubdued Lancaſhire and the greater part of Yorkſhire, which he formed into a kingdom,

* This hero, we are told, was born at Tindagium, or Tindangell, in Cornwall, but, like ſome other great men in the early part of the hiſtory of this iſland, his origin is ſo obſcure as not to be traced with any certainty. Some writers make him the ſon of Utherpendragon brother to Ambroſius; while others ſay, he was the ſon of Nazon Leod, who was either one of the kings of Wales, or a general of the Britons; but others, and indeed with greater probability, make him the ſon of Gurlois, and add, that he was king of Cornwall.

dom, under the title of Deiri. These two kingdoms were afterwards united by a marriage between the grandson of Ida, and the daughter of Ella, under the title of the king of Northumberland.

Thus was that part of Britain called England totally subjugated by the Saxons, who divided the whole into seven distinct kingdoms, each under the direction of a particular monarch. A division mentioned by all writers under the name of the Saxon Heptarchy.

The names of the different kingdoms, by whom founded, and the counties each contained, will be seen at one view in the following table:

Kingdoms.	By whom founded.	Counties contained in each.
Kent	Hengist	Kent
South Saxons.	Ella	Sussex Surry
West Saxons.	Cerdic	Cornwall Devonshire Dorsetshire Somersetshire Wiltshire Hampshire Barkshire, or Berkshire
East Saxons	Erkenwin	Essex Middlesex Part of Hertfordshire
Northumberland	Ida	Lancashire Yorkshire Durham Cumberland Westmoreland Northumberland Part of Scotland, as far as the Frith of Edinburgh
East Angles	Uffa	Norfolk Suffolk Cambridgeshire And the Isle of Ely
Mercia	Crida	Gloucestershire Herefordshire Worcestershire Warwickshire Rutlandshire Northamptonshire Lincolnshire Huntingdonshire Bedfordshire The other Part of Hertfordshire Buckinghamshire Oxfordshire Staffordshire Derbyshire Shropshire Nottinghamshire Cheshire

With respect to the particular circumstances that took place in the course of this war between the Saxons and Britons, little is recorded, and that so incoherent as not to deserve notice. All that can be relied on as authentic is, that the renowned British prince Arthur signalized himself for his military exploits under Ambrosius: that on the demise of that prince he succeeded to the command of the Britons, and headed them in various battles with the Saxons, and with various success; till at last his own nephew, having violated his bed and usurped his authority, Arthur raised a powerful army to chastise his treacherous conduct, as did the other to ward off the resentment of his justly incensed uncle; and that both parties being highly enraged, they challenged each other to single combat, in which Mordred the nephew was slain on the spot, but not till he had mortally wounded his uncle Arthur, who, after lingering a few days, expired at Glastonbury in the year 542, after having ruled in Britain 76 years.

CHAP. II.

Containing an account of the respective monarchs that succeeded each other on the different thrones that formed the Saxon Heptarchy, with a circumstantial detail of the various transactions and revolutions that took place in each kingdom, from their first establishment to their final dissolution by Egbert, the first sole monarch of England.

HAVING, in the preceding chapter, premised as much as can be deemed authentic relative to the arrival of the Saxons in this island, and the state of the war by which the Heptarchy, or government of the Anglo-Saxons, considered as forming one body and one state, was established, we shall now proceed to give a succinct account of the succession of the kings, and the revolution of each particular kingdom, of which the Saxon Heptarchy was composed. In doing this we shall place them in order according to the different periods they were established, beginning with

The Kingdom of KENT.

A. D. 455. THE kingdom of Kent, which was by far the most formidable of all those that constituted the Heptarchy, was founded by Hengist, the great leader of the Saxons, in the year 455, about five years after his first arrival in Britain. During his life the kingdom of Kent claimed an ascendancy, in point of strength and power, over the rest; but after his death it greatly declined, owing to the inattention and supineness of his three immediate successors, namely, Eske, Octa and Ymrick.

The indolence of the Kentish princes was particularly

ticularly obſerved by Ceaulin king of Weſſex, a man of an ambitious and aſpiring diſpoſition, who having unjuſtly ſeized the ſceptre of Suſſex, reſolved to attempt the reduction of Kent, and, if poſſible, make himſelf maſter of the whole heptarchy.

A. D. 593. At this time, Ethelbert, the great grandſon of Hengiſt, filled the Kentiſh throne. He had long beheld with grief the declining ſtate of the kingdom, and reſolved to uſe his utmoſt efforts in order to reſtore it to its primitive luſtre. Poſſeſſed of all the intrepidity of Hengiſt, and being at the ſame time a ſtrict obſerver of juſtice, he was univerſally beloved, not only by his own ſubjects, but alſo thoſe of the confederate kingdoms, and the different princes paid him the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſpect.

Ethelbert was no ſtranger to the ambitious deſigns of Ceaulin, which he determined, if poſſible, to render abortive. To effect this, he ſummoned the other princes of the different kingdoms to a general council, when he informed them that Ceaulin had acted inconſiſtently with the true and original ſtate of the heptarchy, by ſeizing the territories conſtitutionally appertaining to the South Saxons, and that if ſome efficacious meaſures were not immediately taken, he might, in time, make himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. The other Saxon princes ſaw this repreſentation in its proper light, and, in conſequence thereof, not only furniſhed him with troops, but likewiſe appointed him to the chief command againſt the king of the Weſt Saxons, whom they now conſidered as their common enemy.

Ceaulin clearly ſaw the ſtorm that was gathering around him, and exerted his whole force to defend himſelf againſt its fury. Having gathered together his troops, he marched with great reſolution againſt Ethelbert, when a deſperate battle enſued, which was ſupported, for ſome time, with equal ſpirit on both ſides. At length victory declared in favour of Ethelbert, the forces of Ceaulin were routed with great ſlaughter, and though himſelf was not ſlain in the battle, yet he ſoon after paid the debt of nature.

Thus deprived of their leader, and having loſt the greater part of their army, the Weſt Saxons were in no condition to make any farther attempts in oppoſing the combined army: they therefore threw down their arms, and ſubmitted to Ethelbert, who reſtored the kingdom to the lawful heir, and, from his great military proweſs, as well as ſingular talents in the cabinet, became afterwards the chief of the Saxon ſovereigns.

A. D. 596. But the moſt remarkable incident that diſtinguiſhed the reign of Ethelbert was, the introduction of Chriſtianity among the Saxons. The Britons had long enjoyed the light of the goſpel, but whether or not they made any attempt to convert them is uncertain: indeed, the Saxons, except thoſe who inhabited the kingdom of Kent, had been ſo continually engaged in the hurry and tumult of war, that they had no leiſure to examine into the truths of Chriſtianity; at the ſame time it could hardly be ſuppoſed they would liſten to the reaſonings of the Britons, who were at once both their ſlaves and their enemies.

Theſe difficulties, however, were at length happily removed by the marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha, the daughter of Caribert king of France. This princeſs was a Chriſtian, and therefore it was ſtipulated, by the articles of marriage, that ſhe ſhould be permitted to enjoy the free exerciſe of her own religion. In conſequence of this ſhe was attended by one Luidard, a prelate venerable at once for his great piety and learning. He officiated in the church of St. Martin, which had been built in the time of the Romans, near the walls of Canterbury, and, by his frequent diſcourſes with the nobility, and others belonging to the court, converted many to the Chriſtian faith. The excellent genius and underſtanding of the queen greatly contributed to his ſucceſs; and at the ſame time her exemplary life and uncommon learning, made a ſtriking impreſſion on the king, who, in conſequence thereof, conceived a very favourable idea of the principles of the Chriſtian religion.

Theſe favourable circumſtances being made known to Pope Gregory the Great, who then filled the papal chair, he began to entertain the pleaſing hopes of being able to deſtroy the ſuperſtitious worſhip of the Saxons in Britain, and, inſtead thereof, to eſtabliſh the glorious tenets of the goſpel. To accompliſh this noble deſign, he ſent Auguſtin, or Auſtin, a Roman monk, with ſeveral others of his fraternity, to preach the goſpel in Britain. Theſe miſſionaries accordingly ſet out on their embaſſy, but on their arrival at Provence in France, they were ſo intimidated from the accounts they received of the ferocious manners of the Saxons, and their ſuperſtitious attachment to the religion of their anceſtors, that they ſent their ſuperior back to the pope, in order to obtain leave to relinquiſh their deſign, and return to Rome.

Gregory was inflexible in his deſign, and therefore ſent peremptory orders for them to proceed; but at the ſame time, in order to remove all diſagreeable apprehenſions, he wrote a letter to the king of France, beſeeching him to take the fathers under his protection, and furniſh them with every neceſſary for promoting the ſucceſs of the undertaking. He likewiſe wrote a letter to Brunehaute, queen of Burgundy, requeſting, in the moſt preſſing manner, her aſſiſtance on this intereſting occaſion. This ſolicitation was far from being made in vain. Brunehaute exerted all her power to render the attempt ſucceſsful, and not only ſupplied the miſſionaries with interpreters who could ſpeak the Saxon language, but likewiſe ſent letters to the moſt conſiderable people at the Britiſh court, recommending Auguſtine and his followers to their protection.

A. D. 597. Thus furniſhed with every thing neceſſary for his miniſtry, Auguſtine, accompanied by his aſſiſtants, embarked for Britain, and, after a ſhort paſſage, ſafely landed in the iſle of Thanet. Auguſtine immediately diſpatched one of his interpreters to the Kentiſh court, informing Ethelbert of the intention of his coming, and requeſting his permiſſion to preach publickly the doctrine of the goſpel. This meſſage was reſpectfully received by Ethelbert, but at the ſame time he did not think proper to grant Auguſtine an immediate audience. He, however, ordered him to continue in the iſle of Thanet, and gave directions for his being properly ſupplied with all the neceſſary articles of life.

A few days after this, Ethelbert, accompanied

by his queen and the greater part of the nobility, repaired to the iſle of Thanet, in order to hear Auguſtine expound the doctrine of the goſpel. Apprehenſive, however, that ſpells or enchantments might be uſed againſt him by prieſts, who brought an unknown worſhip from a diſtant country, the king took the precaution of receiving the miſſionaries in the open air, where he imagined the force of their magic (ſhould they attempt to practiſe any) would be rendered abortive.

Ethelbert and his queen being ſeated under a tree, the monks advanced to audience with a ſlow and ſolemn pace, chanting their litanies with all the marks of unaffected devotion. Auſtin then expounded the doctrines of the Chriſtian religion, and, to ſtrike an impreſſion on the mind of Ethelbert, to whom he particularly addreſſed himſelf, promiſed him eternal joys above, and a kingdom in heaven without end, if he would be perſuaded to receive the ſalutary tenets of the goſpel. "Your words and promiſes (replied Ethelbert) "are fair; but as they are new and uncertain, I "cannot entirely yield to them, and relinquiſh "the principles, which I and my anceſtors have "ſo long maintained. You are welcome, how-"ever, to remain here in peace, and as you have "undertaken ſo long a journey ſolely, as appears, "for what you believe to be for our advantage, I "will permit you to deliver your doctrines to my "ſubjects." At the ſame time he ordered Auſtin and his companions to be provided with all neceſſaries, and allotted Canterbury, the capital of his dominions, as the place of their reſidence.

Encouraged by this favourable reception, Auſtin and his companions proceeded, with redoubled zeal, to preach the goſpel to the Kentiſh Saxons, and added ſtrength to their doctrine by the remarkable auſterities of their lives. The Saxons were perſuaded that the followers of a religion which mortified every paſſion, muſt act from conviction, and that the tenets they profeſſed muſt be founded on a baſis more than human. They therefore liſtened with great attention to the new doctrine, and many of them were brought over to the Chriſtian faith. Ethelbert himſelf, convinced of the truth of the goſpel, no longer heſitated to profeſs his tenets, but publicly acknowledged his converſion, by ſuffering himſelf to be baptized, in the preſence of his courtiers, who, from his example, became proſelytes to the Chriſtian religion.

In conſequence of this ſucceſs, the liberties of the miſſionaries were enlarged, and Chriſtianity preached in every part of the iſland. Chriſtchurch in Canterbury, which had been built in the time of the Romans, was made a cathedral, and Auguſtine appointed archbiſhop; the churches which had fallen to decay were repaired; the heathen temples were conſecrated and ſet apart for divine worſhip, and a ſeminary of learning was opened in Canterbury, the capital of Ethelbert's dominions.

The propagation of Chriſtianity in Britain was (as is general the caſe where there is a ſimilarity of ſentiments in religion) productive of civil connections. The Anglo-Saxons opened an intercourſe with the nations on the continent, and, from them, conceived an idea of more cultivated manners. They ſaw the many advantages that reſulted from a polite and generous behaviour: from connections founded on virtue; from reciprocal acts of kindneſs and benevolence; and wiſhed to imitate the practice.

A. D. 598. After Ethelbert had become a convert to the Chriſtian faith, he uſed his utmoſt efforts, in conjunction with Bertha his queen, to propagate the tenets of the goſpel throughout his dominions. In this he ſucceeded to his wiſhes, having done which he directed his attention towards the civil government of his people. He made many wiſe regulations for their future welfare, and enacted a body of laws which he cauſed to be written and publiſhed, that none might plead ignorance of the contents.

The remaining part of the reign of Ethelbert is marked with no tranſaction of importance, except the death of the virtuous Bertha. No diſturbance happened: his people were happy, and he, after a proſperous reign of forty-eight years, paid the debt of nature, univerſally beloved and lamented by his ſubjects.

A. D. 616. On the death of Ethelbert, the Kentiſh throne was filled by his ſon Eadbald, a prince of a very wicked and profligate diſpoſition. Blinded by an inceſtuous paſſion for his mother-in-law (a French princeſs whom his father had married after the death of the amiable Bertha) he abandoned his religion that he might indulge his criminal exceſſes without reſtraint. In conſequence of this ſtep many of the nobility followed his example, and the tenets of the goſpel were in danger of falling a ſacrifice to heathen ſuperſtition.

The abandoned life of Eadbald, and the conſequences that aroſe therefrom, greatly affected Laurentius, who ſucceeded Auſtin in the ſee of Canterbury. This prelate, fearleſs of danger when religion called for his aſſiſtance, laboured, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to make Eadbald ſenſible of the enormity of his vices; and at length happily ſucceeded. Convinced by the arguments of Laurentius, he renounced the Pagan religion, divorced his inceſtuous conſort, and became a remarkable penitent for the crimes he had committed. He demoliſhed the idolatrous temples, and eſtabliſhed the Chriſtian religion throughout his kingdom. He extended his care for the intereſt of the goſpel even beyond the limits of his territories; and greatly contributed, by the force of his arguments, as well as by his exemplary piety, to the converſion of Edwin king of Northumberland.

In this manner did Eadbald ſpend his time for the ſpace of twenty-four years, when he paid the debt of nature, leaving behind him the character of an excellent and pious prince. Before his death he obtained the conſent of his ſubjects to ſettle the ſucceſſion of the throne on his youngeſt ſon Ercombert, but with this reſtriction, that the heirs of Ermenfrid, his elder brother, ſhould ſucceed to the crown at his deceaſe.

A. D. 640. Ercombert readily agreed to the conditions, and as readily forgot them when ſettled on the throne. But, excepting this breach of promiſes, he might be called a good prince, and a zealous profeſſor of chriſtianity, for, during the ſhort time he poſſeſſed the ſovereignty he contributed to the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, by deſtroying every temple and idol throughout his

his dominions. He reigned twenty-four years, and, at his death, left two ſons, namely, Egbert and Lotharius.

A. D. 664. Egbert having obtaind the ſovereignty reſolved to preſerve it by means the moſt deteſtable, namely, by taking off his nephews, whom he well knew were the true heirs to the throne. He accordingly prevailed on one Thunner, a creature of his own, to murder the royal youths. This execrable monſter performed the inhuman office, and threw the bodies into a river, where they were afterwards found floating on the water, and being taken up were interred in the abbey of Ramſay.

But the deaths of theſe two young princes was not ſufficient to remove the jealouſy of Egbert: their ſiſter Domneva was ſtill alive, and married to the king of Mercia. He therefore prevailed on her to renounce her claim to the crown, in conſideration of ſome lands being ceded to her in the Iſle of Thanet, where ſhe built a monaſtery, and preſided herſelf as prioreſs.

The remaining part of Egbert's reign was mild, peaceable and virtuous. He applied himſelf to the duties of religion, in order to atone for the atrocious crime he had committed, and at length died in the ninth year of his reign, leaving two ſons, namely, Edric and Widred.

A. D. 673. On the death of Egbert his brother Lotharius, under pretence of his nephews being too young to govern, ſeized on the ſovereignty. This dignity he enjoyed without moleſtation during a period of ten years, when he aſſociated with him his ſon Richard as a partner in the kingdom.

This proceeding ſo incenſed his nephew Edric, that he immediately withdrew from court, fully reſolved, if poſſible, to obtain his right of the ſovereignty by force of arms. To effect this he applied to Adelivalch, king of the South Saxons, who generouſly aſſiſted him with a conſiderable body of forces. At the head of theſe Edric marched into Kent, and a general battle enſued, in which the troops of Lotharius were defeated, and himſelf, being mortally wounded with an arrow, died ſoon after.

A. D. 685. On the death of Lotharius, his ſon Richard, inſtead of making any attempt to poſſeſs himſelf of the crown, fled into Germany, leaving Edric ſole maſter of the Kentiſh dominions. But this dignity he only enjoyed one year, and even this ſhort interval of time was filled with tumults and commotions, occaſioned by the party of the late king, and the diſputes which took place relative to the ſucceſſion.

During theſe commotions Ceadwalla, king of Weſſex, invaded Kent, and plundered a conſiderable part of the country without oppoſition, till all the inhabitants, provoked by their loſſes, took up arms in their own defence, and defeated their enemies. Mollo, the brother of Ceadwalla, being obliged to retire for ſafety into a houſe, with twelve of his followers, defended himſelf, for ſome time, with great bravery, but at length the Kentiſh men ſet fire to the building, in conſequence of which both he and his gallant companions periſhed in the flames. His brother was ſo exaſperated at this cruel action, that he entered Kent at the head of a powerful army, and, fired with reſentment, laid waſte the greater part of the whole country.

In the midſt of theſe diſtractions Edric died; nor was there any prince of the Hengiſt family who had ſpirit ſufficient to aſſume the reins of government, ſo that an inter-regnum, or rather anarchy enſued, which continued about ſix years.

A. D. 693. At length Widred, the youngeſt ſon of Egbert, aſcended the throne, and, in order to appeaſe the commotions that ſubſiſted among the nobility, aſſociated with him one Swabert (a very popular man and a particular favourite of the people) in the government. But Swabert did not long enjoy his power: he ſurvived his elevation only four years, and then left Widred in ſole poſſeſſion of the throne.

Widred, being now freed from the commotions which had ſo long diſtracted the kingdom, governed his people with remarkable prudence and equanimity. He was a great benefactor to the church, which, together with his juſtice, candour and humanity, gained him the univerſal affection of his ſubjects.

On the death of Widred his eldeſt ſon Edbert ſucceeded to the ſovereignty. He inherited the underſtanding and humanity of his father, and by theſe means enjoyed a peaceable reign for the ſpace of thirty-two years, when he died, leaving the crown to his brother Edelbert.

A. D. 725. Edelbert, on his acceſſion to the throne, admitted his ſon Ardulph as a partner with him in the government, but ſurviving him, he bequeathed the ſceptre to his brother Aldric.

A. D. 760. Aldric was the laſt prince lineally deſcended from Hengiſt, the firſt founder of the monarchy. After his death (which happened in 794) the kingdom was rent with factions for eleven years, during which time the crown became the ſport of fortune. Towns were laid in aſhes, and the fields manured with the blood of their owners. Nor were theſe troubles terminated till Egbert (in the year 805) united in his perſon the ſeven crowns of the Saxon Heptarchy, after Kent had continued a diſtinct and ſeparate kingdom during an interval of 350 years.

The Kingdom of SUSSEX, or the SOUTH SAXONS.

A. D. 477. THIS kingdom was the moſt inconſiderable of all thoſe which formed the Saxon Heptarchy, and the hiſtory of it is exceeding imperfect. It contained only the two counties of Suſſex and Surry, a very conſiderable part of which was covered with woods and foreſts. At the ſame time it was very thinly inhabited, and therefore incapable of making any effectual reſiſtance againſt the attempts of an enterprizing enemy.

The kingdom of Suſſex was founded by Ella, a perſon of great military merit, who landed in Britain,

tain, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, to ſtrengthen the intereſt of Hengiſt. He maintained his ground ſome time againſt the Britons, whom he at length totally routed; and having poſſeſſed himſelf of a throne was, on the death of Hengiſt, choſen by the Saxons to ſucceed him as head of the confederacy.

A. D. 514. On the death of Ella the throne of Suſſex fell to his ſon Ciſſa, who, contented with the quiet poſſeſſion of a power, the foundation of which was obtained by ſlaughter, choſe to pay a yearly proportion of money, and furniſh a certain number of troops, to Cerdic king of Weſſex, who, on the death of Ella, was placed at the head of the Saxon Heptarchy. By theſe means Ciſſa prevented the flames of war from ſpreading into his own country, and Cerdic was farther enabled to repel and ſubdue the Britons.

Though Ciſſa was far from poſſeſſing the abilities of his father in a military line, yet he was equally well calculated to hold the reins of government. He dedicated his time to acts of the moſt commendable nature, and inceſſantly laboured to promote the happineſs and tranquillity of his ſubjects. He built the city of Chicheſter, and made it the capital of his dominions. His age and the length of his reign were extended beyond the common limits of mankind. He paid the debt of nature in the 117th year of his age, ſeventy-ſix of which he governed his kingdom with general ſatisfaction, and died univerſally lamented.

A. D. 590. Ciſſa dying without iſſue, Ceaulin, king of the Weſt-Saxons, ſeized his dominions, in conſequence of which a confederacy was formed againſt him, and he was vanquiſhed and diſpoſſeſſed by his nephew Ceolric, who retained Suſſex as part of his conqueſts.

After this event the kingdom of Suſſex was ſubject to ſeveral revolutions; but at length it was totally ſubdued and united to that of the Weſt-Saxons, after it had remained a ſeparate kingdom 277 years, from its firſt eſtabliſhment by Ella.

The Kingdom of WESSEX, or the West-Saxons.

AS the kingdom of Suſſex was one of the moſt inconſiderable, ſo was that of Weſſex one of the moſt important of the heptarchy, and the Saxons met with greater oppoſition in their endeavours to poſſeſs themſelves of this than any other part of the country. It received its name from being ſituated to the weſt of the other Saxon ſettlements in Kent and Suſſex, and extended from the river Thames to the Britiſh channel. Its principal cities were Wincheſter the capital, Southampton, Portſmouth, Saliſbury, Dorcheſter, Sherborne and Exeter.

A. D. 521. The founder of this monarchy was Cerdic, one of the greateſt generals among the Saxons. He and his ſon Kenric fought many battles againſt the natives with various ſucceſs, nor was Cerdic able to eſtabliſh his kingdom till after the deaths of Ambroſius and Arthur, who, for ſeveral years, ſupported the falling liberties of their country. With them all reſiſtance terminated, and Cerdic ſat down in peace on the throne he had founded in the blood of an innocent people. He enjoyed the ſovereignty for the ſpace of twenty-three years, when he died, and left it to his ſon Kenrick, who had come over with him from Germany, and been very inſtrumental in defeating the Britons, and procuring the eſtabliſhment of the kingdom.

A. D. 544. Kenrick preſerved the ſovereignty only four years, when he died, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Ceaulin. This prince inherited the military abilities and ferocious paſſions of his grandfather, but was a ſtranger to his milder virtues. He carried on a continued war againſt the Britons, and added great part of the counties of Devon and Somerſet to his other dominions. Hurried away by the tide of ſucceſs, he invaded the other Saxon ſtates in the neighbourhood of his his own territories, and became at length ſo terrible to all that a general confederacy was formed againſt him. Ethelbert king of Kent was made general of the allied forces, and the army of Ceaulin was totally defeated. This misfortune rendered him contemptible in the eyes of his ſubjects, who, from the cruelty of his diſpoſition, only obeyed him through fear: they therefore now publicly ſhewed their abhorrence of his conduct, and expelling him from the throne, he died in exile and miſery.

A. D. 594. After the expulſion of Ceaulin, the victorious Ethelbert placed his nephew Ceolric on the throne of Weſſex. This prince had joined the confederacy formed againſt his uncle, and was entirely devoted to his benefactor. He reigned only ſeven years, during which nothing material occurred worthy of hiſtorical notice.

A. D. 601. On the death of Ceolric the crown of Weſſex fell to his nephew Ceolwolph, a prince of great military abilities, and poſſeſſed of talents equally well calculated for the cabinet as the field. He ſupported the dignity of his kingdom, and acquired great reputation by his prudent conduct and deliberate government; but his whole reign was one continued ſcene of action. He had many enemies to contend with, the moſt formidable of whom was Redwald, king of Eaſt-Anglia, at that time the head of the Saxon confederacy. The conteſt between them was violent and bloody, but at length victory declared in favour of Ceolwolph. He did not, however, long enjoy the honours he had acquired, being ſuddenly taken off while he was engaged in reducing the South-Saxons, after having ſat on the throne ten years.

A. D. 611. Ceolwolph dying without iſſue was ſucceeded by his nephew Kinegils, or Cinegils, who, in the third year of his reign, admitted his brother Quincelm as partner with him in the government. For the ſpace of two years after this conjunction the kingdom enjoyed a profound tranquillity; but at the expiration of that time the Britons began to make inroads into the territories of Weſſex. In conſequence of this the two brothers marched at the head of their forces againſt the enemy, whom they attacked near Bindon in Dorſetſhire, and a deſperate battle enſued,

ſued in which the Britons were routed with great ſlaughter *.

By this defeat the Britons were diſabled from making any farther attempts againſt the Saxons for ſome time, and a general tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom. But at length the great qualities of the conjunctive monarchs procured them another enemy in the perſon of Penda, king of Mercia, who attempting to take from them the town of Cirenceſter, a battle enſued, which continued with aſtoniſhing reſolution till night put an end to the conteſt. The next morning preſented to their eyes a moſt diſmal ſcene of ſlaughter, and cooler thoughts ſuggeſted, that a renewal of the engagement would end in the deſtruction of both armies. In conſequence of this each party relaxed, a reconciliation was formed, and peace happily concluded.

A. D. 634. The next material tranſaction that took place was, the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity in Weſſex; for though the goſpel had been planted in the kingdom of Kent, yet the Weſt Saxons were ſtill immerſed in all the errors of Pagan ſuperſtition. The torch of truth had not yet been lighted up in this part of the iſland; but the darkneſs of bigotry and error was now to be diſpelled, and the true religion eſtabliſhed in its ſtead. One Berinus, an Italian eccleſiaſtic, after being conſecrated by the pope, was ſent into Britain, in order to aſſiſt in converting the Saxons to chriſtianity. He preached for ſome time in different parts of Weſſex, and was at length heard by Kinegils himſelf, who ſtruck with his arguments, and convinced of the truth of the goſpel, ſuffered himſelf to be publickly baptized. The king's example was followed by numbers of his ſubjects; in conſequence of which churches were erected for the worſhip of the true God; the heathen temples were in many places deſtroyed, and Berinus was inveſted with the epiſcopal title of Biſhop of York. Quincelm, however, did not follow the example of his brother till ſome time after, when, being ſeized with a violent fever, he embraced the faith, ſoon after which he paid the debt of nature. Kinegils ſurvived his brother about eight years, and then did univerſally beloved and lamented by his ſubjects.

A. D. 643. On the death of Kinegils the throne of Weſſex was filled by his ſon Kenwalch, or Kenwal. This prince was far from inheriting any of the virtues of his father. He was unſtable, puſillanimous, and luxurious, and therefore incapable of guiding the reins of government with ſteadineſs and reſolution. Having embraced the doctrine of the goſpel, he married a ſiſter of Penda, king of Mercia, whom he ſoon after divorced, and renounced the Chriſtian religion, without giving the leaſt reaſon for his conduct.

Penda, exaſperated at this inſult offered his ſiſter, entered the dominions of Kenwal, at the head of a very powerful army, before he was prepared to act on the defenſive. In conſequence of this Kenwal was obliged to fly for protection to Annas king of the Eaſt-Angles, with whom he remained three years in exile, during which Penda kept poſſeſſion of the throne of Weſſex. But the ſchool of adverſity, together with the admonitions of Annas wrought effectually on the mind of Kenwal, who again profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian, was baptized, and, by the aſſiſtance of Annas, replaced on the throne of his anceſtors.

A. D. 652. Kenwal had not long reſumed his ſeat of power, when he was diſturbed by a rebellion which broke out in his kingdom, and once more threatened him with exile. In conſequence of theſe diſturbances he raiſed a conſiderable body of forces and marched at the head of them againſt the inſurgents. The latter were too precipitate in their meaſures, and raſhly engaged the royal army before they could be joined by their adherents from different parts of the kingdom. The battle was fought at Bradford in Wiltſhire, and laſted with great obſtinacy on both ſides for ſome time, till at length the army of Kenwal prevailed, prodigious numbers of the inſurgents were ſlain, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a prcipitate flight.

A. D. 658. But though the rebellion was quelled, yet peace was far from being reſtored to Weſſex. The Britons, who had long waited for an opportunity of retaliating on the Saxons the many injuries they had received, thought this a proper period for attempting the accompliſhment of their wiſhes. They accordingly invaded the dominions of Kenwal, and in their route, committed the moſt horrid outrages, levelling all before them with fire and ſword. Kenwal advanced at the head of his army towards the enemy, and a dreadful battle enſued at a place called Pine, in Shropſhire. At their firſt meeting the Britons fell on the Saxons with ſuch fury, that they were obliged to give way; but at length recovering themſelves they renewed the attack with ſuch intrepid reſolution as baffled all farther attempts of the Britons, who were totally defeated, and great numbers put to the ſword.

A. D. 661. This victory, which delivered Kenwal from any farther apprehenſions from the Britons, excited the jealouſy of Wulphur, king of Mercia, who entered Weſſex at the head of a conſiderable body of forces. Kenwal marched againſt him, and the two armies met at Ponteſbury in Shropſhire, where a deſperate battle enſued, but the event of the battle is uncertain, ſome hiſtorians giving it in favour of Kenwal, while others aſſert that Wulphur obtained a compleat victory. But however this may have been, it produced a peace between the contending powers, and tranquillity was once more reſtored to Weſſex.

After this Kenwal ſpent the remainder of his days in peace, dedicating his attention to the welware and good goverment of his ſubjects. Among other acts for the promotion of the Chriſtian religion he built the cathedral church of St. Peter at

* Henry of Huntingdon, and other hiſtorians of thoſe times, tell us, that when the two armies were drawn up in order of battle, the ſplendor of the maſſy axes of the Saxons, together with the length of their ſpears, and the compact order of their ranks, ſtruck the Britons with a panic, which the Saxons improving, obtained a compleat victory. They farther tell us, that no leſs than 2062 of the Britons were left dead on the field of battle.

at Wincheſter, which ſoon after became the ſee of a biſhop. But he did not long enjoy this interval of tranquillity, death putting a period at once to his labours and his life.

A. D. 672. Kenwall dying without iſſue, the crown of Weſſex was left in the hands of his wife Saxeburga. She was a princeſs of great talents and undaunted courage, and, during the ſhort time of her reign, held the ſceptre with honour to herſelf, and advantage to her country. She governed only twelve months, when ſhe paid the debt of nature univerſally lamented by her ſubjects.

A. D. 673. On the death of Saxeburga the throne of Weſſex was filled by Eſcwin, a man of diſtinguiſhed abilities, and deſcended from one of the collateral branches of the family of Cerdic. The firſt two years of his reign he enjoyed the crown in peace; but the reſtleſs ambition of the Saxon princes would not ſuffer any potentate to enjoy a long ſeries of tranquillity. Wulphur king of Mercia invaded his dominions, and a dreadful battle enſued at Bedwin in Wiltſhire. The conteſt was long and doubtful, and a terrible ſlaughter was made on both ſides: at length Wulphur obtained the advantage, but it was ſo trifling that he was in no condition to continue in the country of the enemy. Two years after this battle Eſcwin died, and left the throne of Weſſex to Kentwin, a ſon of the late Kinegils.

A. D. 677. Kentwin was no ſooner eſtabliſhed on the throne than he waged war againſt the Britons, whom he defeated, and drove from their country; in conſequence of which Cadwallader their king went over to Bretagne, in order to procure aſſiſtance againſt ſo powerful an enemy.

While Kentwin was employed in his wars with the Britons his nephew Ceadwalla, a prince of great expectations, and who had acquired a large ſhare of popularity, laid claim to the crown, which being made known to Kentwin he immediately repaired to his capital and obliged Ceadwalla to leave the kingdom. In conſequence of this Ceadwalla retired to the foreſt of Andreſwald in Suſſex, where he was joined by ſuch a number of people from every quarter, that he ſoon became exceeding formidable. Alarmed at his increaſing power, Adelwalch, king of Suſſex, aſſembled a body of forces to drive him out of his dominions; but this attempt proved unſucceſsful, his army being defeated and himſelf ſlain.

Fluſhed with this victory, Ceadwalla attempted to make himſelf maſter of Suſſex; but he met with ſuch oppoſition from the inhabitants, headed by Berthun and Anthun, two popular noblemen, that he was obliged to retire, after loſing a conſiderable number of his forces.

A. D. 686. A ſhort time after this Kentwin died, and Ceadwalla was placed on the throne of Weſſex. In conſequence of this acquiſition of power he immediately returned into Suſſex, defeated Berthun, and laid the whole country waſte with fire and ſword. He then plundered the kingdom of Kent, and afterwards inveſted the Iſle of Wight, where he committed the moſt horrid cruelties on the wretched inhabitants. It is, however, to be obſerved, for the honour of Chriſtianity, that Ceadwalla was then a Pagan. He had, indeed, been very liberal to the church, having devoted a tenth part of his ſpoils to donations, which, according to the ignorance of that age, was conſidered by the clergy as a ſufficient atonement for his crimes; but, as William of Malmſbury juſtly obſerves, "Whoever offers a victim from the ſubſtance of the poor, ſacrifices the ſon in the eyes of the father."

Ceadwalla being at length impreſſed with a due ſenſe of the enormity of his paſt conduct, reſolved to make a ſerious atonement by profeſſing the doctrines of Chriſtianity. He accordingly repaired to Rome, where he was publicly baptized by Sergius II. who then filled the papal chair. But he did not long ſurvive the ceremony, for he died a few days after, and was interred in the church of St. Peter. He was poſſeſſed of great abilities, but few virtues; of much ſeeming religion, but very little real piety.

A. D. 688. On the death of Ceadwalla the throne of Weſſex was filled by his nephew Ina, one of the moſt illuſtrious monarchs mentioned in the Saxon Heptarchy. He was at once a general and a ſcholar, and formed to ſhine either in the council or the field. His abilities were ſo conſpicuous, and his virtues ſo great, that he had not ſet a year upon the throne before he was elected chief of the Saxon confederacy; and this æra he diſtinguiſhed by digeſting a body of laws for the good government of his ſubjects, which were ſo well concerted as to lay a foundation for thoſe enacted in the following century by Alfred the Great. He likewiſe convoked a general aſſembly of the clergy, at which meeting many wiſe and judicious regulations were made for the better government of the church.

The firſt military expedition undertaken by Ina was againſt the inhabitants of Kent, in order to revenge the death of his kinſman Mollo. But Withred, who then filled the Kentiſh throne, not chuſing to contend with him by force of arms, purchaſed an accommodation by the payment of a very conſiderable fine.

A. D. 710. Ina, being thus ſatisfied with the Kentiſh monarch, returned to his own dominions, and ſoon after made war with the Britons who inhabited the eaſtern part of the country. In this enterprize he proved ſucceſsful, and ſubdued the greater part of their territories; but he treated the vanquiſhed with a degree of humanity before unknown among Saxon conquerors. He allowed them to retain the poſſeſſion of their lands, encouraged marriages and alliances between them and his own ſubjects, and gave them the privilege of being governed by the ſame laws.

A. 715. In the beginning of this year Ina declared war againſt Ceolred king of Mercia; and the two armies meeting at Woodenberg in Wilts, a battle enſued, which was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of Ina, and ſuch of the Mercians who eſcaped the ſword were obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

After defeating the Mercians, Ina marched his army againſt the South Saxons, who had revolted from their obedience and depoſed their king. Theſe he ſoon ſubdued, and having reſtored tranquillity to the kingdom, returned in triumph to his own dominions.

A. D. 725. Ina, having governed thirty-ſeven

years in a continued ſtate of activity, now reſolved to dedicate the remainder of his life entirely to the exerciſes of devotion. As a prelude to the carrying his deſign into execution, he undertook a journey to Rome, in order to hold a conference with Gregory II. the then pontiff. During his reſidence in that city he erected a college for the reception of Engliſh eccleſiaſtics, to eſtabliſh which he impoſed a tax upon his ſubjects, afterwards called Peter's-pence. This tax was, for many years, converted to the purpoſes intended by Ina; but at length it was claimed as a debt by the popes, and conſidered as a legal part of their revenues.

The founding of this ſeminary was the laſt public act of Ina's reign. He had, from his judicious conduct, attained to the very pinnacle of renown, and was not only revered and loved by his own ſubjects, but was eſteemed and dreaded by the neighbouring kingdoms. But on his return from the continent he fell into a malady incident to thoſe times of darkneſs and ignorance, being affected with ſuch a wild enthuſiaſtic conſcientiouſneſs as to form the reſolution of ſacrificing his regal ſtate to the dull retirement of a monkiſh cloiſter. He accordingly reſigned his ſceptre, went to Rome, and aſſumed the habit of a monk; and in this ſtate of obſcurity finiſhed a life, the former part of which entitled him to the admiration of cotemporaries, and the reſpect of poſterity. His wife ſoon followed his example, aſſumed the monaſtic habit, and ended her days in ſullen retirement from ſociety, to which, in her elevated ſtation, ſhe might have been both uſeful and ornamental.

A. D, 727. On the abdication of Ina the crown of Weſſex was placed on the head of his kinſman Ethelhard, who found a powerful competitor in the perſon of Oſwald, a nephew of the late king Ceadwalla. Oſwald, being ſupported by great numbers of the principal people of the kingdom, raiſed a very conſiderable army, and determined to claim his right by force of arms. In conſequence of this Ethelhard, who was a ſtranger to fear, marched his troops againſt him, when a deſperate battle enſued, the iſſue of which was, that the forces of Oſwald were totally routed, and himſelf driven into exile, where he ſoon after died, leaving the conqueror to enjoy his crown unrivalled.

A. D. 740. Ethelhard, having reigned thirteen years without any diſturbance either from foreign or domeſtic enemies, paid the debt of nature, and not having any iſſue, the crown devolved on Cuthred his brother, or, as ſome hiſtorians ſay, his nephew.

The whole of this prince's reign was one continued ſcene of tumult and diſorder. His ſon was ſlain in a mutiny which happened ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne; and this misfortune was followed by a rebellion, which was raiſed in the weſtern parts of his kingdom. The inſurgents were headed by Edelhun, one of their chief nobility, and celebrated for his military abilities and intrepid courage. This brave and experienced commander met Cuthred in the field with a body of forces far unequal in number to thoſe brought by that prince; but, animated by the example, and conducted by the prudence of Edelhun, they attacked the troops of Cuthred with ſuch fury, that victory was on the point of declaring in their favour, when unfortunately their intrepid leader was dangerouſly wounded. Confuſion was now conſpicuous in the rebel army, which being obſerved by Cuthred, he took advantage of it, and drove them from the field with great ſlaughter. Edelhun was taken priſoner; but the manner in which he had ſuſtained himſelf with ſuch a ſmall body of men recommended him ſo ſtrongly to the favour of Cuthred, that he not only granted him a pardon, but likewiſe made him general of his own forces.

Cuthred was ſoon convinced of the propriety of his conduct with reſpect to Edelhun. The Weſt Saxons, headed by this able commander, were invincible, and wherever they turned their arms they conquered. The flames of rebellion were ſoon ſuppreſſed, and the nobles, intimidated by the power of the army, buried their animoſities in the grave of circumſpection. But it was in vain to expect tranquillity while the iſland was divided into ſo many petty kingdoms, without any barrier to prevent the incurſions of the borderers. Ethelbald, king of Mercia, entered the territories of Cuthred, and committed all the exceſſes that might be expected from ſo ferocious a leader, who had already ravaged the kingdoms of Kent, Eſſex, and Eaſt-Anglia. But his victorious forces could not intimidate Edelhun: he led the army of Cuthred againſt the enemy, and, after an obſtinate engagement obtained a compleat victory, and Ethelbald was obliged to ſave himſelf by a precipitate flight.

After this victory Cuthred ſent Edelhun at the head of his forces againſt the Britons of Cornwall, whom he conquered, and part of their country was united to the dominions of Weſſex. In the midſt of theſe ſucceſſes Cuthred paid the debt of nature, after having held the ſceptre for the ſpace of fourteen years.

A. D. 754. On the death of Cuthred the crown of Weſſex fell to his nephew Sigebert, who might have reigned in peace had he but liſtened to the voice of reaſon. But he would not be directed by thoſe whom age and experience had taught wiſdom. Proud of the merit of his anceſtors without poſſeſſing any himſelf, and cruel without provocation, he treated his nobles with inſolence, and his people with inhumanity. In ſhort, he was deſtitute of every virtue, and attached to almoſt every vice.

Such a prince could not fail of incurring the hatred of a people accuſtomed to the ſweets of liberty. They accordingly flew to arms, and being headed by Kinewulf, a prince of the royal blood, compelled him to abandon a throne he wanted courage to defend. But ſo far were they from treating his perſon with any violence, that he was even allowed a large diſtrict in Hampſhire for his ſubſiſtence, where he might have ended his days in peace, had his reverſe of fortune taught him to govern his head-ſtrong paſſions; but that was a virtue to which Sigebert was a ſtranger. During his exile one Cumbrian (at that time governor of a large diſtrict in Hampſhire) who had been his warmeſt friend, expoſtulated with him on the impropriety of his conduct, and endeavoured to reclaim him from thoſe vices which had deprived him of his crown. But the cruel Sigebert conſidering this wholeſome advice as a flagrant act

of

of diſreſpect, was ſo incenſed that he cauſed his friend and benefactor to be put to death.

This inhuman action rendered Sigebert odious in the eyes of thoſe who had hitherto been his adherents; and Kinewulf, who had been choſen to the ſovereignty in his ſtead, thought himſelf obliged, from the duty he owed his people, to deprive ſo deteſtable a monſter of the means of gratifying his cruel diſpoſition. He therefore diſpoſſed him of his territory, and obliged him o fly for ſhelter to the foreſt of Andreſwald, where he had not been long before he met that fate he ſo juſtly merited, being put to death by the ignoble hand of a ſwine-herd.

A. D. 755. Kinewulf, being now fully eſtabliſhed on the throne of Weſſex, turned his arms againſt the Britons in Cornwall. He had a natural propenſity to war, and his undertakings were generally ſucceſsful; but at length he was routed by Offa, king of Mercia, who took from him all his dominions north of the Thames.

This reverſe of fortune encouraged Kyneherd, the brother of Sigebert, to attempt the recovery of the crown, which had been uſurped by Kinewulf; but not having ſufficient power to execute it by force of arms, he determined, if poſſible, to accompliſh his ends by ſtratagem. He did not wait long before an opportunity offered for effecting his deſign. Being informed that Kinewulf often paid private viſits to a lady at Merton in Surry, he ſelected a party of his adherents, and went to the houſe, which they forcibly entered, and found means to penetrate to the door of the apartment where the king was before his attendants were alarmed. On their entering the room Kinewulf, ſeeing the danger, ran haſtily to his arms, and, for ſome time, defended himſelf with great reſolution; but being at length overpowered by numbers, he fell covered with wounds.

But though Kyneherd had thus far obtained his ends, they were far from turning out to his advantage. The people reſpected Kinewulf as the perſon they had choſen to rule over them, and who had freed them from the rod of tyranny. As ſoon, therefore, as they heard of his aſſaſſination, great numbers of the nobility and others, headed by one Oſric, a popular man, and diſtinguiſhed friend of the deceaſed, advanced in a body to the houſe, with a reſolution of revenging the death of their ſovereign. On their arrival they found the conſpirators had barricadoed the houſe; in order to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. Kyneherd, perceiving the danger he was in, appeared on the battlements, and endeavoured to divert them from their deſign, by remonſtrating with them on the legality of his claim to the crown, and promiſing that he would confirm their liberties, and increaſe their honours. But the noblemen anſwered, that the ties of blood were feeble compared with thoſe of duty; that their maſter had been baſely ſlain, and they were come to revenge his murder. Accordingly the gates were immediately forced open, and Kyneherd, with his adherents, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were all put to the ſword.

A. D. 784. The murder of Kinewulf being thus revenged, and his funeral obſequies performed at Wincheſter, his ſon Brithric was placed on the throne of Weſſex. This prince, being of a meek, pacific diſpoſition, employed himſelf in the cultivation of the arts of peace, preferring the character of a good politician to that of a diſtinguiſhed warrior. But notwithſtanding the natural evenneſs of his temper, he could not avoid entertaining ſome jealous ſuſpicion of Egbert, a prince of the blood, who was highly eſteemed by the people for his many amiable qualities, and who, in point of birth, had a prior right to the throne.

It was not long before Egbert perceived in what light he was held by Brithric, and therefore thought it unſafe to remain any longer in his territories. In conſequence of this he privately withdrew to France, where he was kindly received by Charlemagne, who then ſwayed the ſcepter of that kingdom. At this court he remained twelve years, during which he cloſely applied himſelf to the ſtudy of military diſcipline, and acquired thoſe accompliſhments which afterwards enabled him to make ſuch a ſhining figure on the throne; ſo that the misfortunes of his youth were of the utmoſt advantage to himſelf and his country.

A. D. 787. A ſhort time after Egbert left the Britiſh court, Brithric married Eadburga, the daughter of Offa, king of Mercia, a woman equally infamous for her cruelty and incontinence. Having great influence over her huſband, ſhe often incited him to deſtroy ſuch of the nobility as were obnoxious to her; and when this expedient failed, ſhe made no ſcruple of putting the cruel deſign in execution with her own hand.

A. D. 797. The horrid diſpoſition of Eadburga proved fatal to Brithric, who, by her means, loſt his life at a time when he little ſuſpected the leaſt danger. A young nobleman, a particular favourite of Brithric, having incurred her diſpleaſure, ſhe determined to avenge the affront; but nothing leſs than the life of the offender would ſatisfy her vengeance. Accordingly, one evening as the nobleman and Brithric were drinking together (as they frequently did) the baſe and treacherous Eadburga mixed poiſon in a cup of wine, and gave it to the victim of her revenge. Unfortunately for the king he likewiſe drank ſome of the wine, and in a ſhort time after they both expired.

This horrid act rendered Eadburga ſo obnoxious to the people, that they compelled her to quit the kingdom. She accordingly retired to an obſcure part of France, where, after a ſeries of misfortunes, ſhe ended her days in miſery and exile.

After the Weſt-Saxons had paid their laſt duties to the remains of their deceaſed monarch, they ſent an honourable embaſſy to Egbert (then with Charlemagne at Rome) inviting him immediately to come over, and take poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors. Egbert readily complied with their requeſt, and was accompanied by the monarch who had ſo honourably entertained him during his exile. On his arrival in England he was placed on the throne of Weſſex, amidſt the acclamations of a people who had long loved and honoured him for his virtues.

Egbert, ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne, put a final period to the Saxon Heptarchy; but the manner in which he effected this, and the various occurrences that took place during the time he reigned ſole monarch of England, will be hereafter related.

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The Kingdom of ESSEX, or the EAST-SAXONS.

THIS kingdom was founded by Erkenwin, who began his reign in the year 527; but we have no particulars recorded of him, except that he was poſſeſſed of the ſovereignty ſixty years, at the expiration of which he died, and left the crown to his ſon Sledda.

A. D. 587. Sledda, being a prince of a very pacific diſpoſition, lived in profound peace ten years, when he paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded on the throne by his ſon Sebert.

A. D. 597. Sebert, at the time of his acceſſion to the throne, was a pagan; but he ſoon after embraced the doctrine of the goſpel at the inſtigation of his uncle Ethelbert king of Kent, who, being deſirous of rendering others partakers of the ſame happineſs he had received from the preaching of Auſtin, ſent Melitus into Eſſex, in order to plant chriſtianity in that kingdom. The intentions of Ethelbert were fully anſwered, and, from the doctrine preached by Melitus, his nephew Sebert became a convert to the Chriſtian religion.

The firſt inſtance Sebert gave of his attachment to the new doctrine was, by joining with his uncle in erecting the cathedral church of St. Paul, which was built on the foundation of an heathen temple dedicated to Diana by the Romans. London was ſoon after made a biſhop's ſee, and given to Melitus as a mark of approbation of his conduct.

From the great increaſe of the proſelytes to Chriſtianity that took place after the opening of the cathedral of St. Paul, the two princes were encouraged to rebuild the church of St. Peter at Weſtminſter, which had been demoliſhed by the Saxons. That ſtructure was erected in the time of Conſtantine the Great on the foundations of a temple built by the Romans, and dedicated to Apollo. The founding theſe two churches gave a fatal blow to the idolatry of the Saxons, and many of their temples were deſtroyed in different parts of the kingdom.

Sebert, after a reign of ſeventeen years, which he devoted to acts of piety and virtue, paid the debt of nature, and according to moſt hiſtorians, was interred in the abbey at Weſtminſter which he had contributed to erect.

A. D. 614. On the death of Sebert, the kingdom of Eſſex devolved on his three ſons, Soxred, Siward, and Sigebert, who began their reigns with renouncing the Chriſtian faith, and expelling Melitus, the firſt biſhop of London, for no other reaſon but becauſe he remonſtrated with them on their infidelity and immorality. Theſe three brothers being of an impetuous diſpoſition, engaged in a war with Kinegils and Quincelm, kings of Kent, by whom they were defeated, and afterwards fell a ſacrifice to their temerity.

A. 623. Sigebert the Little, ſon of Siward, one of the triumvirate, now aſcended the throne of Eſſex; but whatever his actions were, they are conſigned to oblivion, nor even is it known how long he reigned. He was ſucceeded by Sigebert the Good, nephew to the pious king Sebert. This prince reſtored the Chriſtian religion throughout his dominions, after it had been almoſt extinguiſhed by the three brothers who preceded him in the government of that part of the heptarchy. He was greatly aſſiſted in this buſineſs by one Cadda, to whom he was ſo ſtrongly attached, that he afterwards conſecrated him biſhop of the Eaſt-Saxons. But this attachment proved fatal to him: that prelate had excommunicated two noblemen for their profligate behaviour, and the king refuſing to remove Cadda, they entered into a plot, and procured his death by aſſaſſination.

The reigns of the other kings of Eſſex are totally barren of any incidents worth recording in hiſtory. Suffice it, therefore, to ſay, that after an interval of 219 years, from the acceſſion of the firſt monarch to the death of the laſt, the kingdom of Eſſex was reduced by Egbert, who ſoon after put an end to the Saxon Heptarchy.

The Kingdom of NORTHUMBERLAND.

THIS kingdom, which was one of the moſt conſiderable of the Heptarchy, received its name from being ſituated on the north ſide of the Humber. It was for ſome years equally divided into two provinces by the names of Bernicia and Deira. The former of theſe, which conſiſted of the country ſituated to the north of the wall of Severus, was founded by Ida in the year 547; and the latter, containing the ſouthern part of the kingdom, by Ella, about one hundred years after the firſt ſettlement of the Saxons in Britain.

Ida, the founder of Bernicia, was a brave and generous prince, equally great in council and the field. As a general he was intrepid and prudent; as a governor, equitable and humane. He fought many battles with the Britons with great ſucceſs, but was at length ſlain by Owen, prince of the Cumbrians.

Hiſtory is exceeding ſilent with reſpect to the firſt five deſcendants of Ida: their names, indeed, are mentioned, and that is all, not the leaſt account being given of their virtues, their vices, their government or their wars.

A. D. 586. The firſt of Ina's deſcendants that diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a ſovereign was Ethelfrid, a brave and active prince, but arbitrary and cruel in his diſpoſition. Some time after his acceſſion he married Acca, the only daughter of Ella, and on the death of that prince ſeized on the kingdom of Deira, which he united to his own

The firſt military exploit performed by Ethel-

frid was againſt the Scots, who, having formed a confederacy with the Britons, invaded the kingdom of Northumberland, and ſpread terror and devaſtation wherever they went. Ethelfrid, having raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, marched againſt the invaders, and a deſperate battle enſued, which was long, bloody, and, for ſome time doubtful. But at length the Saxons prevailed, and the Scots were totally routed.

A. D. 613. After this victory, Ethelfrid marched, at the head of his forces, into the country of the Britons, a great part of which he laid waſte with fire and ſword. He proſecuted his route as far as the environs of Cheſter, with a reſolution of making himſelf maſter of that city. On his approach the Britons, who were exaſperated at the cruelties he had exerciſed on their countrymen, took the field, and advanced to meet the invaders of their country. They were accompanied by a body of twelve hundred and fifty monks from the monaſtery of Bangor, who attended in order, by their preſence and exhortations, to animate the ſoldiers to uſe their utmoſt efforts in oppoſing the enemy. The appearance of ſo conſiderable a body of men unarmed attracted the particular notice of Ethelfrid, who, aſking the reaſon of it was told, that they were prieſts, who had come out to pray for the deſtruction of his army. "Then (ſaid he) they are as much our enemies, as thoſe who intend to fight againſt us." In order to ſatisfy his revenge he immediately diſpatched a party of his troops againſt the defenceleſs monks, and ſo great was the ſlaughter, that only fifty out of the whole eſcaped with their lives. This event ſo aſtoniſhed the Britons, that they were unable to exert themſelves againſt the enemy, who falling on them with great reſolution, ſoon obtained a compleat victory, prodigious numbers of the Britons being ſlain, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. In conſequence of this Ethelfrid made himſelf maſter of Cheſter, and then marching to Bangor, wreaked his vengeance on the remaining monks, by firſt obliging them to fly, and then deſtroying their monaſtery, which he did ſo effectually as to level it with the foundation.

A. D. 616. After having thus ſubdued the Scots and Britons, Ethelfrid returned with his forces to his own dominions. But notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of war, he lived in great diſquietude on account of young Edwin, whom he had unjuſtly diſpoſſeſſed of the crown of Deira. This young prince was now arrived at the ſtate of manhood, and, by his conduct, evinced that he was poſſeſſed of thoſe virtues which always render a king great, and his people happy. Ethelfrid was too good a judge of mankind not to perceive theſe growing qualities: he ſaw their dawn, and dreaded their effects; what in others would have been amiable was criminal in Edwin. But the young prince, conſcious that the right of ſucceſſion was conſidered by an uſurper as an unpardonable crime, avoided the deſtruction that awaited him by a precipitate flight.

Edwin, for ſome time, led the life of an exile, wandering from one kingdom to another, and being in continual danger from the deſigns of Ethelfrid. At length he fortunately applied to the court of Eaſt-Anglia, where he was hoſpitably received by Redwald, king of that province.

Ethelfrid, hearing that Edwin had obtained protection at the Eaſt-Anglian court, was greatly alarmed, and immediately diſpatched an ambaſſador to Redwald, offering him a large ſum of money to deliver up the refugee, and threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to declare war againſt his dominions. Allured by the bribe, and intimidated by the menace of ſo formidable a prince, Redwald was at firſt inclined to comply with the demand; but the voice of honour, the dictates of his own conſcience, and the perſuaſions of his queen, at length prevailed, and he reſolved to protect the young prince at the hazard of his own crown.

Redwald well knew the implacable and cruel diſpoſition of Ethelfrid, and therefore wiſely determined to take ſuch meaſures as might prevent its effects. He accordingly collected a very powerful army, and marched directly into the territories of Northumberland. His troops were divided into three bodies, the firſt of which was led by his ſon Reyner, the ſecond he headed himſelf, and the third was commanded by Edwin. Reyner received orders to advance in order to ſecure a paſs; but the impetuoſity of his courage carried him too far to be properly ſupported in caſe of an attack. Ethelfrid, who was already in the field, meeting this diviſion totally defeated them, and ſlew prince Reyner with his own hand.

Enraged almoſt to a ſtate of madneſs at the death of his ſon, Redwald advanced with the remaining part of his army againſt the Northumbrians. A dreadful battle enſued, and victory was for ſome time doubtful, till at length the Northumbrian army, unable to withſtand the ſhock any longer gave way, and betook themſelves to flight. Ethelfrid tried all he could to rally his ſcattered forces, but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he ruſhed furiouſly into the thickeſt of the enemy's ſquadrons, where, after performing prodigies of valour, he fell, covered with wounds.

The victorious Redwald met with no farther oppoſition; for the ſons of Ethelfrid no ſooner heard of their father's defeat and death, than they immediately fled for refuge to Scotland, and the inhabitants of Northumberland readily ſubmitted. But far from taking the advantage of a conqueror, Redwald contented himſelf with the glory of the expedition he had undertaken, and chearfully placed Edwin on the throne of Northumberland.

A. D. 625. Edwin had formerly married a ſiſter of the Mercian king; but ſhe being dead he eſpouſed Ethelburga, daughter of Eadbald, king of Kent. This princeſs being a Chriſtian, and Edwin a Pagan, it was ſtipulated in the marriage articles, that ſhe ſhould enjoy the free exerciſe of her own religion, and be permitted to retain in her ſervice Paulinus, a Chriſtian biſhop, and ſuch other attendants as ſhould be thought neceſſary for performing the offices of Chriſtianity.

As ſoon as the nuptials were celebrated, Edwin and Ethelburga, accompanied by Paulinus, took up their reſidence at York, the capital of the kingdom, where Ethelburga took every opportunity

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PUBLICK BAPTISM *of* EDWIN *the first Christian* KING *of Northumberland, by* PAULINUS *at York.*

tunity ſhe could to endeavour to perſuade the king to embrace the Chriſtian faith. Struck with the amiable virtues of Ethelburga, and charmed with her humane and tender diſpoſition, Edwin liſtened, with great attention, to her exhortations; and was at length ſo wrought upon that he declared himſelf a convert to Chriſtianity, and was publickly baptized at York, in a church dedicated to St. Peter. The ceremony was performed by Paulinus, whom he afterwards appointed biſhop of that ſee. The king's example was followed by great numbers of his ſubjects, inſomuch that, according to moſt hiſtorians, no leſs than twelve thouſand perſons were, on the ſame day, baptized in the Chriſtian faith.

A. D. 627. The converſion of Edwin to Chriſtianity conſiderably increaſed his power, which the neighbouring princes could not behold without envy, more eſpecially Penda, king of Mercia, who, joining his forces with thoſe of Ceadwalla, king of the Britons, invaded Northumberland. They had advanced as far as Hatfield foreſt in Yorkſhire, and committed the moſt dreadful outrages, before Edwin was informed of their having entered his dominions. Penetrated with the diſtreſs of his people, and enraged at the perfidy of the enemy, he marched at the head of an inferior number of troops to give them battle, in order to terminate, as ſoon as poſſible, the miſeries of his ſubjects. The conteſt was dreadful, and for ſome time fortune ſeemed inclinable to beſtow on Edwin the palm of victory. But at length an event took place which determined the fate of the day. Offrid, the eldeſt ſon of Edwin, was ſhot with an arrow, and fell dead at his father's feet. This circumſtance threw Edwin into a mere ſtate of madneſs: he loſt his uſual ſteadineſs and preſence of mind; and running with a regardleſs impetuoſity, into the thickeſt part of the enemy's troops, was cut to pieces. This diſaſter ſo intimidated the Northumbrians, that they were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion; in conſequence of which great numbers were put to the ſword, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. The devaſtation that followed in Northumberland cannot be deſcribed: neither age nor ſex were ſpared; the old and the young fell the undiſtinguiſhed victims of an unrelenting foe. Ethelburga and Paulinus fled into Kent, where they were received by the king with every token of the moſt affectionate reſpect; the former having certain lands allotted for her ſubſiſtence, and thelatter being appointed to the ſee of Rocheſter.

A. D. 633. The Northumbrians, aggrieved by the repeated cruelties of the tyrannic Penda, reſolved to make a vigorous effort towards the recovery of their former independence, preferring a glorious death to a life of the moſt ignoble and vile ſubjection. To promote this deſign, they placed Oſric, a relation of Edwin, on the throne of Deira, and Anfrid, ſon of Ethelfrid, on that of Bernicia. But theſe two princes did not long ſurvive their elevation; for Oſric, having raſhly beſieged Ceadwalla at York, the Britiſh king made a furious ſally, routed the beſiegers with great ſlaughter, and, with his own hand, ſlew the young but enterprizing prince. The victor immediately ſeized the kingdom of Northumberland, where he exerciſed the greateſt cruelty during the ſpace of a year, at the expiration of which Anfrid, going very indiſcreetly, with only ten ſoldiers. to treat with him, was ſeized by his orders, and inſtantly put to death.

A. D. 634. The Northumbrians now groaned under the moſt dire calamities, the victorious Ceadwalla laying waſte the greater part of their country with fire and ſword. This dreadful ſcene of horror and devaſtation continued for ſome time, till at length Oſwald, the ſecond ſon of Ethelfrid, who had long been an exile in Scotland, reſolved either to put a ſtop to the cruelty of ſo inhuman a tyrant, or periſh in the generous attempt. Accordingly, having collected a body of men, he marched againſt Ceadwalla, who was then at the head of an army conſidered as irreſiſtible. Oſwald, who directed all his ſteps with caution, took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt at a place called Halidown, a little to the north of the wall of Severus. Here he waited the approach of Ceadwalla, who, fluſhed with ſucceſs, no ſooner beheld Oſwald's forces, than he conſidered them as victims deſtined to ſlaughter, and rather looked upon them as a prey than an enemy. After taking a cool and deliberate view of the intrenchments of the enemy, he gave orders for a general aſſault. The attack was furious, but not ſucceſsful; and Ceadwalla, leading his forces to make a ſecond aſſault, was pierced through the heart with an arrow, and fell dead on the ground. In conſequence of this fatal ſtroke, a general confuſion took place among the army of the Britons, which being obſerved by Oſwald, he immediately iſſued from his intrenchment at the head of his forces, and fell on them with ſuch impetuoſity that the greater part were killed, and the reſt fled with great precipitation into their own country.

Having thus defeated the army, and ſlain the tyrant who had ſo unmercifully ravaged his country, Oſwald took quiet poſſeſſion of the united kingdom of Northumberland. His firſt care was, to re-eſtabliſh civil polity, and reſtore religious worſhip. His education rendered him the wiſeſt prince of the age, while his great virtues not only obtained him the univerſal affection of his ſubjects, but likewiſe gained him ſuch credit among the Saxon princes, that he was choſen chief of their political confederacy.

A. D. 642. Peace and good order being thus reſtored to the Northumbrians, they enjoyed a ſtate of happineſs for ſome time, till at length they were interrupted by Penda, king of Mercia, who entered Northumberland at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, and committed the moſt horrid outrages wherever he went. Oſwald gathered together what forces he could, and haſtened with all expedition againſt the invader of his country. The two armies met at a place called Maſerfelt, where a dreadful battle enſued. But the troops of Oſwald were too few to contend in the open field with the Mercian forces long uſed to conqueſt: the Northumbrians were totally routed, and Oſwald himſelf was found among the ſlain. After this Penda ravaged various parts of the country, committing the moſt horrid acts of inhumanity on the wretched inhabitants. At length, however, his progreſs was ſtopped at Banbury-Caſtle, which bid defiance to his power; and being ſatiated with blood and ſlaughter, he marched at the head of his forces into his own dominions.

A. D. 643. On the death of Oſwald, the throne

of Northumberland fell to his ſon Oſwy, whoſe whole reign was one continued ſcene of war and tumult. He held the ſovereignty for the ſpace of twenty-ſeven years, and then dying left the crown to his ſon Egfrid.

A. D. 670. The firſt military expedition in which Egfrid engaged himſelf was againſt the Picts, who, having raiſed a prodigious army among the northern nations, entered his territories, and committed violent outrages in different parts of the kingdom. Egfrid loſt no time in endeavouring to repel their force, and though his army was greatly inferior in numbers to that of the enemy, he attacked them with ſuch ſucceſs that they were totally defeated, and the greater part of them put to the ſword.

A. D. 684. Egfrid now turned his arms againſt the Scots, in violation of a treaty concluded with Eugenius their king, and waſted great part of their country with fire and ſword. But at length Eugenius, having brought over the Picts to his alliance, attacked him ſo furiouſly, that his army was totally routed, and himſelf narrowly eſcaped with his life.

A. D. 685. Incenſed at the revolt of the Picts, Egfrid marched the next year with a powerful army into their country, in order to chaſtiſe them for their treachery. But this expedition proved fatal to him; for the Picts, knowing themſelves incapable of meeting him in the open field, made a feigned retreat towards their mountains, and by this ſtratagem drew Egfrid into an ambuſcade, whereby himſelf and the greater part of his army were cut to pieces.

From this period few tranſactions happened in Northumberland worthy of notice, except the depoſition and murder of its princes. The people were treated with cruelty, and ſuperſtitious bigotry uſurped the place of genuine religion.

The Kingdom of EAST-ANGLIA.

THIS kingdom was founded by the Angles, a people from Jutland, who landed at different times in independent bodies on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland. They were ſtrongly oppoſed by the Britons, with whom they fought many battles; nor were they able to eſtabliſh themſelves till forty years after their firſt arrival in Britain.

A. D. 571. The firſt perſon that aſſumed the title of king of Eaſt Anglia, and who, therefore, may be properly termed the founder of the kingdom, was Uffa. This prince enjoyed the ſovereignty about ſeven years, and then dying left the ſcepter to his ſon Titel, who reigned twenty-one years. But hiſtory is ſilent with reſpect to the actions of both theſe princes; ſo that we may ſuppoſe they reigned in a profound ſtate of eaſe and tranquillity.

A. D. 599. On the death of Titel, the throne of Eaſt-Anglia fell to his ſon Redwald, a prince whoſe great merits rendered him ſo conſpicuous, that he was placed at the head of the heptarchy, which poſt he held with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reputation. After a glorious reign of twenty-five years, he paid the debt of nature, as univerſally lamented as he had been beloved by his ſubjects.

A. D. 624. Redwald was ſucceeded by his ſon Eorpwald, a prince, who ſo far degenerated from the virtues of his father, that he rendered himſelf odious to his ſubjects by every meanneſs that could diſgrace royalty. Such was his puſillanimity and inactiveneſs, that he left the weighty affairs of government to Edwin king of Northumberland, to whom he even offered his crown; but this Edwin generouſly declined, the dictates of honour and juſtice (in conſideration of the great benefits he had received from Redwald his father) preponderating in the boſom of that virtuous monarch.

Eorpwald, towards the cloſe of his reign, embraced the Chriſtian religion, which ſo incenſed Richbert, a principal officer of the army, that he aſſaſſinated him with own hand.

On the death of Eorpwald, the aſſaſſin Richbert conducted the affairs of ſtate for the ſpace of three years, without aſſuming the title of king; during which time the thickeſt clouds of Pagan darkneſs overſpread the kingdom of the Eaſt Angles.

A. D. 633. Tired with the uſurpation of Richbert, the Saxons recalled Sigebert (a ſon of the late Redwald) from France, where he had been ſome years in a ſtate of exile, and placed him on the throne of his anceſtors. This prince, during his reſidence abroad, had embraced chriſtianity, and improved himſelf in every branch of uſeful learning. As ſoon, therefore, as he was ſettled on the throne he applied himſelf, with great diligence, to the propagation of the goſpel among his ſubjects, in which laudable work he was aſſiſted by one Felix, a Burgundian prieſt, and the ſucceſs they met with anſwered their utmoſt expectations. After this Sigebert reſigned his crown to his ſon Egric, and retired to the monaſtery of St. Edmundſbury, which he had founded himſelf, preferring the habit of a monk to the robes of royalty.

A. D. 644. Egric had not been long on the throne before his dominions were invaded by that reſtleſs tyrant Penda, king of Mercia. In conſequence of this the Eaſt-Angles, knowing the power of Penda, and being diffident of the courage and abilities of Egric, had recourſe to Sigebert, intreating him to quit the cloiſter, and take upon him the command of their forces. After many repeated ſolicitations, their importunity prevailed, and Sigebert left the convent; but, retaining his ſuperſtition, he abſolutely refuſed to carry any other weapon than a wand. The fatal effect of this frantic behaviour ſoon appeared; for the Eaſt Anglian army was totally routed, and both Sigebert and his ſon ſlain in the field of battle.

On the death of Sigebert the crown devolved on Annas, a nephew of the famous Redwald, who was one of the moſt illuſtrious princes that ever filled the Eaſt-Anglian throne. He received the young king of Weſſex, whom the turbulent Penda had driven from the throne, converted him to chriſtianity, and re-eſtabliſhed him in his kingdom. This conduct exaſperating the furious Penda, he threatened to ravage his country with fire

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The reigns of the ſucceeding kings of the Eaſt Angles contain no particulars worthy the recital of an hiſtorian, except that of Ethelbert, their laſt prince, who acceded to the throne in the year 792. This young prince was naturally of a very amiable diſpoſition, and poſſeſſed all the virtues neceſſary to diſtinguiſh royalty. The goodneſs of his heart, and the humility of his mind, together with the regard he ſhewed for religion, and the ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, rendered him the delight of his people, who wanted nothing but an heir to ſucceed him on the throne at his deceaſe. To effect this, they requeſted him to form an alliance with a princeſs properly qualified as a partner for him on the throne. Ethelbert made no oppoſition to this requeſt, and a treaty of marriage was concluded between him and Althrida, daughter to Offa king of Mercia, a princeſs equally remarkable for her piety and mental accompliſhments. Every thing being ready, Ethelbert, with a ſplendid retinue, repaired to the court of Mercia, in order to conſummate his nuptials. But Offa had other views. Ambition had more charms than virtue. He was determined to annex the kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia to his own, though at the price of every thing that ſhould be held dear by man. He violated the ſacred rights of hoſpitality and honour, by cauſing the innocent and unſuſpecting Ethelbert to be cruelly aſſaſſinated; after which he forcibly ſeized his kingdom, and united it to his own dominions, in which ſtate it remained till the final diſſolution of the heptarchy by Egbert.

The Kingdom of MERCIA.

THIS was by far the largeſt and moſt conſiderable kingdom of the whole heptarchy. It was founded by Crida in the year 584, who dying after a reign of ten years, the kingdom was ſeized by Ethelbert, king of Kent. This prince kept poſſeſſion of it three years, when finding that his uſurpation produced murmurs that were likely to terminate in his own ruin, he reſigned the throne to Whibba the ſon of Crida, who, after a reign of nineteen years, left it to his ſon Penda.

A. D. 616. Ethelbert, who ſtill reigned in Kent, knowing the reſtleſs ambition and turbulent temper of Penda, and fearing the conſequences, again ſeized the crown of Mercia, which he retained for the ſpace of one year, when he reſigned it in favour of Ceorl, nephew to the late king. This prince, who could be conſidered in no other light than that of an uſurper, reigned eight years, and dying without iſſue, the crown devolved on Penda, the lawful heir, who, at the time, was in the fiftieth year of his age.

A. D. 625. Penda ſat on the throne for the ſpace of thirty years, during which time he was engaged in continual hoſtilities againſt the neighbouring ſtates, and by his injuſtice and violence became at once equally odious to his own ſubjects and to ſtrangers. The flame of ambition, which generally grows languid with age, glowed with full vigour in Penda. He planned conqueſts, when others were tottering on the brink of the grave, and in the eightieth year of his age marched at the head of his army into Northumberland, with a reſolution of making himſelf maſter of that country. But victory now forſook his ſtandards, and he fell a ſacrifice to his ambition, being ſlain in battle by Oſwy, king of Northumberland, and the greater part of his army cut to pieces.

A. D. 655. Penda was ſucceeded on the throne of Mercia by his ſon Peada; but he did not long enjoy the regal dignity, being cut off by poiſon after a reign of only two years.

On the death of Peada, the ambitious Oſwy took poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom of Mercia, which he enjoyed without interruption for three years, when the Mercians took up arms, and being headed by three popular noblemen drove Oſwy out of the kingdom; after which they placed Wulphur, the ſecond ſon of Peada, on the throne of Mercia.

A. D. 660. Wulphur, during the whole of his reign, was employed in committing hoſtilities upon his neighbours, and moſt of his enterprizes were attended with ſucceſs; but he fell in battle at Bedwin in Wiltſhire, by the ſword of Eſcwin king of Weſſex.

A. D. 675. On the death of Wulphur the crown of Mercia deſcended to his ſon Kenred, who being an infant, the government was placed in the hands of Ethelred, brother to the late king. This prince in 676 made war upon the king of Kent with ſucceſs, but in 679 was defeated by the Northumbrians. After this he remained in a ſtate of tranquillity for twenty-five years, when, reſigning his kingdom to his nephew Kinred, he retired to a monaſtery, and there ſpent the remainder of his days.

A. D. 704. Kenred, after holding the ſcepter five years, followed the example of his predeceſſor, leaving the crown to his uncle Ceolrid. This prince maintained a bloody and undeciſive war with the Weſt-Saxons, and after a reign of twelve years, loſt his life by poiſon.

A. D. 716. Ceolrid was ſucceeded by Ethelbald, brother to Penda, whoſe whole life was ſpent in committing hoſtilities on his neighbours. He was of a moſt unſocial and cruel diſpoſition, and ſo deteſted by his ſubjects, that they at length found means to have him aſſaſſinated, after having held the ſcepter thirty-nine years.

A. D. 755. On the death of Ethelbald, one Beornred, a very popular and enterprizing man, took poſſeſſion of the throne; but the Mercian nobility, incenſed at his inſolence, took up arms, and exerted their power ſo effectually, that they drove him out of the kingdom, and veſted Offa, nephew to the late king, with the royal ſcepter.

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A. D. 704. Kenred, after holding the ſcepter five years, followed the example of his predeceſſor, leaving the crown to his uncle Ceolrid. This prince maintained a bloody and undeciſive war with the Weſt-Saxons, and after a reign of twelve years, loſt his life by poiſon.

A. D. 716. Ceolrid was ſucceeded by Ethelbald, brother to Penda, whoſe whole life was ſpent in committing hoſtilities on his neighbours. He was of a moſt unſocial and cruel diſpoſition, and ſo deteſted by his ſubjects, that they at length found means to have him aſſaſſinated, after having held the ſcepter thirty-nine years.

A. D. 755. On the death of Ethelbald, one Beornred, a very popular and enterprizing man, took poſſeſſion of the throne; but the Mercian nobility, incenſed at his inſolence, took up arms, and exerted their power ſo effectually, that they drove him out of the kingdom, and veſted Offa, nephew to the late king, with the royal ſcepter.

A. D. 757. The firſt military expedition of Offa, after being ſeated on the throne, was againſt

the inhabitants of Kent, whom he defeated in a pitched battle, ſlew their king with his own hand, and made himſelf maſter of their country. Elated with this ſucceſs, he marched with his forces to the northward, and invaded Northumberland, which at that time was diſtracted with wars and inteſtine commotions. In conſequence of this he met with little oppoſition from the inhabitants, and accordingly returned loaded with ſpoils.

The military proweſs of Offa, and the ſucceſs that had attended his arms, ſtruck a general terror in the other Saxon princes; but the only one that made any attempt to ſtop his progreſs was Kinewulf king of the Weſt-Saxons, who raiſed a powerful army, and marched againſt the conqueror. A deſperate battle enſued at a place called Beſſington in Oxfordſhire, but victory declared in favour of Offa, and Kinewulf, though a brave and experienced commander, was obliged to purchaſe a peace at the expence of all his territories to the northward of the Thames.

A. D. 776. The commotions in the different Saxons ſtates, occaſioned by the ambitious proceedings of Offa, were particularly attended to by the Britons, who, deſirous of taking any advantages made ſudden inroads into their territories, which being unexpected, proved ſucceſsful. They at length penetrated into the frontier provinces of Mercia, upon which Offa marched againſt them, and a deſperate battle enſued, when the Britons were defeated with great ſlaughter, and thoſe who eſcaped the ſword fled with precipitation into their own country. To prevent their incurſions in future Offa threw up a ſtrong entrenchment, which began near the mouth of the river Dee in Flintſhire, and, running along the mountains, terminated at the influx of the Wye into the Severn near Briſtol. This was the moſt arduous work executed during the heptarchy, a part of which ſtill remains, and is known by the name of Offa's Dyke.

The great ſucceſs of Offa's arms raiſed his reputation to the higheſt ſummit. His court was now reſorted to by all the neighbouring princes, who attended either to pay him homage, or conciliate his favours, Offa received them with the greateſt reſpect, and even intereſted himſelf in adjuſting their domeſtic differences, ſo that they might ſit eaſy and firm on their reſpective thrones. But all theſe good actions were ſtained by the treacherous murder of Ethelbert king of Eaſt-Anglia, the particulars of which have been already related in the hiſtory of that kingdom.

A. D. 792. Impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of the horrid crime he had committed, as well as deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing his reputation among his people, Offa enriched the cathedral of Hereford, gave the tenth of all his goods to the church, and undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where he received abſolution from the pope. In return for this favour, he eſtabliſhed in his dominions an annual tax to the pontiff called Peter's-pence, becauſe it amounted to a penny each houſe. This tax was levied by the pope's agents for upwards of ſeven hundred years, till it was at length aboliſhed, together with the papal ſupremacy, in the reign of Henry VIII.

Soon after Offa returned from the continent, he erected the famous monaſtery of St. Alban's, where he reſided for the ſpace of two years, and then paid the debt of nature, leaving the crown of Mercia to his ſon Egfrid.

A. D. 794. Egfrid began his reign with ſome popular acts, and the people flattered themſelves with being very happy under his government; but their expectations were ſoon rendered abortive by his death, which happened about five months after his acceſſion to the throne.

On the death of Egfrid the crown devolved on Kenulf, a prince deſcended in a collateral branch from Penda, and poſſeſſed of the ferocity and ambition of that family. Soon after his acceſſion he waged war againſt Kent, and taking Egbert the king priſoner, in the fury of his zeal, ordered his hands to be cut off, and his eyes put out, after which he took him to Mercia, leaving his brother Cuthred in poſſeſſion of the crown of that kingdom.

Theſe are the only particulars we have recorded of this prince, who, after holding the ſcepter twenty-four years, died, leaving a ſon named Kenelm, and two daughters, Quendrida and Burgamida.

A. D. 819. Kenelm acceded to the throne of Mercia on the death of his father, but being a minor he was placed under the care of his ſiſter Quendrida, who, inſtead of performing the duty ſhe owed her father, baſely cauſed him to be murdered, and then uſurped the ſeat of ſovereignty. She did not, however, long enjoy the fruits of her perfidy, being ſupplanted by her uncle Ceolwulph, who, two years after, was dethroned by a popular nobleman named Beornulf. This uſurper held the reigns of ſovereignty only two years, when he was defeated and ſlain by the king of the Eaſt-Angles. Ludican, his ſucceſſor, underwent the ſame fate; and Wiglaf, who ſucceeded him, found every thing in ſuch confuſion that he was unable to withſtand the fortune of Egbert, who united all the Saxon kingdoms into one great monarchy, affixing to the whole the common name of ENGLAND.

Remarkable occurrences during the Heptarchy.

578 Anchors for ſhips firſt forged.
605 A Court of Chancery inſtituted by Ethelbert king of Kent.
663 Glaſs invented and brought into England by Benedict a monk.
751 Organs firſt introduced into the Engliſh churches.
760 Burials permitted in Towns, which uſed to be in the highways.
788 Pleading in Courts of Judicature inſtituted.
824 Oath, firſt adminiſtered in judicial proceedings.

BOOK

Engraved for
RAYMOND'S
History of England

EGBERT

ETHELWOLF

ETHELBALD

ETHELBERT

Metz delin.

Grignion sculp.

A Striking Likenesses of the KINGS *of* ENGLAND, *in the Habits of the Times in which they reigned, from* EGBERT *the Great (Father of the English Monarchy) to the* NORMAN CONQUEST — *Plate* I.

BOOK IV.

From the Foundation of the Engliſh Monarchy by Egbert, to the Norman Conqueſt.

CHAP. I.

EGBERT.

Egbert is placed on the throne of Weſſex. Marches againſt the Britons. His dominions invaded by Bernulf, king of Mercia, whom he engages and totally defeats. Reduces the ſeveral kingdoms of the Heptarchy and becomes ſole monarch of England. Is ſolemnly crowned at Wincheſter. A conſiderable body of Danes land in England. Egbert engages them, and is defeated; but the Danes, ſuſtaining great loſs, retreat to their ſhips, and quit the iſland. The Britons invite over the Danes to join them againſt Egbert. They accordingly land, and the conjunctive armies marching againſt Egbert, a battle enſues, in which the latter proves victorious. Egbert fits out a fleet of ſhips to ſtop the incurſions of the Danes, but ſoon after dies, leaving the crown to his ſon Ethelwolf.

IT has been already obſerved, towards the cloſe of the hiſtory of Weſſex, that on the death of Brithric, a deputation was ſent to Egbert, then an exile in France to return, and take upon him that crown to which he had a right by lineal deſcent. This invitation he readily accepted; ſo that at his return he was immediately placed on the throne amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people.

A. D. 800. Egbert on his firſt acceſſion, directed his conduct in ſuch a manner as to prevent the leaſt ſuſpicion of the grand deſign he had concerted, while in the court of Charlemagne, namely, that of reducing the ſeven Saxon kingdoms, into one grand monarchy. Inſtead of ſeeming to aſpire to conqueſt, he appeared the kind mediator between the other kings, and became ſo reſpected for his prudent deciſions, that they appealed to his award upon all occaſions. Thus by obtaining their confidence he gradually aroſe to an aſcendency at which he did not ſeem to aim, and from an adviſer became a dictator to his royal cotemporaries.

A. D. 808. Egbert was not inſenſible of the great power and authority he had over all the monarchs of the heptarchy; but ſtill he thought it neceſſary to act with the greateſt precaution, leſt they ſhould be alarmed, and thereby prompted to meaſures that might interrupt the proſecution of his main deſign. He wiſely conſidered that it would be in vain to attempt any thing againſt the Saxons while the Britons remained in a condition to oppoſe him. He knew they would be ſure to join the weaker party, and though nothing could make them hearty friends, yet a little diſcipline might render them formidable enemies. He therefore determined to commence hoſtilities againſt the antient inhabitants of the iſland, and having raiſed a conſiderable army, marched into Cornwall, fully reſolved, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of that part of the country. No ſooner were the Britons informed of Egbert's arrival in their territories than they immediately marched againſt him, and the two armies meeting at a place called Camelford a deſperate battle enſued, which was attended with great ſlaughter on both ſides, but at length victory declared in favour of Egbert. This battle was followed by many others, and the war carried on with great ſpirit on both ſides for a conſiderable time, till at length the genius of Egbert prevailing, the Corniſh Britons were vanquiſhed, and Cornwall was added to the dominions of the conqueror.

While Egbert was attempting to reduce the Corniſh Britons, thoſe who inhabited Wales contributed all they could to their aſſiſtance. This ſo irritated Egbert, that he made an expedition into their country, and after totally ſubduing them, made a law, which enacted, that if any Welchman preſumed to paſs Offa's Dyke, the offence ſhould be capital, and he ſhould anſwer for his preſumption by the loſs of his life.

The great ſucceſs of Egbert's arms over the Britons attracted the attention and excited the envy of the other Saxon princes. But no one was able to contend with him except Bernulf king of Mercia, who had reduced the Eaſt-Angles, and made the kings of Eſſex and Kent his tributaries. Bernulf was particularly alarmed at the ſucceſs of Egbert; he ſaw that unleſs ſomething happened to check him in his purſuit after conqueſts, he would ſoon be maſter of the whole heptarchy. He therefore increaſed his army, and taking the opportunity of Egbert's abſence, invaded that part of Weſſex which bordered on his own dominions.

A. D. 823. Egbert was no ſooner informed of this event, than he immediately marched his forces againſt the invader of his country. The two armies met at a place called Elandine (now Wilton) in Wiltſhire, and a deſperate battle enſued. The conteſt was long and bloody; but at length the fortune of Egbert prevailed, and Bernulf was obliged to ſeek his ſafety in flight, leaving the greater part of his army dead on the field of battle.

Egbert now determined to make a bold attempt for effecting the plan he had ſo long concerted. He did not, however, chuſe to proſecute his deſign by purſuing the conqueſt he had made over the Mercians. He marched with his forces into the kingdom of Kent, where Baldred the then monarch, held his power as tributary to Bernulf king of Mercia. The Kentiſhmen made very little oppoſition to the forces of Egbert; in conſequence of which Baldred fled for ſafety to the oppoſite ſide of the Thames, leaving the Weſt-Saxons in full poſſeſſion of his kingdom.

The great power of Egbert ſo intimidated the Eaſt and South Saxons that they quietly ſubmitted to his victorious arms; and Egbert, having taken poſſeſſion of their reſpective kingdoms, annexed them to his own dominions.

The example of the Eaſt and South-Saxons was followed by the Eaſt-Angles, who not only implored the protection of Egbert, but alſo took up arms in his defence. This ſo irritated Bernulf, king of Mercia, to whom they had been long ſubject, that he marched at the head of his forces againſt them, in order to chaſtiſe them for their perfidy. The Eaſt-Angles were exceeding formidable, having received conſiderable aſſiſtance from Egbert; ſo that Bernulf had a difficulty to ſurmount much greater than he imagined. As ſoon as the two armies met a deſperate battle enſued, which laſted ſome time with equal obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of the Eaſt-Angles, and Bernulf was found among the ſlain.

This defeat convinced the Mercians that it was in vain to make any father attempts upon the Eaſt-Angles, more eſpecially as they were ſupported by the powerful Egbert. The immediate danger of their own country now called for their whole attention, to guard againſt which they placed one Wiglaf, a perſon of known valour and military proweſs, on the throne of Mercia.

A. D. 825. But the power of Egbert was not to be reſiſted. He marched at the head of his forces into the heart of the Mercian territories, and obtained eaſy conqueſts over a weak and diſheartened people. Wiglaf was driven from one province to another, and at length obliged to fly for ſhelter to Seward, abbot of Croyland. In conſequence of this, Egbert made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Mercia; but at the interceſſion of Seward he reſtored Wiglaf to the throne, permitting him to retain the title of king, on condition of paying him an annual tribute. This condeſcenſion produced an advantageous effect, the Mercians (who eſteemed Wiglaf) being perfectly reconciled to the ſubmiſſive ſtate in which they were reduced by the powerful Egbert.

A. D. 826. The only kingdom of the heptarchy that now remained unconquered was Northumberland, which, by inteſtine broils, had been long in the moſt diſtracted ſtate; all civil ſubordination was loſt, and the ſhadow of royalty only held by Ealdred. As ſoon, therefore, as Egbert had penetrated with his formidable army into the territories of Ealdred, he immediately diſpatched meſſengers with offers of ſubmiſſion, and reſigned his kingdom to the conqueror, only ſtipulating that he might, in future, govern as a deputy, what, before, he had ruled as a king.

A. D. 829. The victorious and intrepid Egbert having thus ſucceſsfully obtained the ultimate wiſhes of his ambition, by reducing the whole ſeven kingdoms of the heptarchy to his authority, convened a general aſſembly of all the different ſtates to meet at Wincheſter, where by the unanimous conſent of both clergy and laity, he was ſolemnly crowned king of England. Immediately after the ceremony he iſſued a proclamation or edict for aboliſhing all diſtinctions among the Saxon kingdoms, and commanded that, in future, the whole ſhould be called by the common name of ENGLAND.

Egbert was now poſſeſſed of more power and glory than any monarch that had had hitherto preſided in the iſland; and what he had acquired by the force of arms he endeavoured to preſerve by the judiciouſneſs of his conduct. He permitted the inhabitants of the ſeveral kingdoms that had formed the Heptarchy to enjoy their former laws and cuſtoms, and to chuſe their kings, only paying him an annual tribute as a mark of ſubjection. By theſe means he reſtored peace throughout his dominions, and obtained the univerſal reſpect and affection of his ſubjects.

But theſe flattering days of proſperity were ſoon obſcured by the clouds of adverſity, and the tranquillity of the nation interrupted by the appearance of the Danes, who, for ſome time back, had, at different periods, committed the moſt barbarous ravages in different parts of the iſland.

A. D. 831. A conſiderable body of theſe piratical invaders now landed in the iſland of Shepey, which they ravaged, and returned to their ſhips loaded with plunder. This ſucceſs encouraged them to make a deſcent the year following at Tinemouth, but being reſolutely oppoſed by the inhabitants, they re-embarked, and cruiſing along the coaſt landed a body of near fifteen thouſand men at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire.

A. D. 833. Egbert was no ſooner informed of the landing of theſe ferocious invaders than he immediately marched againſt them; but his army being too weak, they gained a compleat victory, and Egbert himſelf was indebted to the darkneſs of the night for his ſafety. The Danes, however, had ſuſtained ſo conſiderable a loſs in the action, that they did not think proper to continue their ravages, but retreated to their ſhips, and, for ſome time, quitted the iſland.

A. D. 836. The Britons in Cornwall had been long diſſatisfied with their ſituation, and were determined, if poſſible, to ſhake off the Saxon yoke. To effect this they invited over the Danes to join them, and a numerous body of theſe pirates landing in Cornwall, a conjunction was immediately formed, they took the field and marched into the dominions of Egbert.

But Egbert, notwithſtanding his late defeat, was not to be intimidated. As ſoon as he heard of this conjunction, he collected his forces, and marched with all expedition to give the enemy battle. The two armies met at a place called Hengſton-hill, where the fortune of Egbert prevailed: the combined army was totally defeated, great numbers ſlain, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. The Danes retired to their ſhips, and the Britons ſecured themſelves by taking ſhelter in their mountains.

Egbert now flattered himſelf with ſpending the remainder of his days in eaſe and tranquillity: but the reſtleſs Danes continuing to harraſs his dominions, he was once more called into the field, and was once more victorious. The Danes were again defeated, and obliged to return without their booty.

A. D. 838. From the repeated attacks of the rapacious Danes, Egbert was convinced of the neceſſity of a fleet to check their progreſs, and accordingly fitted out a number of ſhips for that purpoſe; but he had no ſooner accompliſhed this buſineſs than he paid the debt of nature, leaving the crown to his ſon Ethelwolf.

Egbert

Egbert was formed both for conqueſt and government, being intrepid, wiſe and humane. He acquired a kingdom by his valour and military proweſs, and rendered his people happy by his prudence, beneficence, and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. He reigned as king of the Weſt-Saxons twenty-ſeven years, and ten years as ſovereign of England.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Egbert.

803. A dreadful famine in Scotland.
824. A great Mortality in England, and another Famine in Scotland.
826. An Inundation of the Humber, which did conſiderable damage.
831. Dongale, king of Scotland, drowned in paſſing the river Spey.
836. A violent Inundation of the Tweed, which did conſiderable damage, and deſtroyed great numbers of cattle.

CHAP. II.

ETHELWOLF.

Ethelwolf, being attached to a monaſtic life, neglects the affairs of government, in conſequence of which the Danes land in different parts of England, but are oppoſed by the inhabitants with various ſucceſs. Ethelwolf at length marches againſt them, and is defeated. He relinquiſhes a part of his dominions to his ſon Athelſtan. The Danes continue to commit farther ravages in various parts of the iſland. Ethelwolf makes a pilgrimage to Rome, and on his return marries Judith, the daughter of king Charles the Bald. During his abſence a conſpiracy is formed to diveſt him of the ſovereignty, but on his arrival matters are accommodated, and tranquillity reſtored. He grants the tithes of the kingdom to the clergy, which is confirmed by the ſtates and people. Makes his will, and ſoon after pays the debt of nature.

A. D. 838. THE prudent and diſcerning Egbert, being conſcious of the advantages he had obtained from the extreme devotion to which the Engliſh Saxons were attached, endeavoured to remove the like from his ſon Ethelwolf; and therefore, when on his death-bed, beſought him not to become a ſlave to that indolence which he ſaw predominant in his temper, and which, he was apprehenſive, ſhould it be indulged, might prove fatal to him and his kingdom.

Ethelwolf had been educated in a cloiſter, and even taken the orders of a ſub-deacon in the monaſtery of Wincheſter during the life of his elder brother; but, on his death, pope Leo granted a diſpenſation, whereby he was permitted to marry, and aſſume a ſecular life. After leaving the cloiſter he ſerved under his father againſt the Danes with great reputation, but he could never ſhake off his attachment to a monaſtic life; and when he acceded to the throne, notwithſtanding the advice of his dying parent, he gave a looſe to his favourite paſſion, neglected the affairs of government, and preſerved the character of a monk, inſtead of that of a monarch.

The Danes, encouraged by the indolent diſpoſition of Ethelwolf made ſeveral deſcents in England, and committed the moſt horrid ravages wherever they went. In the firſt year of his reign a conſiderable body of theſe piratical rovers landed at Southampton; but before they could pillage the country, Wulfheard, a brave and intrepid general, attacked and routed them with great ſlaughter, obliging thoſe who eſcaped to fly to their ſhips with the greateſt precipitation.

Soon after this they made a ſecond deſcent at Portland, upon which Ethelwolf, who was too inactive to take the command of the army himſelf, diſpatched Edelhelm, a brave and experienced officer, to oppoſe them. For ſome time the Saxons engaged the pirates with ſuch fury, that they were thrown into the utmoſt diſorder; but receiving freſh ſupplies from their ſhips, they rallied, and returned to the charge with ſuch reſolution, that the Engliſh were entirely defeated, and Edelhelm, their commander, fell among the ſlain.

A. D. 839. In the beginning of this year the piratical Danes landed at Romney, where they were oppoſed by Herebert, a brave and experienced general; but he alſo was defeated, and loſt his life in battle. Elated with this ſucceſs, the Danes penetrated farther into the country, ſo that all Eaſt-Anglia and Kent felt the effects of their barbarous fury: and ſoon after London, Canterbury and Rocheſter, met with the like fate. As the whole deſign of theſe expeditions was plunder they ſeldom met with any other oppoſition than from the militia of the place where they landed; ſo that they embarked with their booty before the people whom they pillaged could be properly ſuſtained by the army.

A. D. 840. From the variety of deſcents made be theſe piratical invaders in different parts of the kingdom, they had diſcovered the natural fertility of the country, and were determined, if poſſible to make a ſettlement in the iſland. Accordingly, a numerous body of them landed at Charmouth, where Egbert had, ſome years before, been defeated. Alarmed at the great danger which now threatened his kingdom, Ethelwolf was rouſed from his monkiſh lethargy, and placing himſelf at the head of his forces, marched with all expedition againſt the invaders of his country. A bloody battle enſued, in which the troops of Ethelwolf were defeated, and the enemy continued maſters of the field. But notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the barbarians were convinced, from the great oppoſition they had met with, that a ſettlement could not be attempted with ſucceſs. They therefore abandoned their deſign for the preſent, and after pillaging the country retired to their ſhips, and once more quitted the iſland.

Ethelwolf was now convinced that a continued courſe of activity was neceſſary to fruſtrate the attempts of the reſtleſs and barbarous Danes. But the fatigues of military duty were far from being agreeable to his diſpoſition. He therefore, in order to procure that indolent tranquillity which he valued much more that power, reſolved to diveſt himſelf of part of his dominions, and accordingly

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The example of the Eaſt and South-Saxons was followed by the Eaſt-Angles, who not only implored the protection of Egbert, but alſo took up arms in his defence. This ſo irritated Bernulf, king of Mercia, to whom they had been long ſubject, that he marched at the head of his forces againſt them, in order to chaſtiſe them for their perfidy. The Eaſt-Angles were exceeding formidable, having received conſiderable aſſiſtance from Egbert; ſo that Bernulf had a difficulty to ſurmount much greater than he imagined. As ſoon as the two armies met a deſperate battle enſued, which laſted ſome time with equal obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of the Eaſt-Angles, and Bernulf was found among the ſlain.

This defeat convinced the Mercians that it was in vain to make any father attempts upon the Eaſt-Angles, more eſpecially as they were ſupported by the powerful Egbert. The immediate danger of their own country now called for their whole attention, to guard againſt which they placed one Wiglaf, a perſon of known valour and military proweſs, on the throne of Mercia.

A. D. 825. But the power of Egbert was not to be reſiſted. He marched at the head of his forces into the heart of the Mercian territories, and obtained eaſy conqueſts over a weak and diſheartened people. Wiglaf was driven from one province to another, and at length obliged to fly for ſhelter to Seward, abbot of Croyland. In conſequence of this, Egbert made himſelf maſter of the kingdom of Mercia; but at the interceſſion of Seward he reſtored Wiglaf to the throne, permitting him to retain the title of king, on condition of paying him an annual tribute. This condeſcenſion produced an advantageous effect, the Mercians (who eſteemed Wiglaf) being perfectly reconciled to the ſubmiſſive ſtate in which they were reduced by the powerful Egbert.

A. D. 826. The only kingdom of the heptarchy that now remained unconquered was Northumberland, which, by inteſtine broils, had been long in the moſt diſtracted ſtate; all civil ſubordination was loſt, and the ſhadow of royalty only held by Ealdred. As ſoon, therefore, as Egbert had penetrated with his formidable army into the territories of Ealdred, he immediately diſpatched meſſengers with offers of ſubmiſſion, and reſigned his kingdom to the conqueror, only ſtipulating that he might, in future, govern as a deputy, what, before, he had ruled as a king.

A. D. 829. The victorious and intrepid Egbert having thus ſucceſsfully obtained the ultimate wiſhes of his ambition, by reducing the whole ſeven kingdoms of the heptarchy to his authority, convened a general aſſembly of all the different ſtates to meet at Wincheſter, where by the unanimous conſent of both clergy and laity, he was ſolemnly crowned king of England. Immediately after the ceremony he iſſued a proclamation or edict for aboliſhing all diſtinctions among the Saxon kingdoms, and commanded that, in future, the whole ſhould be called by the common name of England.

Egbert was now poſſeſſed of more power and glory than any monarch that had had hitherto preſided in the iſland; and what he had acquired by the force of arms he endeavoured to preſerve by the judiciouſneſs of his conduct. He permitted the inhabitants of the ſeveral kingdoms that had formed the Heptarchy to enjoy their former laws and cuſtoms, and to chuſe their kings, only paying him an annual tribute as a mark of ſubjection. By theſe means he reſtored peace throughout his dominions, and obtained the univerſal reſpect and affection of his ſubjects.

But theſe flattering days of proſperity were ſoon obſcured by the clouds of adverſity, and the tranquillity of the nation interrupted by the appearance of the Danes, who, for ſome time back, had, at different periods, committed the moſt barbarous ravages in different parts of the iſland.

A. D. 831. A conſiderable body of theſe piratical invaders now landed in the iſland of Shepey, which they ravaged, and returned to their ſhips loaded with plunder. This ſucceſs encouraged them to make a deſcent the year following at Tinemouth, but being reſolutely oppoſed by the inhabitants, they re-embarked, and cruiſing along the coaſt landed a body of near fifteen thouſand men at Charmouth in Dorſetſhire.

A. D. 833. Egbert was no ſooner informed of the landing of theſe ferocious invaders than he immediately marched againſt them; but his army being too weak, they gained a compleat victory, and Egbert himſelf was indebted to the darkneſs of the night for his ſafety. The Danes, however, had ſuſtained ſo conſiderable a loſs in the action, that they did not think proper to continue their ravages, but retreated to their ſhips, and, for ſome time, quitted the iſland.

A. D. 836. The Britons in Cornwall had been long diſſatisfied with their ſituation, and were determined, if poſſible, to ſhake off the Saxon yoke. To effect this they invited over the Danes to join them, and a numerous body of theſe pirates landing in Cornwall, a conjunction was immediately formed, they took the field and marched into the dominions of Egbert.

But Egbert, notwithſtanding his late defeat, was not to be intimidated. As ſoon as he heard of this conjunction, he collected his forces, and marched with all expedition to give the enemy battle. The two armies met at a place called Hengſton-hill, where the fortune of Egbert prevailed: the combined army was totally defeated, great numbers ſlain, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. The Danes retired to their ſhips, and the Britons ſecured themſelves by taking ſhelter in their mountains.

Egbert now flattered himſelf with ſpending the remainder of his days in eaſe and tranquillity: but the reſtleſs Danes continuing to harraſs his dominions, he was once more called into the field, and was once more victorious. The Danes were again defeated, and obliged to return without their booty.

A. D. 838. From the repeated attacks of the rapacious Danes, Egbert was convinced of the neceſſity of a fleet to check their progreſs, and accordingly fitted out a number of ſhips for that purpoſe; but he had no ſooner accompliſhed this buſineſs than he paid the debt of nature, leaving the crown to his ſon Ethelwolf.

Egbert

Egbert was formed both for conqueſt and government, being intrepid, wiſe and humane. He acquired a kingdom by his valour and military proweſs, and rendered his people happy by his prudence, beneficence, and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. He reigned as king of the Weſt-Saxons twenty-ſeven years, and ten years as ſovereign of England.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Egbert.

803. A dreadful famine in Scotland.
824. A great Mortality in England, and another Famine in Scotland.
826. An Inundation of the Humber, which did conſiderable damage.
831. Dongale, king of Scotland, drowned in paſſing the river Spey.
836. A violent Inundation of the Tweed, which did conſiderable damage, and deſtroyed great numbers of cattle.

CHAP. II.

ETHELWOLF.

Ethelwolf, being attached to a monaſtic life, neglects the affairs of government, in conſequence of which the Danes land in different parts of England, but are oppoſed by the inhabitants with various ſucceſs. Ethelwolf at length marches againſt them, and is defeated. He relinquiſhes a part of his dominions to his ſon Athelſtan. The Danes continue to commit farther ravages in various parts of the iſland. Ethelwolf makes a pilgrimage to Rome, and on his return marries Judith, the daughter of king Charles the Bald. During his abſence a conſpiracy is formed to diveſt him of the ſovereignty, but on his arrival matters are accommodated, and tranquillity reſtored. He grants the tithes of the kingdom to the clergy, which is confirmed by the ſtates and people. Makes his will, and ſoon after pays the debt of nature.

A. D. 838. THE prudent and diſcerning Egbert, being conſcious of the advantages he had obtained from the extreme devotion to which the Engliſh Saxons were attached, endeavoured to remove the like from his ſon Ethelwolf; and therefore, when on his death-bed, beſought him not to become a ſlave to that indolence which he ſaw predominant in his temper, and which, he was apprehenſive, ſhould it be indulged, might prove fatal to him and his kingdom.

Ethelwolf had been educated in a cloiſter, and even taken the orders of a ſub-deacon in the monaſtery of Wincheſter during the life of his elder brother; but, on his death, pope Leo granted a diſpenſation, whereby he was permitted to marry, and aſſume a ſecular life. After leaving the cloiſter he ſerved under his father againſt the Danes with great reputation, but he could never ſhake off his attachment to a monaſtic life; and when he acceded to the throne, notwithſtanding the advice of his dying parent, he gave a looſe to his favourite paſſion, neglected the affairs of government, and preſerved the character of a monk, inſtead of that of a monarch.

The Danes, encouraged by the indolent diſpoſition of Ethelwolf made ſeveral deſcents in England, and committed the moſt horrid ravages wherever they went. In the firſt year of his reign a conſiderable body of theſe piratical rovers landed at Southampton; but before they could pillage the country, Wulfheard, a brave and intrepid general, attacked and routed them with great ſlaughter, obliging thoſe who eſcaped to fly to their ſhips with the greateſt precipitation.

Soon after this they made a ſecond deſcent at Portland, upon which Ethelwolf, who was too inactive to take the command of the army himſelf, diſpatched Edelhelm, a brave and experienced officer, to oppoſe them. For ſome time the Saxons engaged the pirates with ſuch fury, that they were thrown into the utmoſt diſorder; but receiving freſh ſupplies from their ſhips, they rallied, and returned to the charge with ſuch reſolution, that the Engliſh were entirely defeated, and Edelhelm, their commander, fell among the ſlain.

A. D. 839. In the beginning of this year the piratical Danes landed at Romney, where they were oppoſed by Herebert, a brave and experienced general; but he alſo was defeated, and loſt his life in battle. Elated with this ſucceſs, the Danes penetrated farther into the country, ſo that all Eaſt-Anglia and Kent felt the effects of their barbarous fury: and ſoon after London, Canterbury and Rocheſter, met with the like fate. As the whole deſign of theſe expeditions was plunder they ſeldom met with any other oppoſition than from the militia of the place where they landed; ſo that they embarked with their booty before the people whom they pillaged could be properly ſuſtained by the army.

A. D. 840. From the variety of deſcents made be theſe piratical invaders in different parts of the kingdom, they had diſcovered the natural fertility of the country, and were determined, if poſſible to make a ſettlement in the iſland. Accordingly, a numerous body of them landed at Charmouth, where Egbert had, ſome years before, been defeated. Alarmed at the great danger which now threatened his kingdom, Ethelwolf was rouſed from his monkiſh lethargy, and placing himſelf at the head of his forces, marched with all expedition againſt the invaders of his country. A bloody battle enſued, in which the troops of Ethelwolf were defeated, and the enemy continued maſters of the field. But notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the barbarians were convinced, from the great oppoſition they had met with, that a ſettlement could not be attempted with ſucceſs. They therefore abandoned their deſign for the preſent, and after pillaging the country retired to their ſhips, and once more quitted the iſland.

Ethelwolf was now convinced that a continued courſe of activity was neceſſary to fruſtrate the attempts of the reſtleſs and barbarous Danes. But the fatigues of military duty were far from being agreeable to his diſpoſition. He therefore, in order to procure that indolent tranquillity which he valued much more that power, reſolved to diveſt himſelf of part of his dominions, and accordingly

ingly reſigned the counties of Eſſex, Kent, and Suſſex to his ſon Athelſtan.

A. D. 845. The inveſting of Athelſtan with the ſovereign power over theſe parts of his dominions greatly contributed towards the ſecurity of the ſouthern coaſt; but the other parts of the kingdom were ſtill expoſed to the ravages of the mercileſs Danes. A prodigious number of theſe piratical invaders landed near the mouth of the river Parret in Somerſetſhire; but being attacked with great fury by the Engliſh forces, they were totally defeated, and the principal part of their army cut to pieces.

A. D. 851. This overthrow had ſo ſickened the Danes that they deſiſted from any farther invaſions for the ſpace of ſix years, at the expiration of which they landed in much greater bodies than they had hitherto done, being reſolved to accompliſh their grand deſign of making a ſettlement in the iſland. But the event did not anſwer their expectations. One party was routed at Wenbury, by Ceorle governor of Devonſhire, and another was defeated by Alcher governor of Kent, while Athelſtan defeated them in a naval engagement near Sandwich, took nine of their ſhips, and obliged the reſt to leave the coaſt.—As no mention is made of Athelſtan after this action, it is conjectured he fell in the glorious attempt of reſcuing his country from the ravages of an inveteand mercileſs enemy.

A. D. 852. But notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes the Danes were not to be intimidated. They embarked the following ſpring on board a fleet of three hundred ſail, entered the river Thames, ravaged London and Canterbury, and penetrated into Surry; but being met at a place called Oakly, by Ethelwolf and his ſon Ethelbald, a deſperate battle enſued, which terminated in favour of the Engliſh, the Danes being routed with great ſlaughter.

A ſhort time after this the Danes landed in the Iſle of Thanet, where they were attacked by Ealker and Huda governors of Kent and Surry. The beginning of the action was favourable to the Engliſh; but at length victory declared for the Danes, and both the governors fell in the conflict. The Danes then removed to the Iſle of Sheepey, where they took up their winter quarters, and erected ſeveral fortifications for their future ſecurity.

A. D. 854. Ethelwolf had, for ſome time, formed the reſolution of making a pilgrimage to Rome, and, notwithſtanding the dangerous ſituation of his kingdom, he was now determined to carry his deſign into execution. Accordingly, taking with him his youngeſt ſon Alfred, he repaired to that city, where he was received with particular marks of reſpect by Leo IV. the then pontiff; and in his turn gave his holineſs the moſt ſubſtantial proofs of his ſubmiſſion and regard. During his ſtay at Rome he ſpent the greater part of his time in religious exerciſes, viſiting every ſhrine, and paying his devotions to every relic. He rebuilt the Engliſh college which had been reduced to aſhes, and engaged to extend the tax of St. Peter's-pence throughout his kingdom. Beſides this liberality, he undertook to pay an annual tribute of three hundred marks, two thirds of which were appointed for defraying the expence of tapers in the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, and the other third was a preſent to the pope himſelf.

A. D. 855. After ſtaying a year at Rome, Ethelwolf took leave of his holineſs, and ſet out for his own dominions. On his way he ſtopped at the court of France, where he fell in love with Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. This young princeſs was a widow, though no more than thirteen years of age; but notwithſtanding the great diſparity of their years, Ethelwolf married her, and indulged himſelf for ſome time in the French court, without paying the leaſt attention to the welfare of his country.

In the mean time England was expoſed to the inſults of the rapacious Danes, who, taking advantage of the king's abſence, made ſeveral incurſions from their ſettlement in the Iſle of Sheepey. Ethelbald, the king's ſecond ſon, a prince of an aſpiring diſpoſition, was ſo irritated at the negligence of his father, that he formed a deſign of ſeizing the ſcepter, in which he was joined by the greater part of the nobility, but more particularly Alſten, biſhop of Wincheſter, who was an undaunted patriot, and at that time in great reputation with the people. Several conſultations were held on the ſubject, and it was at length reſolved that Ethelbald ſhould aſſume the government, and take poſſeſſion of that throne, which his father, from his weakneſs and ſuperſtition, was ſo ill qualified to fill. Meaſures were accordingly concerted for fixing the ſovereignty in Ethelbald, but before they could be carried into execution, Ethelwolf, accompanied by his new queen, returned to his dominions.

The arrival of the king did not intimidate Ethelbald: he proſecuted his deſign with the ſame vigour as before, and Ethelwolf made preparations for oppoſing him. The torch of civil diſcord was now lighted, and every thing ſeemed to threaten deſtruction to the country, when the noblemen and prelates interpoſed, and, by their good offices, prevailed on the king and his ſon to accommodate their differences without the effuſion of human blood. This was accordingly done by Ethelwolf's ceding to Ethelbald the antient kingdom of Weſſex, reſerving the other parts of the iſland to himſelf.

Peace and tranquillity being thus reſtored, Ethelwolf, inſtead of attending to the affairs of government, reſolved to indulge his favourite paſſion of augmenting the power of the church; and accordingly beſtowed on the clergy a donation for which they had contended for ſeveral centuries. They had maintained that the Moſaic law, which gave to the Levites the tenth part of all the produce of the land was obligatory to Chriſtians, and this doctrine they preached up with the utmoſt aſſiduity; but hitherto the intereſt of the laity had been too ſtrong for their arguments. The power of Ethelwolf, however, effected what all their eloquence had attempted in vain. He ſummoned a general aſſembly of the ſtates, and, by a formal charter, granted tithes to the church, which he ordered to be levied throughout the kingdom. This grant was confirmed by the ſtates and people, who might probably be the more ready to conſent thereto, from conſidering it in a religious light, and ſuppoſing that it might be a means of their obtaining the Divine aſſiſtance againſt the ferocious Danes, who had

had long been a terror to the inhabitants of various parts of the iſland.

Ethelwolf, having thus accompliſhed his grand deſign in favour of the church, ſpent the reſt of his days in acts of charity and devotion. At length, finding his end approaching, he made his will, in order to prevent any diſputes that might otherwiſe ariſe among his children after his death. He bequeathed his regal domains to his two eldeſt ſons, with this diſtinction, that Ethalbald ſhould ſtill enjoy the territories already aſſigned him, and Ethelbert thoſe which had been retained by himſelf. If either died, the ſurvivor was to ſucceed to the whole, and in caſe of the deaths of both, the third ſon, was to be the next heir. His perſonal eſtates he gave to charitable uſes, and ordered that all his ſucceſſors ſhould maintain one poor perſon out of every tenth family.

Ethelwolf, having thus ſettled his temporal concerns, directed his attention towards making the neceſſary preparations for futurity, and at length paid the debt of nature, after ſwaying the Engliſh ſceptre for the ſpace of nineteen years. He died at Wincheſter on the 13th of January, 857, and was buried at Steining in Suſſex. He left behind him the character of a well-diſpoſed prince, who might have ſhone in his exalted ſphere, had he not been actuated by the predominant bigotry and ſuperſtition of the age in which he lived.

CHAP. III.

ETHELBALD AND ETHELBERT.

Ethelbald purſues wicked courſes, for which he is reprimanded by Swithin biſhop of Wincheſter. He reforms, but ſoon after dies, leaving his brother Ethelbert ſole monarch of England. The Danes land at Southampton, and deſtroy the city of Wincheſter. They are oppoſed by the Engliſh, and defeated with great ſlaughter. They land in the Iſle of Thanet and commit the moſt horrid barbarities. Death of Ethelbert.

A. D. 857. AS no oppoſition was made to the will of the late king, Ethelbert took poſſeſſion of the dominions of his father, while Ethelbald kept his ſeat on the throne of Weſſex.

Ethelbald was a very wicked and profligate prince: he was both indolent and perfidious, and governed his people in the moſt arbitrary and cruel manner. Soon after the death of his father, he committed inceſt, by marrying Judith his mother-in-law, for which, and other vices, he was reprimanded by Swithin biſhop of Wincheſter. This good prelate, being grieved at the enormous actions of his maſter, exerted his utmoſt endeavours to bring him to a ſenſe of his crimes, and at length happily ſucceeded. Ethelbald was convinced of the impropriety of his conduct, and began his reform by divorcing his wife Judith. A change of government immediately ſucceeded, and Ethelbald endeavoured to make atonement for his faults by a ſtrict obſervance of religious duties, and beſtowing benefactions on the church. But the people were hardly ſenſible of this happy alteration when the king paid the debt of nature, leaving his brother Ethelbert ſole monarch of England.

A. D. 860. The diſpoſitions of theſe two princes were directly oppoſite, Ethelbert being as remarkable for his virtues as his brother had been for his vices. His adminiſtration was conducted with ſuch prudence and moderation, that tranquillity prevailed throughout his dominions, and he lived univerſally reſpected and beloved by his ſubjects.

But this tranquillity was ſoon diſturbed by the reſtleſs Danes. The Engliſh had been ſome time free from their barbarous ravages, and ſuppoſing themſelves ſecure under the mild government of Ethelbert, made no preparations to prevent their being again oppreſſed by theſe piratical invaders. A naval force, the only bulkwark that could defend them, was neglected: the coaſts were unguarded, and the whole kingdom expoſed to the invaſions of foreign enemies.

A. D. 862. In conſequence of this remiſſneſs, a conſiderable body of Danes landed at Southampton, and not meeting with any oppoſition they extended their ravages to Wincheſter, which they firſt plundered, and then reduced to aſhes. The inhabitants, inſtead of attempting to make any reſiſtance, betook themſelves to flight, which filled the Danes with ſuch an inſolent confidence, that they feared no oppoſition, and therefore marching into the more interior parts of the country, they reduced the inhabitants to the moſt abject ſtate of diſtreſs, plundering wherever they went, and marking their route with deſolation and ruin.

Ofric and Ethelwolf, two diſtinguiſhed generals of the Engliſh forces, hearing of the diſtreſſed ſituation of their countrymen, and the rapid progreſs made by theſe barbarous invaders, marched with all expedition againſt them. The conſequence of this was, that a deſperate battle enſued, which, for ſome time, was maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of the Engliſh. The Danes were routed with great ſlaughter, and the few that eſcaped the ſword ſaved themſelves by a precipitate flight, leaving the plunder they had obtained in the hands of the conquerors.

A. D. 865. But notwithſtanding this defeat, the Danes were far from being intimidated. A prodigious body of them landed in the Iſle of Thanet, and committed ſuch horrid ravages as are ſhocking to humanity. The inhabitants of Kent, deſirous of diverting the ſtorm which threatened them, had recourſe to negotiation, and agreed to pay them a conſiderable ſum of money, in order to ſave their eſtates from inevitable ruin. The Danes readily agreed to theſe propoſals; but being perſuaded that they could gain more by pillage than the ſums ſtipulated in the treaty, they perfidiouſly took advantage of the truce, and, re-commencing their ſhocking ravages in the night, laid the eaſtern part of the country waſte with fire and ſword.

ſword. They ſpared neither age nor ſex, and wherever they went their paths were marked with the moſt horrid deſtruction. The churches were levelled with the ground, the monaſteries reduced to aſhes, and thoſe of a religious order treated with the moſt inhuman brutality.

A. D. 866. Theſe ſhocking acts of cruelty greatly diſtreſſed the mind of Ethelbert. He ſaw with grief the miſeries of his country which he could not prevent; and giving way to deſpair, it ſo wrought upon his ſpirits as to diveſt him of life, after having reigned ſole monarch ſix years univerſally beloved and revered by his ſubjects.

CHAP. IV.

ETHELRED I.

Ethelred accedes to the throne on the death of his brother Ethelbert. The Danes land in Eaſt-Anglia, and make themſelves maſters of Northumberland. They commit the moſt horrid ravages in different parts of the kingdom. Remarkable inſtance of virtuous fortitude in the abbeſs and nuns of Coldingham. The Danes defeat the Engliſh at Thetford, and cruelly put to death Edmund the tributary king of Eaſt-Anglia. Ethelred and Alfred march againſt them, but are defeated. Another battle takes place, in which the Engliſh prove victorious. Ethelred again marches againſt the invaders of his country, but is defeated, receives a mortal wound, and dies.

A. D. 866. SO ſtrictly was the will of Ethelwolf adhered to, that notwithſtanding Ethelbert left two ſons, yet, on his demiſe, his brother Ethelred ſucceeded to the throne, to which he was admitted by the unanimous voice of the people.

Ethelred began his reign with an act of injuſtice, by poſſeſſing himſelf of ſome territories which had been jointly given by his father between him and his brother Alfred. In conſequence of this Alfred appealed to the nobles, who had been witneſſes to the deed, and a new convention was ratified, ſtipulating that Alfred ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom on the death of Ethelred, and that, in the mean time, he ſhould poſſeſs certain domains for ſupporting him in a manner conſiſtent with his dignity. This being ſubmitted to by Ethelred, an accommodation took place, and the two brothers unanimouſly agreed to exert their joint efforts againſt the Danes, who were now become ſo formidable as to require the ſtrongeſt union to prevent their becoming maſters of the whole iſland.

The continual deſcents of theſe piratical invaders had greatly weakened the authority of the kings of Weſſex over the princes of Mercia, Eaſt-Anglia, and Northumberland. The tributary princes of thoſe reſpective diſtricts had almoſt thrown off their allegiance, and were on the point of aſſuming the ſame authority they had held previous to the diſſolution of the heptarchy.

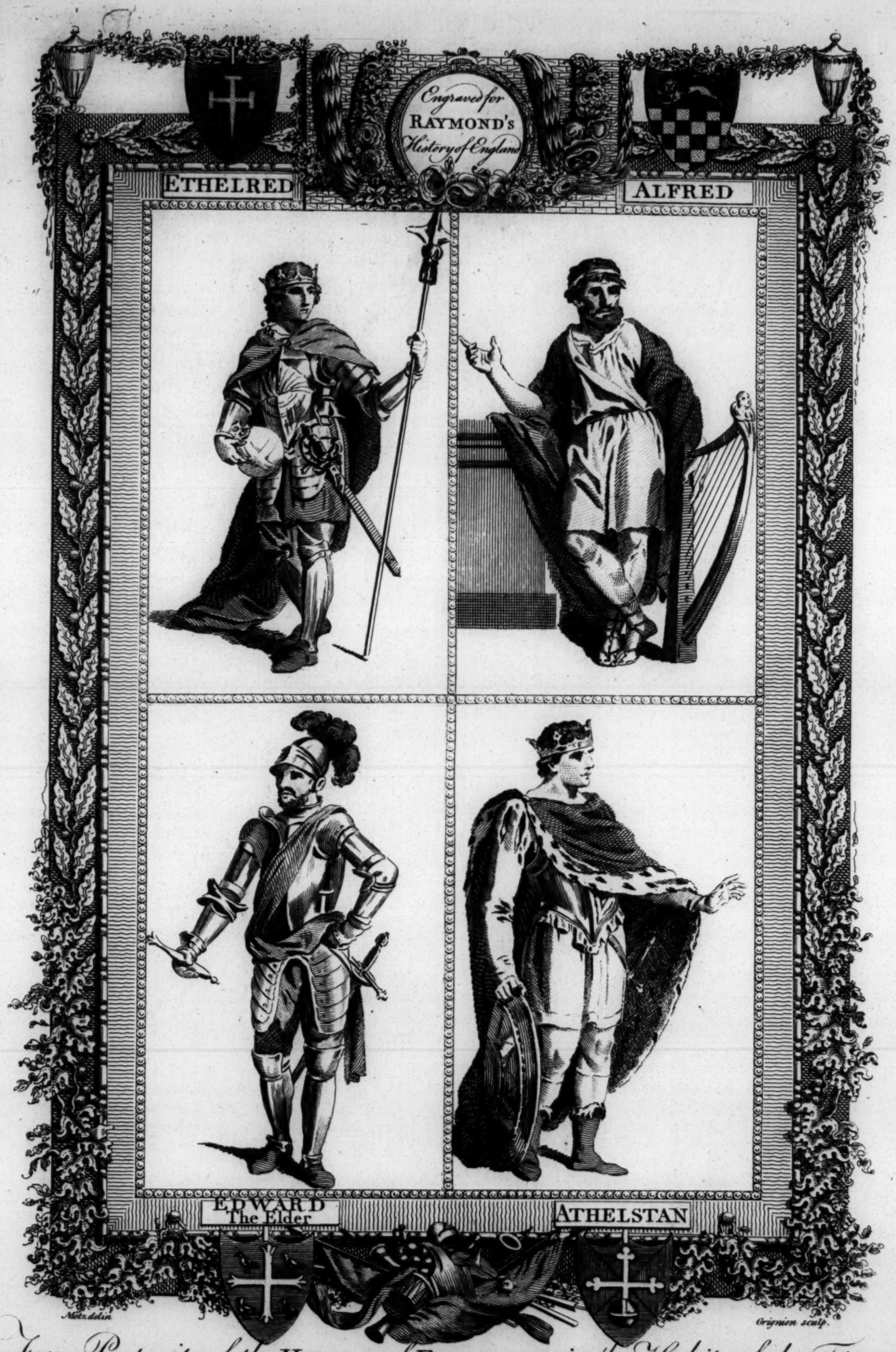
The moſt powerful of theſe tributary princes was Oſbert, king of Northumberland, from whoſe miſconduct the Danes were encouraged to make farther devaſtations in various parts of the iſland. Oſbert, returning one day from hunting, called at the houſe of Bruen Brocard, a nobleman of diſtinction, for refreſhment. Brocard happening to be abſent, his lady, a woman of great beauty, entertained the king, who, after dinner, ſeduced her to her chamber, under pretence of ſecret buſineſs, and violated her honour. On her huſband's arrival ſhe informed him of the outrage, at which he was ſo irritated, that he vowed a ſevere revenge; but his reſentment was not confined to the perſon who had injured him: the meaſures he took were of a general nature: he ſacrificed to a perſonal injury the lives of thouſands, and involved his country in miſery and diſtreſs. He privately made a voyage to Denmark, informed Ivar, the then reigning monarch, of the injury he had ſuſtained, and requeſted him to eſpouſe his cauſe, by attempting to make himſelf maſter of Northumberland, which he repreſented to be in ſo weak a ſtate, that it might be taken without the leaſt danger. Ivar readily liſtened to this propoſal, and a powerful fleet was immediately fitted out under the command of him and his brother Hubba, on board of which was a prodigious number of troops, and every thing neceſſary for effecting the deſign projected by Brocard.

A. D. 867. Thus prepared, the Danes embarked for England, and landed, without the leaſt oppoſition, in the territories of the Eaſt-Angles, where they took up their winter quarters.

In the enſuing ſpring they marched into Northumberland, and directed their courſe towards York, where Oſbert at that time kept his court; and had he ſatisfied himſelf with defending that city, the Danes would, in all probability, have been defeated. But the impetuoſity of his courage gained the aſcendancy over his prudence. On their approach near the city he ſallied out to meet them, and a deſperate battle enſued, in which Oſbert fell among the ſlain. The Danes obtained a compleat victory, and the inhabitants, in order to ſecure their lives and properties, entered into a treaty with Ivar, by which he was permitted to take quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Northumberland.

A. D. 868. Not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſions they had already obtained, the Danes reſolved to extend their conqueſts, and accordingly penetrated into Mercia, committing the moſt horrid ravages in their march. Buthred, the then tributary prince of that province, fearful of the conſequences, applied for aſſiſtance to Ethelred; who readily promiſed to join his forces in order to ſtop the progreſs of the invaders. He accordingly ſet out with his brother Alfred, at the head of an army, and joining the Mercians, approached the Daniſh forces; but they had poſted themſelves in ſo advantageous a place, that Ethelred was deſirous of avoiding a battle, in conſequence of which both parties conſented to a truce.

A. D. 869. But this truce was ſoon broke by the perfidious Danes, who, directing their march towards



Four Portraits of the KINGS *of* ENGLAND *in the Habits of the Times in which they reigned from* EGBERT *the* Great, *Father of the English Monarchy, to the* NORMAN CONQUEST *Plate II*

towards Northumberland, committed the moſt horrid outrages. Among other acts of cruelty, they plundered the monaſtery of Bardney in Lincolnſhire, put all the monks to death, and then levelled the building with the ground. The monaſteries of Peterborough, Ely, and indeed all that were ſituated in their way, ſhared the ſame fate; towns and cities were laid in aſhes, women raviſhed and murdered, and neither age, ſex or quality were ſufficient to ſecure the wretched inhabitants from the wantonneſs of ſavage cruelty. The cataſtrophe of the abbeſs and nuns of Coldingham Abbey in Yorkſhire was truly deplorable. Underſtanding that the Danes intended to attack the convent, Ebba, the abbeſs, in order to ſecure herſelf and nuns from falling ſacrifices to the luſtful paſſions of the Danes, propoſed that they ſhould disfigure their faces, by cutting off their noſes and upper lips. The propoſal was readily embraced, and the abbeſs ſetting the example, it was followed by the whole ſiſterhood. This expedient produced the deſired effect with regard to their honour, but it was purchaſed at the expence of their lives: for the brutal Danes, incenſed at their diſappointment, ſhut up the nuns in the monaſtery, and ſetting fire to it, they all periſhed in the flames.

A. D. 870. After continuing ſome time in Northumberland, the Danes made a deſcent into the province of Eaſt-Anglia, committing in their route the moſt horrid ravages. Edmund, the then tributary king of that diſtrict, led his forces againſt them, and the two armies meeting at Thetford a dreadful battle enſued, which terminated in favour of the Danes. The Engliſh forces were totally routed, and the victors purſuing their conqueſt, great numbers were put to the ſword. Edmund himſelf was taken priſoner, and became an object of their ſavage cruelty, the barbarians tying him to a tree as a butt or mark, and then ſhooting him to death with arrows. His remains were afterwards decently interred, and from the ſpot where they were depoſited, together with the circumſtances of his death, the town of St. Edmund's-bury in Suffolk received its name.

A. D. 871. Having ſecured the kingdom of Eaſt-Anglia, the Danes marched into the country of the Weſt-Saxons, the only people that could diſconcert their deſign of ſubjecting the whole iſland to their ambition and cruelty. They ſoon penetrated as far as Reading in Berkſhire, which, from its ſituation on the confluence of the rivers Thames and Kennet, they found might be eaſily defended with a ſmall force againſt a powerful army. Here, therefore, they fixed their headquarters, and to render the poſt more difficult of acceſs, they made a deep trench between the two rivers, which they ſtrongly fortified with ramparts.

In the mean time Ethelwulf, earl of the county, a man of an intrepid diſpoſition, obſerving the ſituation of the enemy, and that they often ſent out ſtrong detachments to forage, determined to make an attack on them when they were at a proper diſtance from the camp. Accordingly he fell upon one of their ſtrongeſt parties at a place called Englefield, when, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, they were routed and put to flight, and one of their commanders killed on the ſpot.

This gleam of ſucceſs encouraged Ethelred and Alfred, who had united their forces, to march with all expedition againſt the enemy. On their arrival near Reading they were joined by the forces under the brave Ethelwulf, and having cut off all the advanced parties of the enemy, made preparations for attacking the fortreſs itſelf. The Danes, who had collected all their forces within the town, perceiving their danger, made a vigorous ſally on the Engliſh forces, and, after an obſtinate engagement, in which the brave Ethelwulf was ſlain, obtained a victory.

But this defeat was far from intimidating the Engliſh; on the contrary they were anxious for a ſecond engagement, that they might have the opportunity of revenging the death of the brave Ethelwulf. Accordingly, four days after their defeat they again marched towards the enemy, who advanced from the town to meet them, and drew up their army in two bodies, one of which was commanded by Ivar and Hubba, and the other by their generals. Ethelred made the like diſpoſition of his forces, placing himſelf at the head of one party, and his brother Alfred at that of the other.

The two armies met on a plain near Aſhdown, and the attack was begun with great fury by Alfred, who, for ſome time, nobly ſuſtained the ſhock of the whole Daniſh army. It happened that Ethelred was then engaged in hearing maſs in his tent, and though Alfred ſent a meſſenger requeſting his immediate attendance, yet he would not move till the ſervice was over. As ſoon, however, as Ethelred joined his forces with thoſe of his brother, the Danes, who had ſtood firm againſt the charge of Alfred, gave way, a dreadful carnage enſued, and the enemy was obliged to ſeek their ſafety by a precipitate flight. One of their principal commanders, with many of their nobles, were found among the ſlain.

The ſcattered remains of the Daniſh army fled to Reading, from whence, about a fortnight after their defeat, they made an excurſion, and were attacked by the royal brothers at Baſing in Hampſhire; but here victory declared in favour of the Danes, and the Engliſh, after ſuſtaining ſome loſs, were obliged to retire.

About two months after this the two armies met at Merton in Surry, and a deſperate battle enſued, which, for ſome time, appeared likely to terminate in favour of the Engliſh; but the Danes having rallied their forces, ruſhed to the charge with ſuch impetuoſity, that the Engliſh were obliged to give way, and the laurel they had ſo nearly obtained fell into the hands of the enemy. Many of the Engliſh nobility fell among the ſlain, and the brave Ethelred received a wound that proved mortal, and of which he died on the 27th of April, 872, leaving the kingdom to his brother Alfred. He was buried at Winburn in Dorſetſhire, and his death was univerſally lamented by his ſubjects, whom he had governed with moderation, prudence, juſtice and humanity.

CHAP. V.

ALFRED, ſurnamed THE GREAT.

Alfred ſucceeds his brother Ethelred on the throne of England. Marches againſt the Danes, and is worſted. Enters into two treaties with them, both of which they violate, after committing the moſt horrid ravages, and make themſelves maſters of Exeter. Deſtroys the Daniſh fleet, marches to Exeter, and enters into another treaty, in which he obliges them to quit the kingdom. Another body of Danes make themſelves maſters of Mercia, and commit the moſt horrid ravages. Alfred conceals himſelf in the cottage of a cow-herd, and afterwards retires to a deſart part of Somerſetſhire. Odun, earl of Devonſhire, engages the Danes, and obtains a compleat victory. Alfred gets admiſſion into the Daniſh camp by diſguiſing himſelf in the character of a muſician. He engages the Danes, and obtains a compleat victory. Allows them the ſame privileges with his own ſubjects. Eſtabliſhes a militia, encreaſes his navy, and erects fortreſſes in different parts of the kingdom. A prodigious body of Danes land in England, under the command of a famous leader named Haſtings; upon which Alfred marches againſt them, obtains a compleat victory, and obliges them to abandon the iſland. He divides the kingdom into counties, hundreds and tythings. Makes many wiſe regulations for the good order and government of his ſubjects. His death and character.

A. D. 872. ON the death of Ethelred his brother Alfred* ſucceeded to the throne, and was crowned† at Wincheſter amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. Though only twenty-two years of age at the time of his acceſſion, yet he had given ſo many inſtances of his being a good man, a ſound politician and a courageous ſoldier, that no prince, perhaps, ever aſcended the throne with a more favourable proſpect of reigning in the hearts of his ſubjects. But at the ſame time he was ſurrounded with difficulties, and expoſed, on every ſide to the moſt imminent dangers from a lawleſs and barbarous enemy. Many of the principal cities in his kingdom were levelled with the ground; the farms were deſtroyed; agriculture was neglected; and the dejected peaſant pined for want of bread, in the midſt of fields that lately waved with all the beauties of a golden harveſt.

Such a ſituation would have ſtaggered the fortitude of a ſoul leſs intrepid and enterprizing than Alfred's; but his penetrating genius pointed out reſources to ſupport him under all his difficulties, and he determined either to relieve his country, or glorioufly periſh in the attempt. He therefore applied himſelf with great diligence to revive among his troops that diſcipline which he thought moſt likely to lead to conqueſt. He knew that great difficulties could only be ſurmounted by great efforts; and that the utmoſt activity was neceſſary to prevent the moſt alarming misfortunes. The meaſures he took were, therefore, of ſuch a nature as to preſage the reſtoration of happineſs and tranquillity to his people. They ſaw the noble exertions of royalty in their defence, and flattered themſelves with future felicity. The firmneſs and intrepidity of the monarch revived the drooping ſpirits of the ſubject. The ſoldiers caught the noble infection, and doubted not but, under ſo able a leader, their future efforts would be crowned with ſucceſs.

Satisfied of the affections of his people, and the unſhaken confidence of the army, Alfred applied himſelf with great diligence to correct every abuſe which had crept into the civil adminiſtration; but his attention was ſoon called off from the affairs of government to thoſe of the field. The barbarous Danes ſtill continued to commit the moſt horrid ravages, and though Alfred's forces were very inferior in point of number to thoſe of the enemy, yet he collected what troops he could, and marched againſt them, reſolved, if poſſible, to relieve his people from ſuch mercileſs oppreſſors. The two armies met at Wilton, and a deſperate battle enſued, in the commencement of which the Engliſh had the advantage, and obliged the Danes to quit their ground; but the latter finding by the purſuit, the inferiority of Alfred's forces in point of number, rallied, and charging the Engliſh overpowered them merely by dint of ſuperiority of numbers. This engagement, however, ſo fully convinced the Danes of the military proweſs of Alfred, and the ſpirit with which the Engliſh troops were likely to behave under ſuch a commander that they willingly entered into a treaty with him for a ſafe retreat, promiſing on that condition, to depart the kingdom. They accordingly marched to London, where they were permitted to take up their winter quarters.

A. D. 873. The perfidious Danes did not long preſerve the treaty they had made with Alfred.

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* Alfred had given very early prognoſtics of thoſe great virtues and ſhining talents by which he afterwards ſaved his country from utter ruin and ſubverſion. He was always the favourite of his father; but being indulged in all the pleaſures of youth, his education had been ſo greatly neglected, that, when twelve years of age, he was totally ignorant of the loweſt elements of literature. His genius was firſt rouſed by the recital of Saxon poems, in which the queen greatly delighted; and this ſpecies of erudition expanded thoſe noble and elevated ſentiments which he had received from nature. Encouraged by the queen, and ſtimulated by his own ardent inclination, he ſoon learned to read thoſe compoſitions, and then proceeded to acquire a knowledge of the Latin tongue, in which he met with authors better adapted to his genius and heroic ſpirit. Abſorbed in theſe elegant purſuits, his acceſſion to royalty was rather an object of regret than triumph; but being called to the throne by the voice of the whole nation, in preference to his brother's children, as well as in conformity to the will of his father, he ſhock off his literary indolence, and boldly exerted himſelf in defence of his people.

† Alfred was the firſt monarch of this country, at whoſe coronation the ceremony of anointing was performed.

fred. Inſtead of making any preparations for quitting the kingdom, they applied themſelves to their old practices, pillaging the adjacent country, and committing the moſt violent diſorders wherever they went. Buthred, the tributary king of Mercia, (in whoſe territories London was ſituated) purchaſed a peace with them, on condition of their retiring to Lindſey in Lincolnſhire. But this was a diſtrict they had already laid waſte, and was therefore no agreeable ſpot to a people whoſe trade was rapine and violence. They ſo far, indeed fulfilled their engagement with Buthred as to retire to the place ſtipulated; but they ſoon removed from thence into Derbyſhire, and laid the whole country deſolate with fire and ſword. Buthred, finding himſelf unable to withſtand an enemy, who could neither be reſiſted by force, nor bound by treaty, gave himſelf up to deſpair, abandoned his kingdom, and repaired to Rome, where he ſpent the remainder of his days in the gloomy receſſes of a cloiſter.

A. D. 874. On the abdication of Buthred, the Danes made themſelves maſters of Mercia, and ſet up one Ceolwulph, a man of mean abilities, to govern that part of the kingdom as their deputy, while they concerted meaſures for reducing the whole to their authority. They had received conſiderable reinforcements from the continent, and being too numerous to ſubſiſt in one place, they divided their army into two bodies. One of theſe, commanded by Halfden, a Daniſh king, marched into Northumberland, and wintered on the banks of the Tyne; while the other, headed by three celebrated chiefs, took up their quarters at Cambridge.

A. D. 875. The proceedings of the Danes greatly alarmed Alfred. He clearly ſaw that it would be impoſſible to conquer an enemy whoſe armies were continually reinforced with freſh troops; and therefore wiſely applied himſelf to prevent, if poſſible, their future increaſe. To effect this, he fitted out a fleet of ſhips in order to guard the coaſts, and was ſoon convinced that the meaſures he had taken were not in vain. A Daniſh ſquadron of ſeven ſail made an attempt to land on the coaſt of Kent, but were prevented by the fleet of Alfred, who, engaging them, took one of their ſhips, and ſo greatly ſhattered the reſt, that they were obliged to retire.

A. D. 876. In the beginning of this year Halfden ſurpriſed Wareham-caſtle, at that time the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in Weſſex. Rouſed at this daring depredation, Alfred immediately marched with his forces againſt them, reſolved, if poſſible to chaſtiſe them in a ſevere manner for their perfidious proceedings. But on his arrival, Halfden, not thinking it prudent to engage, ſued for peace, and offered to give hoſtages for the faithful obſervance of the treaty. Alfred liſtened to his propoſal, and a treaty was concluded, by which the Danes engaged to quit the kingdom; and in order to oblige them to pay a ſtrict attention to the articles, he compelled them to ſwear upon the bracelet, which was the moſt ſacred object of Daniſh adoration.

But no oaths were ſufficient to bind theſe unfeeling barbarians, nor could even their regard for their hoſtages, which, on this occaſion were the nobleſt in their army, induce them to obſerve the terms of the treaty. They continued quiet, indeed, for two or three months, and ſeemed to make preparations for their departure; but they waited only for the opportunity of attacking Alfred's army to advantage. It was not long before their wiſhes were anſwered. The Britiſh cavalry, confiding in their ſtrict adherence to the late treaty made with Alfred, diſperſed themſelves into ſmall parties, in order to procure forage for the Engliſh forces. This was particularly obſerved by the Danes, who reſolved to take advantage of ſo favourable an incident. They accordingly iſſued from their camp in the night, attacked the parties of cavalry, ſeized their horſes, and mounting them fled to Exeter. The ſudden and unexpected appearance of the enemy ſtruck the inhabitants with deſpair: they flew to arms, but it was too late: the Danes eaſily made themſelves maſters of the place, increaſed the fortifications, and there took up their winter quarters.

A. D. 877. The perfidious conduct of the Danes greatly affected Alfred, who determined, if poſſible, to reſcue his ſubjects from the oppreſſion of ſuch mercileſs invaders. He therefore applied himſelf to put his navy on a more reſpectable footing, in order to deſtroy their power by ſea, and prevent their receiving any farther reinforcements from the continent. Accordingly, a formidable fleet was fitted out, which immediately ſet ſail in order to block up Exeter by ſea, while Alfred marched with his forces to attack it by land. The Engliſh ſquadron, in their paſſage to Exeter fell in with the grand fleet of the Danes, conſiſting of one hundred and twenty ſail, loaded with military ſtores, and having on board a ſtrong reinforcement of troops. A deſperate engagement took place, which, for ſome time, was very obſtinate on both ſides; but at length victory declared in favour of the Engliſh, and the whole Daniſh fleet was totally deſtroyed.

The news of this defeat ſo terrified the Danes, that when Alfred arrived with his forces before Exeter, inſtead of making any attempt to oppoſe him, they had again recourſe to negotiation, offering to give freſh hoſtages, and engaging to quit the iſland. Alfred had ſufficiently experienced their natural perfidy, and was therefore determined to act with the utmoſt caution. He, indeed, concluded a treaty with them, but would not ſuffer them to march by land from Exeter. He received their hoſtages, and compelled them to embark on board their ſhips for their own country.

A. D. 878. Alfred now flattered himſelf with being able totally to prevent any future depredations from the barbarous Danes, and to reſtore peace and tranquillity to his ſubjects. But in this he was greatly miſtaken. During his ſtay at Exeter a prodigious body of theſe piratical invaders landed on the coaſt of Kent, and ſoon after receiving conſiderable reinforcements, penetrated into Mercia, and committed the moſt horrid barbarities, laying the whole country waſte with fire and ſword. Add to this, thoſe who had quitted Exeter landed and joined them, ſo that, like a general inundation, they covered the whole face of the country. The wretched inhabitants were ſo aſtoniſhed and intimidated, that they abandoned their habitations, and ſought their ſafety in a ſpeedy flight: great numbers retired to the continent

continent, while others took up their reſidence in the mountains and foreſts of Wales.

Alfred, finding it impoſſible either to remove the fears of his ſubjects, or collect a ſufficient body of forces to oppoſe the enemy, yeilded to the torrent of misfortune; but at the ſame time his ſoul was too great to give way to deſpair. He knew that without ſome judicious ſtep he muſt fall a ſacrifice to the ſuperior power of a barbarous and inveterate enemy, and therefore determined to ſecret himſelf for a time, in ſome private retreat, not doubting but a future opportunity would offer by which he might be enabled to preſerve, and procure happineſs and tranquillity to his ſubjects. Accordingly, having diſpoſed of his family to perſons on whoſe circumſpection and fidelity he could rely, he wandered about for ſome time in the character of a peaſant, and at length obtained admiſſion into the cottage of a cowherd, where, to conceal the dignity of the monarch, he ſubmitted to become the domeſtic of a clown *.

After Alfred had remained ſome time in this humiliating retreat, he left it, and joining his band of choſen friends, retired to a moraſs in Somerſetſhire, formed by the waters of Parret and Thane †. In the center of this moraſs he built a fortreſs, which he encloſed with intrenchments; but its greateſt ſecurity was, the intricate roads leading to it, and the foreſts and moraſſes with which it was ſurrounded. From this retreat Alfred and his followers made frequent and unexpected ſallies upon ſtraggling parties of the Danes, who often felt the vigour of his arm without being able to diſcover the quarter from whence the blow proceeded.

While Alfred continued in this obſcure retreat, Hubba, a Daniſh prince, landed with a freſh body of troops at the mouth of the Taw near Barnſtaple in the north of Devonſhire, and beſieged the Caſtle of Kenwith. Odun, earl of Devonſhire, with his followers, had taken ſhelter in this fortreſs, and ſeeing their danger reſolved to make one bold attempt to prevent falling into the hands of a mercileſs enemy. They accordingly made a ſudden ſally upon the Danes early in the morning, and taking them unprepared routed their whole army; no leſs than twelve hundred were cut to pieces, while the reſt fled for ſafety to their ſhips, leaving Hubba, their leader, dead on the field of battle. But what rendered this action ſtill more remarkable was, the conquerors taking the famous magical ſtandard of the Danes. This ſtandard was called Reafen, from its having the figure of a raven embroidered on it by the three ſiſters of Hubba, and was conſidered by the Pagans as the palladium of their preſervation.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, Alfred now determined to carry into execution a project he had ſome time formed, but which he had kept a profound ſecret even from his deareſt friends. The Daniſh camp was at no great diſtance, and Alfred reſolved, if poſſible, to get a view of it, in order to diſcover the ſtate and proceedings of the enemy. To effect this, he took upon him the character of a muſician, a profeſſion which he knew to be held in the higheſt eſteem amongſt the moſt barbarous of the northern nations. Alfred's love of the liberal arts had given him great opportunities of perſonating this character to advantage. He therefore, without any difficulty, obtained admiſſion into the Daniſh camp, and ſo highly entertained them with his muſic and facetious humour, that he was introduced into their general's tent, where he continued ſeveral days, and even gained the favour of that ferocious leader.

While Alfred remained in this ſituation, he took particular notice of the ſupine ſecurity of the Danes, their contempt of the Engliſh, and their diſſolute manner of waſting what they had acquired by rapine and violence. He ſaw that riot had uſurped the place of order, and that diſcipline was loſt in intemperance.

Encouraged by theſe favourable appearances, Alfred left the camp, and returned to his friends, whoſe drooping ſpirits he revived, by telling them the particulars of what had paſſed, and aſſuring them that he doubted not of being yet ſucceſsful againſt the barbarous invaders of their country. He immediately diſpatched meſſengers to the moſt conſiderable of his ſubjects, ſummoning them to aſſemble, together with their followers, at Brixton, near Sherwood foreſt, in Wiltſhire. This was agreeable news to the diſtreſſed inhabitants; they had long been in the moſt abject ſtate, and anxiouſly wiſhed for the opportunity of retaliating the cruelties they had ſuffered on the barbarous invaders of their country. They accordingly aſſembled with the greateſt alacrity, and every perſon capable of bearing arms appeared at the place of rendezvous on the day appointed.

But how great was their ſurprize when they beheld their beloved monarch, whom they had long conſidered as no more! The joy they expreſſed on this occaſion is more eaſy to be conceived than deſcribed. Alfred acquainted them with the expectations he entertained of conquering his foes, and once more reſtoring peace and tranquillity to his kingdom. This ſo operated on the minds of his affectionate ſubjects, that they knew not how to expreſs their ſatisfaction. Even thoſe who had tamely ſubmitted to the Danes were aſhamed of their conduct, and from the diſtinguiſhed proofs of virtue and reſolution which had been given by Alfred, and his few choſen friends, they unanimouſly determined to follow their examples, and either

* It is ſaid, by ſome writers, that while Alfred was in this ſituation, there occurred the following circumſtance. The cowherd's wife, conſidering the king in the light of a common domeſtic, one day deſired him to mind ſome cakes that were baking before the fire, while ſhe was employed in other affairs of the family. But that Alfred, neglected the injunction, which ſo enraged the good woman, that ſhe ſeverely reprimanded the king, telling him, he was ready enough to eat the cakes, when baked though he was negligent in taking care of them while doing.

† Another ſtory related of Alfred is, that while he continued in this obſcure retreat, a pilgrim one day ſtopped at his houſe, and aſked charity; upon which Alfred, who then poſſeſſed only one loaf of bread, cut it aſunder, and gave one half to the beggar. But both theſe ſtories are evidently nothing more than legendary tales, and ought therefore to be expunged. We have only mentioned theſe to ſhew what fabulous narrations are related in former hiſtories, the like of which it ſhall be our buſineſs to avoid, and (guided only by the pen of truth) ſhall attend to ſuch authentic facts as are moſt eſſentially neceſſary to explain and illuſtrate the Britiſh annals.

KING ALFRED *the Great, disguised as a* MUSICIAN, *viewing the Situation of the Enemy in the* DANISH CAMP, *previous to his defeating them on the borders of Hampshire.*

30 JAN 31

either recover their liberty, or periſh in the glorious attempt.

From the diſtinguiſhed alacrity of the people in ſo punctually attending agreeable to the orders of Alfred, and their expreſſing their reſolution of ſupporting him to the laſt extremity, Alfred made not the leaſt doubt but he ſhould prove ſucceſsful in the buſineſs he was about to undertake; and therefore, placing himſelf at the head of his ſubjects, marched immediately againſt the enemy.

The Daniſh army was encamped at a place called Yatenden on the borders of Hampſhire, and was formed in the moſt confuſed and irregular manner: from the conqueſts they had made they dreaded no oppoſition, and ſupinely imagined they had no enemy to fear. Alfred marched towards the camp with the greateſt privacy, and taking advantage of the knowledge he had previouſly acquired of the place, directed his attack againſt the moſt unguarded quarter of the enemy. The Danes, imagining that Alfred had periſhed in the wrecks of his fortune, and that with him the glory and power of England had expired, were ſurprized at ſeeing an Engliſh army, but ſtill more aſtoniſhed when they were informed that Alfred was at their head. Confuſion now took place among the barbarians, whom Alfred charged with ſuch impetuoſity that, notwithſtanding their numbers, they were totally routed, and the greater part cut to pieces. Thoſe who eſcaped fled to a neighbouring fortreſs for ſhelter; but Alfred ſurrounded their retreat, and by cutting off all ſupplies of proviſion, ſoon obliged them to ſurrender.

But lenity ſtill glowed in the breaſt of Alfred; he could not be cruel even to an enemy that had ruined his country. He therefore not only gave them their lives, but even formed a ſcheme for rendering them friends and uſeful confederates. He offered to give them ſettlements in the kingdoms of Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, which they had depopulated, provided they would embrace the Chriſtian religion, and, to the utmoſt of their power, prevent any more of their countrymen from landing in thoſe parts of the iſland. Theſe terms were readily accepted by the greater part, and thoſe who rejected them were compelled immediately to quit the place, which they accordingly did, and embarked for Flanders.

About three weeks after this convention was ſigned, Guthrun, the Daniſh chief, ſet the example, which was followed by his countrymen, of fulfilling the treaty made with Alfred. Being attended by thirty of his principal officers, he repaired to Aller, a ſmall village in Somerſetſhire, where they all received the ceremony of baptiſm. Alfred himſelf ſtood ſponſor for Guthrun, gave him the name of Athelſtan, and admitted him as his adopted ſon.

A. D. 879. This change of religion produced the effect which had been conceived by Alfred. No ſooner were the Danes placed in the different parts aſſigned them, than they began to direct their thoughts to induſtry and agriculture inſtead of plunder and rapine. Houſes were built; the land cultivated; private property defended; virtue and induſtry encouraged; and every precaution taken to defend themſelves againſt the encroachments of their countrymen, or the invaſions of foreigners. To encourage them to perſevere in this conduct, Alfred made them denizens, and preſented Guthrun with a ſhort code of laws for the good government of his ſubjects. This, and other ſalutary meaſures taken by Alfred produced the deſired effect, and the conquered Danes, inſtead of a barbarous, became a civilized people.

A. D. 880. Alfred, having thus eſtabliſhed his power, and again firmly fixed himſelf on the throne of his anceſtors, employed his time in cultivating the arts of peace, and repairing the miſchiefs that had been occaſioned by the war. He rebuilt the towns and cities that had been deſtroyed, particularly London, which he embelliſhed with many ſtately edifices, appointed it as the place where the aſſembly of the ſtates ſhould annually meet, and declared it the metropolis of the kingdom. He eſtabliſhed civil and military inſtitutions, encouraged induſtry by every means in his power, and executed juſtice with the ſtricteſt impartiality. He formed a regular and formidable militia for the defence of the nation, ſo that ſtrong bodies of forces were always in readineſs to act againſt the common enemy. He alſo ordered a great number of ſhips to be built on an improved plan, one hundred and thirty of which he ſtationed at proper diſtances along the coaſt. He likewiſe inſtructed his ſubjects in the art of navigation, and invited the moſt expert ſeamen from different nations to ſerve in his marine. He built caſtles and fortreſſes in thoſe parts of the kingdom which were moſt expoſed to the attempts of any enemy, all of which were well garriſoned, and furniſhed with every requiſite for making a noble defence. In ſhort, Alfred carried into execution every method he could project for preſerving the internal ſtrength of his kingdom; and took all poſſible meaſures for fixing his people in a laſting ſtate of happineſs and tranquillity.

A. D. 892. From the precautions taken by Alfred, peace and harmony prevailed for ſome years throughout the iſland. But this tranquillity was at length interrupted by the piratical Danes. A prodigious body of them, under the command of an enterprizing leader named Haſtings, had committed great ravages in different parts of France, but at length meeting with ſome repulſe, they reſolved to leave the continent, and try their fortunes in England.

Haſtings accordingly fitted out three hundred ſail of ſhips, and embarking all his forces, ſtood over to the Engliſh coaſt. This powerful fleet was divided into two ſquadrons, one of which conſiſting of two hundred and twenty ſail, entered the harbour of Rye in Suſſex, where they landed their forces, and ſeized the caſtle of Appledore. The other, commanded by Haſtings himſelf, entered the mouth of the Thames, and landed at Milton, where they threw up entrenchments, and built a ſtrong fortreſs for their future ſecurity. Both parties diſperſed themſelves into the neighbouring counties, and the dreadful ravages, which had ceaſed for ſeveral years, were now again reſumed, an emulation ſeeming to ſubſiſt between the two chiefs who ſhould moſt excel in acts of outrage and cruelty.

Alfred was no ſooner acquainted with theſe horrid tranſactions, than he immediately flew to the relief of his people. Placing himſelf at the head of a ſelect body of ſoldiers (whom he always kept about his own perſon) he marched againſt the enemy, and being joined by the armed militia from all quarters through which he paſſed, appeared in the field with a very powerful army. All the ſtraggling parties of the Danes, whom neceſſity, or the love of plunder, had driven to a diſtance from their chief encampment, were deſtroyed by the Engliſh, and the communication between their two bodies entirely cut off. Thoſe who firſt encamped at

Appledore had made an incurſion to a conſiderable diſtance; but on hearing that the Engliſh were marching againſt them, they retreated towards their camp. Alfred, however, continuing his route with the greateſt expedition, came up with them at Farnham, where a deſperate battle enſued, which, for ſome time, was ſupported with great obſtinacy on both ſides. At length victory declared in favour of Alfred, who not only made a dreadful carnage among the pirates, but likewiſe took their baggage, and recovered all the plunder they had taken in their reſpective incurſions. Thoſe who eſcaped fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and getting on board their ſhips, ſailed up the Coln, and fortified themſelves at Brickelſey in Eſſex. Haſtings, hearing of this defeat, immediately abandoned Milton, and took poſſeſſion of Beamfleet, near the Iſle of Canvey, where he haſtily threw up fortifications for his future defence.

A. D. 894. Alfred was now convinced that he had been long protecting a people, who, notwithſtanding the moſt ſolemn ties, had continued in their hearts his inflexible and inveterate enemies. While he was engaged in oppoſing the new invaders, the Danes of Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland perfidiouſly took up arms in favour of their countrymen. Regardleſs of oaths, and ſtrangers to gratitude, they renounced their allegiance, fitted out a numerous fleet, and landing in Devonſhire, laid ſiege to the city of Exeter. As ſoon as Alfred was informed of theſe proceedings he immediately marched, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, to the relief of the inhabitants, leaving a proper number of troops in London to act againſt the power of Haſtings. On his arrival at Exeter, he found that the Danes had poſſeſſed themſelves of that city, in conſequence of which he made immediate preparations for inveſting the place; but the enemy, not chuſing to make any reſiſtance, fled with the utmoſt precipitation to their ſhips, having embarked on board of which they ſet ſail for Beamfleet, in order to join their countrymen under the command of Haſtings.

In the mean time the forces left behind in London, hearing that Haſtings had marched, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, to pillage the adjacent country, took the advantage of his abſence to attack his fortifications at Beamfleet, which they carried by ſtorm, and poſſeſſed themſelves of a prodigious quantity of rich plunder, which the enemy had, for ſecurity, depoſited in that fortreſs. Great numbers of the Danes were made priſoners, among whom were the wife and two ſons of Haſtings. Theſe were ſent to Alfred, who generouſly returned them to the pirate with this remarkable meſſage: "I am determined, at the "hazard of my life, to oppoſe the foreign and do-"meſtic enemies of my country; but women and "children ſhould be ſacred from the horrors of "war. I therefore return your wife and children, "as none ought to be detained in captivity, but "ſuch as are capable of committing hoſtilities."

Struck with the noble generoſity of the Engliſh monarch, and terrified at the power of his arms, Haſtings ſent meſſengers to Alfred (who was then on his return from the weſt of England) to ſue for peace, and ſolicit his clemency. Alfred's humanity always ſuperſeded his reſentment. He therefore readily granted the requeſt of Haſtings, and that on no other condition than his immediately departing the kingdom.

Theſe conditions were readily accepted by Haſtings; but he obſerved them no longer than ſuited his intereſt. He, indeed, embarked his forces under pretence of ſailing to the continent, but, inſtead thereof, he landed them on the oppoſite ſide of the Thames, and joining his countrymen, reſolved, if poſſible, to reimburſe himſelf for the loſſes he had ſuſtained at Beamfleet. As a neceſſary ſtep towards his future deſigns, he ſtrongly fortified Shoebury in Eſſex, where he received conſiderable reinforcements by the gradual influx of the fugitive Danes from other parts of the kingdom. Thus ſtrengthened, he reſolved immediately to throw off the maſk, and begin his depredations. Accordingly, proceeding at the head of his forces towards the north, he made a junction with the Northumbrian Danes, and then, turning weſtward, penetrated as far as the Severn, and ſtrongly intrenched himſelf at a place called Badington in Montgomeryſhire.

As ſoon as Alfred was informed of the perfidious proceedings of Haſtings, he immediately ſent an army againſt him under the command of three experienced generals, who being joined by a body of Welch, blocked up the Danes in their camp. In this ſtate they continued ſome time, till at length, being reduced to the utmoſt extremity by famine, they ſallied out of their lines in a fit of deſperation, with a deſign of cutting their way through the beſiegers; but this attempt was far from ſucceeding to their wiſhes: the greater part were cut to pieces, many killed in the purſuit, and the reſt eſcaped by taking ſhelter under the covert of the adjoining woods. Theſe roved about the country for ſome time, till at length, being reinforced by a body of their countrymen from Northumberland, under the command of one Laf, a Daniſh chief, they reſolved to make another attempt to penetrate into Wales. They accordingly marched with all expedition to Cheſter, where they entrenched themſelves before the king's forces could come up with them; and as the ſeaſon was too far advanced for the Engliſh to undertake a ſiege, the Danes therefore took up their winter quarters in that city.

A. D. 896. In the ſpring of this year the Danes quitted Cheſter, but inſtead of penetrating into Wales as they had intended, they took their route acroſs the country into Eaſt-Anglia, from whence they proceeded to Eſſex, and ſeized on a ſmall iſland called Merſey. Being here joined by great numbers of their countrymen, they repaired on board their ſhips, ſailed up the Thames to the mouth of the Lee, and towing their veſſels up that river, fixed their ſtation at Hertford.

The proximity of the Danes to London greatly alarmed the inhabitants of that city. It was then the time of harveſt, and they were apprehenſive of being deprived of the fine crops that adorned the country for many miles round. But Alfred, in order to calm the fears of his ſubjects, marched with a conſiderable army towards Hertford, and encamped in ſuch a ſituation, as not only to protect the reapers, but to have the opportunity of minutely obſerving the motions of the enemy.

In this ſituation the two armies continued for ſome time, when the great Alfred conceived a deſign of deſtroying the Daniſh fleet by the following ſtratagem. He ordered ſeveral large trenches to be cut from the river to the low grounds, then drawing off the main ſtream, he turned it into the leſſer channels, and, by this ingenious device, the ſhips of the enemy were left aground. Aſtoniſhed at ſuch an expedient, and dreading the enterprizing genius of Alfred, the Danes fled with the utmoſt

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KING ALFRED *the Great, forming a* CODE *of* LAWS,
and DIVIDING *the* KINGDOM *into Counties, Tythings, Hundreds, &c.*

precipitation, and the Engliſh, after getting off what ſhips they could, deſtroyed the reſt.

Alfred being determined, if poſſible, totally to extirminate the inhuman ravagers of his country, purſued them to the Severn, from whence they continued their retreat to Northumberland. But reflecting on the military talents of Alfred, and deſpairing of ſucceſs while a man of his abilities poſſeſſed the throne, they determined to quit the kingdom, and endeavour to make up for their loſſes in England by plundering ſome other nation. Accordingly, being ſupplied with ſhips by their friends in Northumberland, they all embarked and ſailed for Normandy, after having been greatly diminiſhed in their numbers, diſappointed in their proſpects of plunder, and obliged to carry away with them leſs property than they brought.

Alfred now determined to ſecure himſelf from any future moleſtation of the piratical Danes, by endeavouring to acquire a ſuperiority of power on the ocean. He had attentively conſidered the conſtruction of the Daniſh veſſels, and invented others formed in a more advantageous manner. They were built in the ſhape of gallies, and were both longer and higher than thoſe of the Danes, but at the ſame time they were ſo contrived, that the bulk did not impede their ſwiftneſs of ſailing.

A. D. 897. Alfred had ſcarce finiſhed theſe veſſels before he had occaſion to uſe them. A ſquadron of Daniſh ſhips appeared hovering off the coaſt of Dorſetſhire, upon which Alfred ordered out nine of his new-conſtructed gallies againſt them. In conſequence of this a ſharp engagement enſued, in which the Danes were totally defeated, and great numbers of them taken priſoners. Theſe were conducted to the king at Wincheſter, who, in order to deter the Danes from making any future invaſions, ſentenced them to be hanged as piratical murderers, and enemies to mankind.

Being now freed from foreign enemies, Alfred directed his attention towards reſtoring good order in his kingdom, and purſuing ſuch other meaſures as might be moſt conducive to the future happineſs of his ſubjects. From the laſt ravages of the Danes the kingdom was reduced to the moſt dreadful ſtate of anarchy and confuſion. The whole country was infeſted with bands of robbers, whoſe dreadful outrages rendered all property precarious. Senſible that the execution of very ſevere juſtice could be the only means of putting an end to theſe alarming enormities, and eſtabliſhing order in the ſtate, Alfred ſet about means to obtain this deſirable end, and the meaſures he purſued were ſuch as evinced the diſtinguiſhed abilities of which he was poſſeſſed.

He began his reform with dividing the kingdom into counties, which were ſubdivided into hundreds, and the hundreds into tythings. Each houſholder was anſwerable to the king for the good behaviour of his family, his ſervants, and even of his gueſts, provided they continued with him above three days. Every youth, at the age of fourteen, was obliged to regiſter himſelf in ſome tything, when all the houſholders immediately became anſwerable for his conduct, nor could any perſon change his habitation without a certificate from the head of the tything to which he belonged. As the tything was anſwerable for the conduct of each individual, ſo the hundred was anſwerable for its different tythings, and the county for its different hundreds. The county, hundred and tything had each its particular court, the firſt of which was held twice a year, and the two laſt once a month for the deciding of cauſes. The biſhop, and eoldermen preſided in the firſt, the conſtable in the ſecond, and the tything-man in the third. By theſe admirable inſtitutions every houſholder was obliged to watch the conduct of his neighbour; nor could any crime be long concealed, or go long unpuniſhed. Small offences were tried in the tything-court, but the larger were heard in thoſe of the hundred and county. Their method of deciſion deſerves to be particularly remembered, becauſe it was the origin of that great privilege peculiar to Engliſhmen, namely, of being tried by juries. Twelve freeholders were choſen, who being ſworn, together with the preſiding magiſtrate, to adminiſter impartial juſtice, proceeded to examine the perſon accuſed, who was either condemned or acquitted, as they thought him guilty or innocent.

From theſe courts there lay an appeal to the king himſelf in council; and as the people had the greateſt confidence in the impartiality and integrity of Alfred, appeals were frequently made to him from all parts of the kingdom. Alfred was indefatigable in the diſpatch of theſe cauſes; but ſuſpecting that the great number of apppeals made to him aroſe from the want of abilities in his magiſtrates, he was determined to remove that inconvenience. To effect this he took particular care that they ſhould be well acquainted with the laws of their country, and, that none might have the opportunity of pleading ignorance, he formed a new code, which he collected from the ſcripture, and from the laws of his predeceſſors Ina, Offa and Ethelbert. This body of laws (though now loſt) ſerved long as the baſis of Engliſh juriſ-prudence, and is generally eſteemed the origin of what is denominated the *common law*.

Alfred was particularly diligent in ſeeing the excellent laws he had made ſtrictly executed. He minutely examined the conduct of all his nobles and judges, reviſed their deciſions, and ſeverely puniſhed all who were guilty of partiality. By purſuing theſe prudent meaſures, all violences and oppreſſions were removed. Robberies were no longer feared, and a breach of the peace, a public offence, or a private injury, were almoſt unknown.

The care of Alfred for the encouragement of learning among his ſubjects was another very uſeful branch of his legiſlation, and tended to reform the Engliſh from their former diſſolute and barbarous manners. He erected ſchools in various parts of the kingdom, and obliged all freeholders, who poſſeſſed two hides of land, to ſend their ſons to theſe ſeminaries till they were ſixteen years of age.

He invited over learned men from various parts of the continent, and founded, or at leaſt rebuilt, the univerſity of Oxford. Perſons of merit and learning only were appointed to offices of truſt: the ignorant and indolent gained not the favour of Alfred. His own example was a powerful incentive to the induſtry of his ſubjects, and a noble emulation was excited among all ranks of people throughout his kingdom. He divided the natural day into three equal parts, one of which was devoted to ſtudy and acts of piety; the ſecond to the diſpatch of buſineſs; and the third to the relaxation and refreſhment of his body. And that he might properly know how the hours paſſed, he made uſe of burning tapers of equal length, which were marked with lines, and fixed in lanthorns; an expedient

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invented by himſelf, the principles of dialling, and the mechaniſm of clocks and watches being then unknown. By thus huſbanding every moment of his time, he became one of the moſt learned perſons of his age; and as he perfectly underſtood the Latin language, he tranſlated the fables of Æſop, the Hiſtory of Bede, and ſeveral other works, for the uſe of his ſubjects.

The conduct of Alfred in the diſpoſition of his own revenues was equally conſiſtent with the manner in which he employed his time. He divided them into two parts, one of which he conſigned to pious, and the other to civil uſes. The former he ſubdivided into four parts, the firſt of which was diſpenſed to the poor in general; the ſecond to the ſupport of religious houſes founded by himſelf; the third to the public ſchools; and the fourth to the building and repairing churches, monaſteries, and other public foundations. The moiety devoted to civil uſes was ſubdivided into three parts: the firſt was deſtined to the ſupport of his houſhold; the ſecond to the payment of his workmen; and the third to the entertainment and relief of ſtrangers who reſorted to his court.

As Alfred was fond of learning, his court was the reſort of all who were eminent in their ſeveral profeſſions, and he particularly familiarized himſelf with ſuch as he thought moſt capable of giving him information in any beneficial branch of knowledge. By theſe means he acquired no leſs ſkill in the mechanical than he had done in the liberal arts, ſeveral of which he cauſed to be practiſed with great advantage throughout his dominions. In ſhort, the attention of Alfred was particularly engaged in concerting meaſures for promoting the happineſs and proſperity of his ſubjects; and in this he was aſſiduouſly employed from the time of his having conquered the piratical Danes to that of his death, which happened on the 26th of October, A. D. 900, in the 52d year of his age, afaer reigning upwards of twenty-eight years. His remains were interred at Wincheſter, and his grave bedewed with the tears of an affectionate and grateful people.

From the concurrent teſtimonies of the moſt eminent writers, and Alfred's great actions, it is evident that he was the able general, the profound ſcholar, the eloquent ſpeaker, the ſage politician, the polite gentleman, and the worthy man upon all occaſions. He had a fine perſon, a calm but lively aſpect, a graceful mien, and a genteel addreſs. He was naturally of a quiet and chearful temper, agreeable in converſation, and affable to all. He knew how to condeſcend without ſinking below his dignity, and how to endear himſelf to his ſubjects, without leſſening their veneration. He never mentioned his enemies but in terms which expreſſed great tenderneſs, nor his friends without a proper regard to their merit. He was temperate in his diet, moderate in all his deſires, charitable, benevolent and generous; at once the father and king of his people. In ſhort, he was poſſeſſed of every talent, and of every acquiſition that can adorn the human mind; without one vice to ſully the luſtre of his virtues. If the reader deſires a further elucidation of his character, let him now look on his country, which has ſo much flouriſhed in arts, in arms, in commerce, and in freedom: theſe are the monuments of Alfred's glory: theſe the effects of his unwearied attention.

Alfred left behind him five children, namely, two ſons and three daughters: all of whom inherited a conſiderable ſhare of the talents and virtues of their father.

Remarkable occurrences during the reign of ALFRED.

885 The honour of knighthood firſt inſtituted by Alfred, who conferred it on his grandſon Athelſtan.
886 Fairs and markets appointed to be kept at moſt of the the principal places throughout England.
Bricks firſt made and uſed for building of houſes.
892 Lanthorns of ſcraped horn invented, by Alfred.
895 The river Humber overflowed its banks, by which a great number of cattle and ſheep were drowned.
896 Spreaders of falſe news puniſhed with the loſs of their tongues
897 A dreadful plague happened in England, which raged with great violence for three years, during which time it carried off prodigious numbers of the inhabitants.

CHAP. VI.

EDWARD THE ELDER,

Edward ſucceeds his father Alfred on the throne of England. Is oppoſed by his couſin Ethelwald, in conjunction with the Danes. Edward marches againſt them, and Ethelwald, being deſerted by the Danes, is obliged to quit the kingdom. He returns with a body of foreign troops, and is again joined by the Danes. Engages a party of the king's forces and is ſlain. Edward continues to be haraſſed by the Danes, whom, with the aſſiſtance of his ſiſter Elfleda, he repeatedly defeats. Engages Leofrid, a Daniſh chief, in ſingle combat. Quells a general inſurrection of the Danes, and reſtores tranquillity to the kingdom. His death and character.

A. D. 900. ON the death of Alfred, his ſecond ſon Edward (ſurnamed the Elder from his being the firſt Engliſh monarch of that name) ſucceeded to the throne, and was crowned winh great ceremony at Kingſton upon Thames, by Plegmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury,

At the time Edward aſcended the throne, the nation was in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity; but this was ſoon interrupted by means of his couſin Ethelwald, who laid claim to the crown as the ſon of Ethelbert, elder brother to the late king. Accordingly having got together ſome adherents, and a ſmall body of forces, he made himſelf maſter of Winburn in Dorſetſhire, which he fortified, and ſeemed determined to ſupport his claim at the hazard of his life.

A. D. 901. As ſoon as Edward was informed of his couſin's rebellion, he immediately marched at the head of a body of forces againſt him; but on his approach Ethelwald, being fearful of the conſequences, deſerted his friends, and even his wife, and fled to the Danes in Northumberland, who received him with open arms, and acknowledged him for their king.

Edward, hearing of the retreat of his rival, and the revolt of the Danes, reſolved to march againſt them, before they could be joined by any of their countrymen from the continent, or ſtrengthen themſelves

GO GI JAN

Wale delin. *Walker sculp.*

KING ATHELSTAN *saving the Life of his* FATHER, *Edward the Elder, at the Battle of Shernwood, by taking* LEOFRID *the Dane* PRISONER.

ſelves by an union with any other parties in the iſland. Accordingly, having reduced Winburn, he marched with ſuch expedition into Northumberland, that the Danes were aſtoniſhed, and being fearful of the conſequences, agreed to baniſh from their country the prince they had undertaken to protect. But this pretended loyalty, the effect of fear, did not ſatisfy Edward, who ſeized upon their principal fortreſſes as the moſt eligible method of ſecuring their allegiance.

Ethelwald being compelled to quit the kingdom, repaired to Normandy, from whence, having obtained the aſſiſtance of a conſiderable body of forces, he returned in the year 904, and landed in Eaſt-Anglia. The appearance of a Norman army gave great encouragement to the Danes, who, laying aſide their fears, declared openly for Ethelwald. But the abilities and alacrity of Edward rendered all his attempts abortive. Ethelwald marched, indeed, at the head of his forces into Glouceſterſhire, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages on the peaceable inhabitants; but on the approach of the Engliſh army he was obliged to deſiſt, and returned, for ſafety, into Eaſt-Anglia. Edward led his forces into the enemy's country, and laid the frontiers waſte; but not thinking it prudent to penetrate into the heart of Eaſt-Anglia, he retreated from their territories, at the head of the greater part of his army. The whole of his forces were ordered to follow; but the Kentiſh men, either to revenge themſelves on the perfidious Danes, or from expectations of acquiring a larger ſhare of plunder, ſtaid behind, and took up their quarters at Bury. But this diſobedience proved in the end fortunate to Edward. The Danes, taking advantage of the king's abſence, aſſaulted the Kentiſh forces with great reſolution; but met with ſo ſtrong a reſiſtance, that though they gained the advantage, it was dearly purchaſed, their braveſt leaders, among whom was Ethelwald himſelf, being ſlain in the action. In conſequence of this the Danes immediately ſued for peace, which Edward concluded with them at a place called Ickford in Buckinghamſhire.

A. D. 911. Ever reſtleſs, and ever perfidious, the Danes broke the treaty they had made with Edward, and committed the moſt horrid ravages in various parts of the country. Exaſperated at their perfidy and cruelty, Edward led his forces againſt the inſurgents, and coming up with a large body of them at a place called Tetnal in Staffordſhire, defeated them with great ſlaughter, and deprived them of all their plunder.

A. D. 912. About this time Edward loſt his brother-in-law Etheldred prince of Mercia, on whoſe death Elfleda, his widow, a worthy daughter of the great Alfred, took upon her the reins of government, and nobly aſſiſted her brother in his wars with the Danes. Being a woman of exceeding great courage, ſhe threw off the weakneſs peculiar to her ſex, and took upon herſelf the command of a body of troops in perſon, at the head of whom ſhe ſignalized herſelf on various occaſions, and was at once admired by the ſoldiers, and reſpected by the officers.

A. D. 913. Edward having, by the aſſiſtance of his heroic ſiſter, procured an interval of eaſe, applied himſelf to works of public utility, and the encouragement of learning. He rebuilt the city of Hereford, which had been deſtroyed by the Danes, fortified Witham, repaired ſeveral churches and monaſteries, and erected the ſeminary of Cambridge into an univerſity.

A. D. 917. The tranquillity which the nation had enjoyed for about four years was again diſturbed by the reſtleſs and ferocious Danes, who made ſeveral incurſions, with detached parties, and committed the moſt horrid ravages. Edward and his ſiſter marched againſt them, and were ſo ſucceſsful that defeat ſucceeded defeat, they being in one part of the kingdom cut to pieces by Elfleda, and routed by Edward in another.

A. D. 918. But theſe ſmall incurſions were only the prelude to a more formidable invaſion. A numerous body of Danes, under the command of Otar and Rohault, embarked from the ſouthern coaſt of Britany, and entering the Severn, committed many ravages on the adjacent coaſts, till at length they were defeated by the militia of Herefordſhire and Glouceſterſhire. Rohault and Otar's brother were ſlain in the battle, and thoſe who eſcaped fled into a wood, which was immediately inveſted by the conquerors. In this emergency the Danes, as uſual, ſued for peace, promiſed to depart the kingdom, and give hoſtages for the performance of the treaty. They accordingly embarked, and ſailed from the mouth of the Severn in the night, but landed on the coaſt of Somerſetſhire, where being met by the militia of that county, the greater part of them were cut to pieces, and the few that eſcaped fled to Ireland. This ſucceſs was highly pleaſing to Edward, but his ſatisfaction was greatly checked by the loſs of his ſiſter Elfleda, who died ſoon after at Tamworth in Staffordſhire, to the unſpeakable regret of the whole nation.

A. D. 920. In the beginning of this year one Leofrid, a Daniſh chief, who was ſettled in Ireland, accompanied by Griffith ap Madoc, brother-in-law to the prince of Weſt Wales, landed at the head of a conſiderable army, with a deſign of making a conqueſt of the Welch dominions. They penetrated as far as Cheſter without meeting with any oppoſition. But Edward, having aſſembled his forces, marched with all expedition to the defence of his people, and meeting the invaders at Sherwood, a deſperate battle enſued. During the action Leofrid encountered hand to hand with Edward, and the conteſt continued equal for ſome time, till Edward, in giving the Dane a violent blow, broke his ſword at the hilt, and he muſt have fallen a victim to Leofrid, had not his ſon Athelſtan flown to his aſſiſtance. This prince was more fortunate than his father; for he wounded Leofrid ſo deſperately in the arm, that he dropped his ſpear, and ſurrendered himſelf a priſoner. The forces of the enemy were totally defeated, great numbers being ſlain, and the reſt immediately obliged to quit the kingdom. The two chiefs, Leofrid the Dane, and Griffith ap Madoc, the Welch prince, were both beheaded, and their heads placed on the tower of Cheſter.

A. D. 921. This conqueſt, and the ſevere puniſhment inflicted on the two leaders, ſo irritated the Danes, that a general inſurrection enſued, and the Engliſh were threatened with all the horrors of ſavage barbarity. But the vigilance and intrepidity of Edward baffled all their deſigns: they were driven from one part of the country to another: their caſtles were taken, and their towns laid in aſhes; ſo that they felt the ſame kind of diſtreſs they had ſo often inflicted on the Engliſh. Submiſſion now became their only reſource: they accordingly laid down their arms, ſued for peace, and readily embraced the terms offered by the victor. This was followed by the ſubmiſſion of all

the Welſh princes; and even the king of Scotland conſented to hold his crown as a vaſſal to Edward.

A. D. 925. Thus did Edward once more reſtore tranquillity to the nation, to ſecure which, knowing the natural perfidy of the Danes, he directed his attention towards fortifying towns, and erecting caſtles in various parts of the kingdom. But while he was employed in this buſineſs he paid the debt of nature, to the great grief of all his ſubjects. He died at Farringdon in Berkſhire, and was buried by his father at Wincheſter.

Though Edward was inferior to Alfred with reſpect to genius and learning, yet he was equal to him in virtue and courage. He cloſely followed the ſteps of his father, and, like him, was reſpected by his neighbours, and univerſally beloved by his ſubjects, who, as the laſt teſtimony of their reſpect for him, watered his grave with the tears of affection.

CHAP. VII.

ATHELSTAN.

Athelſtan ſucceeds his father on the throne of England. A conſpiracy is formed againſt him. Marches againſt the Danes of Northumberland, and obliges them to ſue for peace. Reduces the kingdom of Scotland. Conſtantine, the Scottiſh monarch, Anlaff, a Daniſh prince, and Owen, king of the Cumbrian Britons, join in a confederacy againſt Athelſtan, who marches againſt them, and obtains a compleat victory. His death and character.

A. D. 925. ON the death of Edward, his ſon Athelſtan ſucceeded to the throne, and was crowned at Kingſton by Anthelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people.

Athelſtan was hardly fixed in the ſeat of power when a conſpiracy was formed to arreſt the ſcepter from his hand; but before the deſign was ripe for execution, the plot was diſcovered, and Alfred (a nobleman of conſiderable authority who headed the faction) was apprehended, and committed to priſon. Alfred reſolutely denied the charge, and offered to prove his innocence by an oath before the pope. The king accepting the conditions, Alfred was conducted to Rome, where he took the oath preſcribed before pope John X. who then filled the papal chair; but he had no ſooner pronounced the words than he fell into convulſions, and three days after expired. This being conſidered as a ſufficient proof of his guilt, the king confiſcated his eſtate, and gave it to the monaſtery of Malmſbury.

The Danes of Northumberland, knowing of the conſpiracy formed againſt Athelſtan, and hoping to be joined by a powerful faction, revolted, and penetrated as far as the city of York. But Athelſtan marched againſt them with ſuch expedition, that the inſurgents were ſurprized, and Sithric, their leader, was obliged to ſue for peace. This requeſt was readily granted by Athelſtan, who, in order to attach Sithric more firmly to his intereſts, not only made him king of Northumberland, but likewiſe gave him his ſiſter Edgitha in marriage.

A. D. 926. The political ſtep taken by Athelſtan for obtaining a laſting peace with the Danes was rendered abortive by the death of Sithric, which happened a few months after his promotion. In conſequence of this his two ſons, Anlaff and Godfrid (by a former wife) aſſumed the ſovereignty, without waiting for the conſent of Athelſtan, who was ſo enraged at their preſumption that he drove them from the kingdom. Anlaff fled to Ireland, and Godfrid to Scotland, where he took refuge in the court of Conſtantine, who then filled the Scottiſh throne. Athelſtan ſent a meſſage to Conſtantine, requeſting him to deliver up the fugitive; which being refuſed, he marched a ſtrong army into Scotland, reduced the whole kingdom, and obliged Conſtantine to do him homage for the preſervation of his crown.

Though Conſtantine had been compelled to ſubmit to the ſuperior power of Athelſtan, yet he reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of endeavouring to recover the honour he had loſt by his ſubmiſſion. To effect this, in the beginning of the year 934, he formed a confederacy with Anlaff the brother of Godfrid, (who had collected a large body of forces in Ireland) and Owen, king of the Cumbrian Britons, in order to attack Athelſtan, and reduce his power to narrower bounds. Owen accordingly marched at the head of his Britons into Scotland, ſoon after which Anlaff landed his forces on the north ſide of the Humber, and marched immediately to join the allies.

Athelſtan, being informed of this confederacy, proceeded with all expedition to chaſtiſe the inſurgents. The two armies came within ſight of each other at a place called Bromſbury in Northumberland, but kept from an engagement for ſeveral days, each watching the opportunity of gaining ſome peculiar advantage. During this interval Anlaff laid a ſcheme for aſſaſſinating Athelſtan, to effect which he put in practice a ſimilar ſtratagem to that uſed by Alfred the Great. Diſguiſed like a muſician he entered the Engliſh camp, and was even introduced to play before the king, who handſomely rewarded him for the amuſement he had received. A ſoldier in Athelſtan's army happened to recognize the features of Anlaff, and after his departure informed the king who he was. Athelſtan blamed him for not having given more timely notice, that he might have been apprehended in the camp; when the ſoldier nobly replied, "My "liege, I firſt gave my military oath to Anlaff; "if, therefore, I had betrayed him, your majeſty "might juſtly have ſuſpected the like treachery to "yourſelf. But to evince my loyalty, I entreat "your majeſty to remove your tent, as I have no "doubt but a deſign upon your perſon will be the "conſequence of Anlaff's obſervations." The "king, after rewarding the ſoldier for his fidelity, ordered his tent to be removed; and the ſpot where it ſtood was ſoon after occupied by a biſhop who had that evening joined Athelſtan with a reinforcement of troops. Every thing continued quiet till midnight, when Anlaff at the head of a choſen body of forces, broke into the Engliſh camp, repaired immediately to the ſpot where the king's tent ſtood, and ſlew the biſhop, with all his followers. This incident occaſioned a general alarm, and Anlaff narrowly eſcaped with his life.

Early the next morning Athelſtan led his forces againſt

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Engraved for
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History of England

EDMUND I.

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Four Portraits of the KINGS *of* ENGLAND *in the Habits of the Times in which they reigned, from* EGBERT *the* Great, *Father of the English Monarchy*
to the NORMAN CONQUEST — *Plate III.*

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Plate III.

King EDMUND *the first* ASSASSINATED *by* LEOLF *the* ROBBER, *while celebrating the Feast of St Augustine, in the Church of Puckle in Gloucestershire.*

againſt the allied army, and the action ſoon became general. The conteſt was very ſevere for ſome time, till at length victory declared in favour of the Engliſh. The allies were driven from the field of battle with great ſlaughter, and the few that eſcaped ſought their ſafety in a precipitate flight, among whom were the two leaders Anlaff and Owen. Conſtantine, chagrined at his defeat, reſigned his crown, retired to a convent, and died in obſcurity.

A. D. 941. Having thus ſubdued his enemies, Athelſtan reſted from the toils of war, and applied himſelf, with the utmoſt aſſiduity, in purſuing ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to promote the happineſs and proſperity of his people. But while he was labouring for the good of his country, he paid the debt of nature, in the 46th year of his age, and 16th of his reign. He died at Glouceſter, and was buried in his favourite church at Malmſbury.

With reſpect to the character of Athelſtan, it is acknowledged by all hiſtorians, that he was learned without being pedantic, generous without oſtentation, and pious without ſuperſtition. He was an able general, a conſummate politician, a ſincere friend, and an indulgent maſter. He was particularly deſirous of ſpreading the knowledge of the Goſpel among his ſubjects; for which purpoſe he cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated into the Saxon language, that every perſon might enjoy the advantage of being acquainted with the ſacred writings. In ſhort, his whole attention was directed to the welfare of his people, ſo that it is no wonder he ſhould live beloved, and die univerſally lamented.

CHAP. VIII.

EDMUND I.

Edmund ſucceeds his brother Athelſtan. Is greatly diſturbed by the Danes. Marches againſt them; and comes to an accommodation. Quells a diſturbance in Northumberland, and reduces the Cumbrian Britons. Is baſely aſſaſſinated by Leolf the Robber.

A. D. 941. ON the death of Athelſtan, his brother Edmund ſucceeded to the throne, and was crowned with great ſolemnity at Kingſton, in the 18th year of his age.

Edmund was no ſooner ſeated on the throne than he met with diſturbances from the Danes under Anlaff, who conſidering the youth of the king as a fair opportunity, reſolved to renew his claim to the crown of Northumberland. He was at this time in Ireland, where he had a conſiderable body of forces; but not thinking theſe ſufficient for his intended enterprize, he formed an alliance with Olaus king of Norway, from whom he received a ſtrong reinforcement of ſhips and men. Having acquired this aſſiſtance, he immediately invaded Northumberland, and being joined by the Danes, over-ran the country, after which he purſued his rout into Yorkſhire, took the city of York, and then penetrated into Mercia.

In the mean time young Edmund, being informed of the rapid progreſs of the enemy, aſſembled what forces he could, and marched with all expedition againſt them. The two armies met at Cheſter, where an obſtinate battle enſued, which continued till night put an end to the conteſt. Both armies remained in the field, in order to renew the fight as ſoon as the morning appeared; but at the inſtigation of the archbiſhops of York and Canterbury, an accommodation was formed, and a ſtop put to the farther effuſion of human blood. Peace was concluded between the contending parties, and Anlaff was ſhamefully permitted to enjoy the throne of Northumberland.

A. D. 943. But though Anlaff had thus obtained the regal dignity, yet he did not hold it long without diſturbance. Having contracted large debts with the king of Norway for his aſſiſtance, he laid a very heavy tax on his ſubjects to fulfil his engagements, and being inexorable to their complaints, totally loſt their affections. The inhabitants of Deira, wearied with the burden, revolted, and ſending for Reinald, the nephew of Anlaff, from Ireland, crowned him king at York. Anarchy and confuſion now ſucceeded: the kingdom was divided into parties, and each endeavoured to eſtabliſh their own power on the ruin of others.

A. D. 944. Edmund, thinking this a favourable opportunity of recovering the countries he had loſt, marched with all expedition, at the head of his forces towards Northumberland, and arrived on the frontiers before the Danes had the leaſt notion of his deſign. Being thus ſuddenly ſurprized, the two kings thought proper to ſeek their ſafety by flight, and the Danes not chuſing to make any oppoſition without their leader, ſubmitted to Edmund, who, in conſequence thereof, became maſter of the whole kingdom.

A. D. 945. Edmund now reſolved to turn his arms againſt the Cumbrian Britons, for having aſſiſted the Northumberland Danes in their late revolt. He accordingly marched into their country at the head of his forces, drove their prince from the throne, and beſtowed his dominions on Malcolm, king of Scotland, on condition of his doing homage, and defending the northern countries from the future invaſions of the Danes.

Edmund made ſeveral excellent laws for the good government of his ſubjects. Among others he paſſed a law for preventing robberies, in which it was enacted, that in gangs of robbers the oldeſt ſhould be put to death.

A. D. 948. A ſhort time after this an incident happened, which proved fatal to Edmund. On the 6th of May the king and his nobility repaired to Puckle church in Glouceſterſhire, in order to celebrate the feaſt of St. Auguſtine. During the entertainment Edmund obſerved at one of the tables, a notorious robber named Leolf, whom he himſelf had baniſhed for his crimes. Enraged at his inſolence, he ordered him immediately to quit the room; but, on his refuſing to obey, Edmund was ſo incenſed, that he leaped from his ſeat, ſeized him by the hair, and threw him on the floor. On this Leolf, thinking his death inevitable, drew out a ſhort dagger, and gave the king a mortal wound, of which he inſtantly expired. The nobles, who were witneſſes of this act of regicide, immediately fell upon the murderer, and put him to death.—Thus, by an ignoble hand, fell Edmund, in the ſeventh year of his reign, and twenty-fifth of his age.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

EDRED.

Edred ſucceeds his brother on the throne. Marches againſt the Danes of Northumberland, and reduces them to obedience. Suffers himſelf to be duped by Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury. Dies of a quinſey.

A. D. 948. THE late Edmund left two ſons, namely, Edwy and Edgar, but being both infants, their uncle Edred was unanimouſly choſen ſucceſſor to the throne, and crowned at Kingſton by Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The reign of this prince, like that of his predeceſſor, commenced with diſturbances from the Danes of Northumberland, who no ſooner heard of the death of Edmund, than they renounced their allegiance, and flew to arms. Edward immediately marched againſt them, and having laid waſte their country with fire and ſword, as a puniſhment for their rebellion, obliged them to renew their oaths of allegiance, and then returned with his forces.

A. D. 949. Provoked at the devaſtations made by Edred, the Danes of Northumberland broke into a new rebellion, and were again ſubdued; and in order to prevent any future inſurrections, Edred placed garriſons in the principal fortreſſes under an able governor. He likewiſe obliged Malcolm, king of Scotland, to renew his homage for the lands which he held in England.

A. D. 950. The Northumbrian Danes being thus ſubdued, and tranquillity reſtored, Edred ſpent his time in religious exerciſes, and from his diſtinguiſhed zeal became the dupe of Dunſtan, abbot of Glaſtonbury, who directed both the ſpiritual concerns of the king, and the temporal concerns of the kingdom. Nothing either in church or ſtate was executed without his advice and concurrence. He was ſole treaſurer, and by his counſel moſt of the benefices in the kingdom were beſtowed upon monks, while the ſecular clergy were totally neglected and ſet aſide. This partiality excited very alarming commotions among the people, and, for ſome time, greatly diſturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom.

A. D. 955. But while the nation was thus threatened with the moſt imminent danger, the career of the imperious Dunſtan was checked by the death of the king, who, being ſeized with a quinſey, expired on the 23d of November, in the ſeventh year of his reign. He left two ſons; but as they were infants, his nephew Edwy, ſon to Edmund, was placed on the throne.

CHAP. X.

EDWY.

Edwy, on the day of his coronation, is groſly inſulted by Dunſtan, whom he baniſhes the kingdom. Ethelgiva, his queen, is barbarouſly treated by Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and afterwards put to death. A rebellion is formed againſt Edwy, who is dethroned, and dies with grief.

A. D. 955. EDWY was only ſixteen years of age when he aſcended the throne, and ſo remarkable for his perſonal accompliſhments, that he obtained the ſurname of *The Fair*. A ſhort time before his acceſſion he married Ethelgiva, a beautiful princeſs of the blood royal; but this alliance being within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law, Dunſtan violently declaimed againſt the king's conduct, (in which he was joined by the whole fraternity of monks) and thinking his influence leſſened by Edwy's fondneſs for his wife, determined, if poſſible, to break off the connection. It was not long before he gave a proof of his intentions. On the day of Edwy's coronation, being fatigued with the tedious ceremony, and willing to avoid the exceſſive drinking then univerſally practiſed, the king left his nobles, and retired to enjoy the converſation of his wife and mother, who were in an adjacent apartment. The nobles, looking upon the abſence of the king as an affront offered to themſelves, complained of the inſult. Dunſtan ſaw their diſguſt with a ſecret ſatisfaction, and, ſtarting from his ſeat, ruſhed into the apartment, reproached the king for his behaviour in the harſheſt terms, and forcibly dragged him back to the hall where the gueſts were aſſembled.

This violent outrage could not but excite the indignation of Edwy, who, by the advice of his friends, reſolved to be revenged on the inſolent Dunſtan. He accordingly ordered him to give an account of the ſums of money with which he had been entruſted during the late reign; but the haughty abbot refuſed to comply, in conſequence of which he was declared guilty of malverſation in his office, and baniſhed the kingdom.

This exertion of the royal authority raiſed the attention of the whole clergy, but none more than Odo, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, ſuſpecting that Dunſtan's baniſhment aroſe from the reſentment of Ethelgiva, determined to take a ſevere revenge on that innocent princeſs. He accordingly ſent a party of ſoldiers to the palace, with orders to ſeize her and bring her before him; which being done, he firſt cauſed her beautiful face to be branded with an hot iron, and then ſent her, under a proper guard, to Ireland.

The cruel Odo was too powerful for Edwy to make any attempt to puniſh him for his audacity; but to give ſome vent to his reſentment, he baniſhed the whole order of monks from his kingdom, and gave the monaſteries of Glaſtonbury and Abingdon to the ſecular clergy. Thus the inconſiderate monarch and haughty prelate continued to mortify each other, till the latter ſpirited up prince Edgar to an open rebellion againſt his brother.

Edgar was a prince of an enterprizing genius, and an ambitious ſpirit. The archbiſhop, therefore, found but little difficulty in perſuading him to revolt. His own aggrandizement, and the approbation

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KING EDGAR's *first* INTERVIEW *with* QUEEN ELFRIDA.

probation of the clergy overbalanced fraternal bonds and natural allegiance; and the ſanction of the Northumbrian and Mercian forces urged him on to proſecute the deſign of dethroning his brother.

A. D. 957. The rebellion excited by Odo now became too powerful to be eaſily ſuppreſſed, and the timid Edwy, inſtead of exerting a proper ſpirit, fled to Glouceſter, and in a fit of deſpair, immerſed himſelf within the walls of that city. In conſequence of this Edgar ſummoned together the principal nobility, both ſpiritual and temporal, who unanimouſly elected him to the ſovereign authority, and declared his brother incapable of any longer holding the reins of government.

The unfortunate Edwy ſurvived this popular injuſtice about two years, when he died of abſolute grief, leaving his brother Edgar in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne.

CHAP. XI.

EDGAR.

Edgar recalls Dunſtan and loads him with favours. Increaſes his navy, and ſecures his dominions from foreign invaſions. Marries Elfrida, daughter of the earl of Devon. Is rowed down the river Dee by eight tributary kings. His death and character.

A. D. 959. THE firſt conſideration of Edgar, after his acceſſion to throne was, to conciliate the affections of the clergy, knowing it to be the only ſtep he could take to avoid that rock which had proved ſo fatal to his brother. He accordingly recalled Dunſtan, and loaded him with favours; firſt making him biſhop of Wincheſter, then advancing him to the ſee of London, and afterwards promoting him to the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury.

A. D. 960. Edgar now directed his attention towards cultivating the arts of peace, and eſtabliſhing tranquillity throughout his kingdom. To ſecure himſelf from foreign invaſions, he greatly increaſed his navy, which he divided into three ſquadrons. The firſt was ſtationed on the eaſtern, the ſecond on the weſtern, and the third on the northern coaſts of the kingdom. Theſe ſquadrons kept cruiſing during the ſummer months, and were always in readineſs to attack an enemy on their firſt appearance. He likewiſe maintained a body of diſciplined troops, which he quartered in the north, in order to keep the Northumbrians in ſubjection, and to repel the inroads of the Scots.

A. D. 961. The meaſures purſued by Edgar evinced his abilities for holding the ſcepter with credit to himſelf and happineſs to his people; but theſe abilities were greatly ſullied by his private conduct as a man. He was naturally of a very laſcivious diſpoſition, and particularly remarkable for the diſſoluteneſs of his manners. The virtue of no lady was ſafe, if celebrated for her beauty. He carried off and raviſhed a nun, though oppoſed by the whole convent. Dunſtan, indeed, reproached him for this atrocious crime, but no other puniſhment was inflicted on him than a prohibition from wearing his crown during ſeven years.

A ſhort time after this Edgar's amorous diſpoſition led him to commit an act of the moſt horrid nature. Elfrida, the daughter of the earl of Devon, one of the richeſt noblemen in the kingdom, had ſuch perſonal charms, as to become the univerſal object of converſation. Edgar often heard of the praiſes of this lady, and conceived a deſign of making her his partner in the throne; but doubting whether ſhe poſſeſſed thoſe charms diſplayed by common report, he diſpatched Athelwold his favourite and firſt miniſter, into Devonſhire, with directions to pay a viſit to her father, in order to obtain a ſight of her, and bring him a certain account of her beauty. Athelwold himſelf was young, and very ſuſceptible of the tender paſſions; ſo that the charms of Elfrida ſtifled in his breaſt every ſentiment of duty, and animated him with a reſolution of attempting to gain her for himſelf. He accordingly returned to Edgar and made a falſe report of the charms of Elfrida: he repreſented her as very plain in her perſon, and far from being an object proper for his affections. At the ſame time he artfully inſinuated, that though ſhe was unworthy to be the conſort of a king, ſhe would be an advantageous match for a ſubject, and the great riches ſhe poſſeſſed would be to him a ſufficient compenſation for the want of beauty in her perſon. Edgar readily gave his conſent, and Athelwold, ſoon after married Elfrida. Conſcious of the danger that muſt attend him, ſhould Edgar diſcover the treacherous part he had acted, Athelwold took every precaution to conceal the beautiful Elfrida from public obſervation. But his perfidy was not long unknown. Edgar, either by chance, or the information of ſome enemy to Athelwold, was informed of the whole tranſaction. Exaſperated at the treachery of his favourite, Edgar determined to take a ſevere revenge; but, for the preſent, he thought proper to diſſemble his rage, and told Athelwold, in a very careleſs manner, that he intended to hunt in the neighbourhood of his ſeat, and propoſed paying him a viſit. Alarmed at the king's deſign, and being incapable of making any plauſible excuſe to elude the royal viſit, Athelwold ſet out a few hours before the king, under pretence of making the neceſſary preparations. On his arrival he diſcovered the whole to Elfrida, conjuring her to uſe her utmoſt endeavours to conceal from the amorous monarch, thoſe charms which nature had ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon her, leſt they ſhould be the deſtruction of their domeſtic peace. But this requeſt was made to a woman conſcious of the power of beauty, and enflamed with the ambition of ſeing a monarch at her feet. Inſtead, therefore, of purſuing the advice of her huſband, when the king arrived ſhe took particular pains to employ all the graces of her perſon; in conſequence of which love and fury took poſſeſſion of the inſulted monarch's breaſt, though he had prudence enough to conceal it from

the eyes of his perfidious favourite. It was not long, however, before he took a moſt ſevere revenge, for going with Athelwold to hunt in the foreſt of Harewood, he there ſtabbed him with his own hand. Elfrida, to expiate the guilt of being thought acceſſary to the murder of her huſband, erected a monaſtery on the ſpot where he was ſlain, and ſoon after was married to Edgar.

This incident terminated the vices and follies of Edgar, who ſpent the remainder of his reign in purſuing ſuch meaſures as did him honour both as a ſovereign and a man, and from which he was feared by his enemies, and univerſally beloved by his ſubjects.

A. D. 974. At this time the whole kingdom was infeſted with wolves, and Edgar exerted his utmoſt endeavours to extirpate them; but on being cloſely purſued they took ſhelter in the mountains and foreſts of Wales. Edgar, therefore, changed the tribute, which had been impoſed upon the Welch princes, into an annual tax of three hundred wolves. This ſcheme produced the deſired effect; and in a few years thoſe animals were no longer to be found in the iſland.

Edgar had now arrived to the higheſt ſummit of power, and to ſhew his authority he ſummoned his vaſſal princes to attend him at Cheſter. Theſe were eight in number, namely, Kennith king of Scotland, Malcolm king of Cumberland, Maccuſe king of the Iſles, and five petty kings of Wales. After paying the uſual homage, Edgar went into his royal barge, and was rowed down the river Dee by theſe eight tributary kings, another barge contained the principal nobility. In this manner they proceeded to the monaſtery of St. John the Baptiſt, where, having heard a complimentary oration, he returned to his palace.

A. D. 975. The peaceable reign of Edgar now drew towards a cloſe. He was ſeized with a violent fever, which, notwithſtanding all the art of medicine, took him off, in the 33d year of his age, and 16th of his reign.

Edgar had iſſue by his firſt wife Elfleda, Edward, who ſucceeded him on the throne; and by his ſecond wife Elfrida he had two ſons, viz. Ethelred (who was afterwards king of England) and Edmund, who died when he was only four years of age.

With reſpect to the character of Edgar, it muſt be acknowledged that he was a conſummate politician and a wiſe legiſlator. He made ſeveral excellent laws for the good order and government of his people. He regulated the coin of the kingdom, and reduced the weights and meaſures to one ſtandard. In ſhort, he exerted himſelf ſo much in promoting the happineſs of his people, and maintaining the honour of his crown, that it is to be wiſhed his failings as a man had been leſs, or that they had been for ever buried in the gulph of forgetfulneſs.

CHAP. XII.

EDWARD, ſurnamed the MARTYR.

Edward aſcends the throne, and is crowned at Kingſton; but after a ſhort reign, is treacherouſly aſſaſſinated by order of his ſtep-mother Elfrida.

A. D. 975. NO ſooner had Edgar paid the debt of nature than two powerful parties were formed, the one in favour of Edward, and the other of Ethelred. Dunſtan was at the head of the former, and the Queen Dowager Elfrida of the latter; but the archbiſhop and his party prevailed, in conſequence of which Edward was crowned at Kingſton upon Thames, being then little more than fourteen years of age.

A ſhort time after Edward's acceſſion to the throne Elfrida retired with her ſon Ethelred to Corfe Caſtle in Dorſetſhire. All animoſities between her and Edward ſeemed to be entirely forgot, and that peace and harmony, which had ſubſiſted between them before the death of Edgar, reſtored. This apparent reconciliation was real on the part of Edward; but much otherwiſe on that of Elfrida, who long nurſed in ſecret the fury of revenge, which ſhe at length gratified by cauſing the innocent Edward to be baſely aſſaſſinated.

A. D. 979. The young king, returning one day from the chaſe in Dorſetſhire, left his attendants, and rode up to Corfe Caſtle, to pay his reſpects to his ſtep-mother. Elfrida received him with all the external marks of affection, and deſired him to alight, in order to take ſome refreſhment. This, however, Edward refuſed, but requeſted that a cup of wine might be brought him as he was exceeding thirſty. The wine was accordingly brought, but while he held the cup to his head he was ſtabbed in the back by one of Elfrida's ſervants, whom ſhe had baſely prevailed upon to execute her horrid purpoſe. Edward, on receiving the wound, immediately clapped ſpurs to his horſe, to eſcape a ſecond blow, and reach his companions; but fainting with the loſs of blood, he fell from his horſe, and his foot being entangled in the ſtirrup, he was dragged a conſiderable diſtance along the road, and then expired. The ſervants of Elfrida followed Edward, took up the body, and threw it into a well, in order, if poſſible, to conceal the horrid murder. But their attempts were fruitleſs the body was found in the courſe of a few days, and privately interred at Wareham, from whence it was afterwards removed to the monaſtery at Shafteſbury.—Thus fell the unfortunate Edward, in the fourth year of his reign, during which nothing material occurred except violent feuds between the monks and ſecular clergy.

Elfrida, ſtung with remorſe at the horrid crime ſhe had committed, endeavoured to atone for her guilt by erecting two monaſteries, one at Ambreſbury in Wiltſhire, and the other at Wherwell in Hampſhire, to the latter of which ſhe retired, and ſpent the remainder of her days in penitence and obſcurity.

KING EDWARD *the* MARTYR *treacherously* ASSASSINATED
at the Gate of Corfe Castle, by order of his Step-Mother ELFRIDA.

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Engraved for
RAYMOND's
History of England

ETHELRED II.

EDWARD the Martyr

EDMUND II.

CANUTE the Great

Metz delin.

Grignion sculp.

Four Portraits of the KINGS *of* ENGLAND *in the Habits of the Times, in which they reigned, from* EGBERT *the* Great *Father of the English Monarchy, to the*

NORMAN-CONQUEST

Plate IV.

CHAP. XIII.

ETHELRED II.

Ethelred aſcends the throne on the death of his brother Edward. The Danes repeatedly invade England, and Ethelred repeatedly purchaſes a peace with them. Marries Emma, ſiſter to the duke of Normandy. Orders a general maſſacre of the Danes throughout his kingdom. Sweyn, king of Denmark, arrives with a large body of forces, and exerciſes the moſt horrid barbarities on the Engliſh. Makes a deſcent into Eaſt-Anglia, but is nobly oppoſed by Ulfketel the governor. The Danes again arrive, and the Engliſh purchaſe a peace. The Engliſh fleet is betrayed into the hands of the Danes, who again land, and commit the moſt horrid barbarities. Ethelred abdicates his throne, which is filled by Sweyn, king of Denmark, who ſoon after dies, and his ſon Canute declared king of England. Ethelred is recalled, and again aſſumes the ſovereignty. Is oppoſed by Canute, who, not chuſing to hazard a battle, retreats to his fleet. Canute returns with his army, and the Engliſh forces march againſt him, but by the treachery of Edric, one of their commanders, the latter are obliged to retreat, and Canute commits the moſt horrid barbarities. Death and character of Ethelred.

A. D. 979. ON the death of Edward, his brother Ethelred became lawful heir to the throne of England, and was crowned with great ceremony at Kingſton, by Dunſtan archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Ethelred, at the time of his acceſſion, was only in the twelfth year of his age, and conſequently wanted that experience which is neceſſary to govern a kingdom. Add to this, he had neither capacity, genius, or courage, and therefore was little able to rule in the midſt of a profound peace, much leſs in times of danger and diſtreſs. The nation was then divided into two factions, both of whom courted the favour of the king, and both endeavoured to blacken the character of each other. Ethelred wanted penetration to diſtinguiſh the careſſes of fidelity from thoſe of adulation, and became fluctuating and irreſolute: hence his whole conduct was a ſeries of timidity, indolence, perplexity and diſtruſt. The nobles had taken advantage of his brother's weakneſs, to render their power almoſt independent of the crown. The royal authority had, in a great meaſure, loſt its force, and the ſafety of the nation, which depended on the union of the nobility, was in the moſt imminent danger.

A. D. 982. The Danes were no ſtrangers to the imperfections of the king, and the weakened ſtate of the nation; and therefore thought it a proper opportunity of renewing their depredations. Accordingly, a large body of them, in ſeven ſhips, entered the channel, and made a deſcent on the iſle of Thanet, which having ravaged, they proceeded to Southampton, and then, re-re-imbarking, ſailed to the coaſt of Cornwall, where they committed they moſt horrid depredations.

In the mean time there happened ſome misfortunes of a domeſtic nature; in particular, the city of London was almoſt deſtroyed by an accidental fire: and the king, having a difference with the biſhop of Rocheſter, inſtead of turning his arms againſt the Danes, laid ſiege to the prelate in his own city; but, at the inſtigation of Dunſtan, he thought proper to withdraw his forces, though not till he had received an hundred pounds to reimburſe him for his trouble and expences. Some time after this Dunſtan paid the debt of nature, which greatly leſſened the conteſts that had been long held between the monks and ſecular clergy.

The Danes continued their ravages in different parts of the kingdom for ſome years without interruption, which gave ſuch encouragement to their countrymen, that, in 991, Guthmond and Juſtin, too Daniſh generals, landed with a powerful army at Ipſwich in Suffolk. Brithnoth, duke of Eaſt-Anglia marched againſt them with what forces he could collect, but being defeated and ſlain, the country lay open to the mercileſs invaders, who marked their route with blood and devaſtation. But neither the calamities of his country, nor the danger of loſing his crown, could rouſe Ethelred from the couch of indolence. He ſupinely neglected every means of defence, and, inſtead of oppoſing the enemy by the ſword, indiſcreetly paid them ten thouſand pounds to quit the kingdom.

A. D. 993. The puſillanimous conduct of Ethelred was productive of thoſe conſequences that might naturally have been expected. The Danes employed the money they received in fitting out a more powerful fleet, not to ravage, but to conquer the iſland. This formidable armament was commanded by Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Olaus, king of Norway. They ravaged Durham and Yorkſhire without oppoſition; but at length the Engliſh army appeared, and the Danes would probably have paid dear for their conduct had not three of the Engliſh commanders, all of Daniſh extraction, betrayed the cauſe they had undertaken to defend. They baſely went over to the enemy, and left their troops to be cut to pieces by the ſwords of the barbarians.

Fluſhed with ſucceſs the Danes next made an attack on London; but the citizens oppoſed them with ſuch ſpirit and reſolution, that, after loſing a great number of men, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and make a precipitate retreat. This diſappointment ſo enraged the Danes, that they laid waſte great part of Kent, Suſſex, and Hampſhire, and committed the moſt horrid cruelties on the innocent inhabitants. In this diſtreſs recourſe was again had to negotiation, and the Danes agreed to quit the country on receiving the ſum of ſixteen thouſand pounds. The treaty was accordingly concluded, and the money being paid, the enemy returned to their own countries.

A. D. 999. But the interval of peace thus infamouſly purchaſed by Ethelred was of ſhort duration. New armies of barbarians, under different leaders, invaded the kingdom in various parts, and ſpread the horrors of war and devaſtation wherever they went. The cowardly indolence of the king, and the treacherous behaviour of his principal commanders, increaſed the dreadful calamities, and the kingdom muſt have fallen a prey to the barbarians, had it not

been for a very unexpected incident. Robert, king of France, had defeated the army of Richard II. duke of Normandy, and threatened to drive him from his dominions. In conſequence of this Richard applied for aſſiſtance to the Danes in England, who immediately complied with his requeſt, and, reimbarking their forces, ſailed for the continent.

A. D. 1000. The Danes, having given the wanted aſſiſtance to the duke of Normandy, returned to England, and again commenced their ravages in various parts of the kingdom. The puſillanimous Ethelred, inſtead of taking any meaſures to oppoſe them, had recourſe to his uſual expedients, and agreed to pay them twenty-four thouſand pounds*, on condition of their immediately departing the kingdom.

A. D. 1002. After the departure of the Danes, Ethelred began to conſider what meaſures were moſt proper to purſue in order to prevent their future invaſions. He knew the duke of Normandy was capable of ſending him what ſuccours he might want to repel them, and that the Danes themſelves muſt deſiſt from committing farther ravages in England if deprived of his protection. He therefore diſpatched ambaſſadors to Richard, demanding his ſiſter Emma in marriage. This requeſt being accepted, that princeſs was conducted to the court of Ethelred, where the nuptials were celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence.

This alliance might have anſwered the moſt ſanguine expectations of Ethelred, had he not been prevailed upon to engage in a project that overwhelmed his people with miſery, and entailed a laſting infamy on his memory. Though the greater part of the Danes had, in conſequence of the laſt treaty, retired to their own country, yet a very conſiderable number ſettled in England, and treated the inhabitants with ſuch inſolence, that, by way of reproach, they were called Lordains, or Lord Danes. Their haughtineſs and perfidy excited the general hatred of the Engliſh, and the weak Ethelred, at the inſtigation of ſome of his baſe and treacherous courtiers, embraced a propoſal of maſſacring all the Danes throughout his kingdom. He accordingly diſpatched circular letters for this purpoſe to every part, Northumberland and Eaſt-Anglia excepted, the Danes in thoſe places being too numerous to be overcome by the Engliſh. The day fixed on for the execution of this horrid deſign was the 13th of November, and the bloody mandate was obeyed with the moſt rigorous punctuality. Neither age nor ſex were ſpared: the chriſtian and the pagan ſuffered the ſame fate. To implore mercy was in vain: to ſeek for ſafety by flying to the churches as ſanctuaries was equally fruitleſs, the devoted objects being either dragged from thence, and murdered, or ſlain at the altar. Even Gunilda, ſiſter to the king of Denmark, fell a victim to barbarous brutality. She had long lived in England, had embraced the Chriſtian religion, and was married to an Engliſh nobleman. She had always behaved with the greateſt prudence; but the goodneſs of her heart could not ſave her: ſhe was devoted to periſh with her friends by the barbarous orders of a weak and timorous monarch. Nor was her death ſufficient to ſatisfy the vengeance of barbarity. Cruelty was added to increaſe the horrors of her execution. Her huſband and children were firſt murdered before her face, and then ſhe herſelf ſuffered the ſame fate. But the fortitude with which ſhe underwent this horrid maſſacre does honour to her memory. She betrayed neither fear nor timidity; not a feature in her countenance was changed: ſhe was calm amidſt this ſcene of horror; and with her laſt breath told her inhuman murderers, that her death would not be long unrevenged.

A. D. 1003. It was not long before Gunilda's prediction was moſt amply verified. Her brother Sweyn no ſooner heard of the baſe tranſaction than, exaſperated to a degree of phrenſy, he bound himſelf by a moſt ſolemn oath to wreak his vengeance on the Engliſh. Accordingly, having embarked a very powerful army he landed in Cornwall, and ravaged the country with ſuch a degree of ferocity as clearly proved his deſign tended rather to revenge than conqueſt. The city of Exeter next became the victim of his vengeance. The whole place was laid in aſhes, and the wretched inhabitants put to death in the moſt cruel manner.

The alarming progreſs of Sweyn rouſed Ethelred from his indolence. He aſſembled an army to oppoſe him, and ſeemed determined to march in perſon againſt the enemy. But he was intimidated at the approach of danger, and therefore entruſted the command of his forces to Edric, duke of Mercia, a man of all others whom he had the leaſt reaſon to confide in, having given ſeveral inſtances of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perfidy. The injudicious conduct of the king was attended with conſequences which might naturally be expected. The traitor Edric no ſooner came within ſight of the enemy than he pretended to be taken ſuddenly ill, and ordered a retreat, which was purpoſely conducted in ſo careleſs a manner, that the Danes fell upon the rear of the Engliſh, many of whom were killed, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipi ate flight. From this diſaſter, occaſioned by the treachery of Edric, Sweyn was left to purſue his ravages without oppoſition. He accordingly deſtroyed the towns of Wilton and Old Sarum, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword; after which, the winter coming on, he embarked his forces, and returned to his own country.

A. D. 1004. In the following ſpring Sweyn returned with his army, and making a deſcent in the country of the Eaſt-Angles, laid the city of Norwich in aſhes. But he met with a noble oppoſition from Ulfketel, the governor of Eaſt-Anglia, who, raiſing a body of forces with the utmoſt expedition, marched againſt him. In conſequence of this a deſperate battle enſued, which, from the great ſuperiority of numbers, terminated in favour of Sweyn. But the attacks of Ulfketel were ſo well conducted, and made with ſuch fury, that many of the Danes were ſlain in the action; and Sweyn, not chuſing to hazard a ſecond battle, embarked his forces, and returned to Denmark.

A. D. 1005. But the miſeries of war were not the only calamity ſuffered by the Engliſh at this fatal period. A dreadful famine raged throughout the whole kingdom, occaſioned principally by the horrid ravages of the Danes, and many who had eſcaped the ſwords of the barbarians now periſhed

* This enormous ſum (for ſuch it muſt be deemed, conſidering the value of money at that period) was levied by means of a tax called Dane-gelt, or Dane's money, and was the firſt land-tax known in England. It was raiſed by the owners of land being obliged to pay twelve-pence per hide, the hide being as much as could annually occupy one plough and maintain one family.

riſhed for want. The Engliſh never experienced more dreadful calamities: they were driven to the brink of deſtuction, and ſunk under the weight of complicated misfortunes.

A. D. 1006. The dire effects of this calamity were hardly removed when the Danes again appeared, and renewed their ravages with their uſual barbarity. They waſted the country through which they paſſed, laid the towns and villages in aſhes, and murdered the innocent inhabitants. Every attempt to oppoſe them was rendered abortive by the treachery of the Engliſh officers, and the want of unanimity among the nobles. In this extremity recourſe was again had to the only expedient that ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs, namely, that of purchaſing a peace from the enemy. But the Danes, grown inſolent by ſucceſs, refuſed to abandon the iſland till they had received the enormous ſum of 30,000l.

A. D. 1007. The next year Sweyn ſent a fleet of ſhips to make a demand of the like ſum, on pretence that the Engliſh had bound themſelves to pay it annually. In conſequence of this Ethelred, convinced that nothing could ſatiate the demands of the avaritious Danes, reſolved to put his kingdom in a proper ſtate of defence. To effect this a large fleet was immediately fitted out, towards the expence of which perſons of property were taxed in proportion to the value of their eſtates. But this powerful armament was rendered unſerviceable by the diſſentions that prevailed among the officers: they were ſtrangers to the virtue of forgiveneſs; and ſo far ſacrificed the ſafety of the nation to their private animoſities, as even to betray the greateſt part of the Engliſh navy into the hands of the enemy.

A. D. 1009. This diſaſter gave farther encouragement to the Danes, who returned in greater numbers, and committed the moſt horrid ravages wherever they went. No oppoſition could now be made againſt them, and the puſillanimous Ethelred procured their abſence by paying them the enormous ſum of 48,000l.

A. D. 1013. But no treaties whatever were binding to theſe rapacious invaders. They again returned this year, and renewed their ravages, if poſſible, with more brutality than before. Canterbury experienced the utmoſt rage of brutal ferocity. The city had held out nineteen days againſt all the aſſaults of the enemy, when it was baſely given up by the treachery of one of its inhabitants, named Elmar, and all the citizens, among whom was Alphage the archpiſhop, put to death by the moſt excruciating tortures.

A. D. 1014. The ſtrength and power of Sweyn had now arrived at ſuch a height, that the Engliſh gave up all as loſt; and the nobles, to ſecure themſelves from that fate which had befallen thouſands of their unhappy countrymen, ſubmitted to the tyrant, ſwore allegiance to him, and delivered hoſtages for their future behaviour. The wretched Ethelred fled with his family into Normandy, and was received by Richard II. with all the marks of kindneſs and affection.

The king having thus abdicated his throne, the inhabitants of London thought themſelves abſolved from their allegiance, and ſubmitted without heſitation to Sweyn, who, in conſequence thereof, was proclaimed king of England.

Sweyn began his reign of uſurpation with laying heavy taxes on his ſubjects. This increaſed their misfortunes, but it was uſeleſs to complain. The Dane was a ſtranger to compaſſion: the ſoft whiſpers of humanity pleaded in vain the cauſe of a people ſinking under the burthen of diſtreſs. They brooded in ſilence over their misfortunes, and gave themſelves up a prey to dejection. But fortunately for them and their country, this ſeaſon of calamity was of ſhort duration, Sweyn dying ſuddenly in leſs than ſix weeks after his uſurpation.

On the demiſe of Sweyn the Danes proclaimed his ſon Canute king of England; but the Engliſh, ſtill prejudiced in favour of Ethelred, determined to replace him on that throne to which he was juſtly entitled. In conſequence of this Canute was declared an outlaw, and a deputation diſpatched to Ethelred, requeſting his immediate return. Pleaſed with this teſtimony of the affection of his people, Ethelred readily complied with their requeſt, promiſing, at the ſame time, to govern them in future with juſtice, equity and moderation, and to exert his whole power in defence of his country.

A. D. 1015. Ethelred was received by the Engliſh with every demonſtration of joy, and a numerous army being immediately raiſed, he put himſelf at the head of it, and marched with all expedition againſt Canute, who, being determined to oppoſe him, had made preparations for ſeizing by conqueſt the crown he could not obtain by the ſuffrages of the people. Surprized at the expeditious march of the Engliſh monarch, Canute thought proper to decline an engagement, and retreated precipitately to his fleet; ſoon after which he ſailed for Denmark, in order to aſſert his right to the crown of that kingdom, which had been uſurped by his brother Harold.

The departure of Canute removed the fears of Ethelred, who now forgot all the promiſes he had made to his people. He diſcovered the ſame incapacity for government; and blindly gave himſelf over to the counſels and directions of the traitor Edric, who had ſo often overwhelmed him and his people with miſery and diſgrace. He even liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of that perfidious incendiary againſt two of his faithful adherents, and the firſt noblemen of his court. Edric pretended that they held a correſpondence with the Danes, and had even formed a deſign againſt his life. The weak Ethelred believed the traitor; in conſequence of which the noblemen were aſſaſſinated, and their eſtates confiſcated to the crown.

A ſhort time after this inhuman act, Canute, having terminated the troubles in Denmark, embarked his army, and landed without oppoſition on the coaſt of Weſſex. In conſequence of this Edmund, the eldeſt ſon of Ethelred, raiſed a conſiderable body of troops in the north, while Edric levied a number of forces in Mercia. The junction of theſe troops formed a conſiderable army, and the two generals led them directly againſt the enemy. The ſoldiers placed the greateſt confidence in Edmund, and marched under his banners with the greateſt intrepidity againſt the invaders of their country. Had Edric been faithful, in all probability Canute would have been totally defeated. But ſincerity was not to be found in Edric. He formed the baſe deſign of either taking away the life of Edmund, or delivering him into the hands of the enemy. But fortunately for himſelf and army, the prince diſcovered the infernal contrivance juſt as the troops were making preparations to engage. A retreat now became abſolutely neceſſary; and Edric, finding his perfidy diſcovered, went over to the enemy.

A. D. 1016. The defection of the traitor Edric greatly increaſed the ſtrength of Canute, who now

ravaged the country without oppoſition. The diſtreſs of the people was augmented by inſolence, and barbarity was added to deſtruction. The heart, of Edmund was pierced as the miſeries of his country, but treachery prevented his affording them any relief. After making ſome fruitleſs expeditions into the north he repaired to London, in hopes of prevailing on his father to purſue more vigorous meaſures againſt the invaders of his country; but on his arrival he found the city in the utmoſt confuſion, occaſioned by the death of Ethelred, who expired a few days before in the 50th year of his age, and 37th of his reign.

Ethelred, in his perſon, was comely, fair, and of a genteel addreſs: in his diſpoſition he was timid, irreſolute, inconſiſtent and indolent. His attachment to the traitor Edric marks his character with weakneſs and folly; and the maſſacre of the Danes ſtains it with wickedneſs and cruelty. He was not, however, deſtitute of virtues. He enacted ſeveral excellent laws, ſome of which are extant; and it is upon record that he once diſmiſſed a judge, who had been guilty of a perverſion of juſtice. Theſe are circumſtances neceſſary to mention, becauſe the light as well as the ſhade ſhould be expoſed in every picture.

CHAP. XV.

EDMUND II. ſurnamed IRONSIDE.

Edmund on the death of his father is crowned king of England. Marches againſt the Danes, and ſeveral battles take place with various ſucceſs. Engages Canute in ſingle combat, the iſſue of which is to divide the kingdom betweeen them. Edmund, at the inſtigation of the traitor Edric, is aſſaſſinated

A. D. 1016. ON the death of Ethelred the ſovereign power devolved on his ſon Edmund, who, from his diſtinguiſhed valour, obtained the ſurname of Ironſide. He was proclaimed king at London amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the principal citizens, and inveſted with the regal dignity by Livignus archbiſhop of Canterbury.

But Edmund had little reaſon to expect any quietude in the ſeat of royalty. He had to contend with a moſt formidable rival in the perſon of Canute, who was then at the head of the Daniſh troops at Southampton, to which place many of the nobility and clergy had repaired, and not only choſe him king, but alſo ſolemnly renounced the race of Ethelred.

In the mean time Edmund, leaving a ſtrong garriſon in London, proceeded into Weſſex, the patrimonial kingdom of his family, where the inhabitants proclaimed him their legal ſovereign; and ſo attached were they to his intereſt that he ſoon raiſed a very powerful army, with which he determined to march immediately againſt the invader of his country.

While Edmund was in Weſſex, Canute reſolved to lay ſiege to London, and having ſailed up the river, landed his troops at Greenwich, and marched directly to inveſt the city. But he found much greater oppoſition than he expected, and was convinced that unleſs ſome expedient could be projected for preventing relief being brought to the beſieged, all his efforts would prove in vain. To effect this he had recourſe to the ſtratagem of altering the current of the river by cutting a new channel on the Surry ſide, having done which, he drew up ſome of his ſhips above the bridge, and thereby cut off all communication with the citizens from the weſtern and ſouthern parts of the capital. He now preſſed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour; but the Londoners defended the place with ſuch obſtinacy, and made ſo many ſucceſsful ſallies, that Canute gave up all hopes of ſucceſs, and, withdrawing his forces, marched into Weſſex.

At the time Canute abandoned this enterprize, Edmund was advancing with all expedition to the relief of his capital; and the two armies meeting at Penne in Somerſetſhire, a deſperate battle enſued, in which Edmund proved victorious, and Canute was obliged to retire with great loſs.

Canute having recruited his forces, again advanced againſt Edmund, and the two armies met at a place called Sceorſtan, on the borders of Glouceſterſhire. The battle was maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides till night put an end to the conteſt. But as ſoon as morning appeared it was renewed with double fury, and victory hovered over the ſtandard of Edmund, when the traitor Edric, (who commanded a large body of Canute's forces) by a ſtratagem, changed the fortune of the day. He cut off the head of one Oſmar, whoſe countenance greatly reſembled that of Edmund, and fixing it on the point of a ſpear carried it through the ranks in triumph, calling out to the Engliſh, "Behold the head of your king! Edmund is no more!" This ſtratagem had ſo far the intended effect as to throw the Engliſh into the utmoſt confuſion, and Edmund was obliged to raiſe his helmet before he could convince them of the deception; but he could not, with all his efforts, regain the advantage he had loſt. The victory was again doubtful, and ſo continued till night put an end to the conteſt.

Edmund, far from being diſcouraged, determined to renew the fight the enſuing morning; but the firſt bluſhes of the dawn convinced him that no enemy was near, Canute having in the night retreated with his army from the field of battle.

The traitor Edric, having failed in his late ſtratagem, now hit upon another for ruining Edmund. He went to the king's camp, and, with all the marks of ſincere contrition, implored his pardon, promiſing in future to ſerve his country with as much zeal and vigilance as he had hitherto ſerved its enemies. Edmund was too ſuſceptible of compaſſion: he believed the traitor's repentance to be real, again admitted him into favour, and gave him a principal command in his army.

Succeſs, for ſome time, attended the ſtandards of Edmund: ſeveral parties of the Danes were defeated, till at length Canute determined to riſk his fortune on one deciſive battle. In conſequence of this the two armies met, and Edmund attacked the enemy with ſuch impetuous fury, that they muſt

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SINGLE COMBAT *between* KING EDMUND II. *and* CANUTE *the Great, on the Isle of Alney, in the presence of both their Armies.*

have been totally defeated, had it not been for the treachery of Edric, who, inſtead of charging the Daniſh army, fled with the forces under his command from the field of battle. This incident threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt confuſion; and Edmund, after loſing great numbers of his men, was compelled to retreat.

But this misfortune did not damp the ſpirits of the intrepid Edmund. He applied himſelf, with the utmoſt alacrity, to recruit his forces, and ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army ſufficient to diſpute the palm of victory with the enemy. Canute was aſtoniſhed to ſee Edmund again approaching, and was alarmed for the conſequences. He had purchaſed the laſt victory with the blood of many of his beſt officers, and even owed his ſucceſs to treachery. He, however, led his forces againſt the Engliſh, and both armies drew up in order of battle, in which ſtate they continued for ſome time without either one or other giving the ſignal to engage. During this interval of inaction, an officer in the Engliſh army advanced, and, in a florid ſpeech, diſplayed the great diſtreſs which the war had brought upon the innocent inhabitants; and at the ſame time obſerved, that as the two kings were equal in regard to perſonal courage, it would be an act of humanity for the two leaders to put a final period to their quarrel by ſingle combat, adding, that the victor ſhould be acknowledged ſovereign by both armies.

This propoſal met with univerſal approbation, in conſequence of which the two leaders retired to the iſle of Alney formed by the Severn, their troops lining the banks of the ſtream, and impatiently waiting the event of a combat, which was to decide the fate of the kingdom. The conteſt laſted for ſome time with equal courage on both ſides, when Canute, finding himſelf likely to be overpowered by the ſuperior ſtrength and agility of Edmund, propoſed making a diviſion of the kingdom, and terminating their quarrel by an act of mutual friendſhip. The generous Edmund (who was more deſirous of healing the wounds of his bleeding country than of being placed in the ſeat of power) readily liſtened to the propoſal, in conſequence of which the two princes threw away their ſwords, and cordially embraced each other, to the great ſatisfaction of both armies, who gave a general ſhout of undiſſembled joy. Having made a mutual interchange of armour, in token of amity, the treaty was formally concluded, by which it was ſtipulated, that all the northern parts of the kingdom ſhould be ceded to Canute, and that Edmund ſhould preſerve the reſt, with the title of ſupreme king of England.

In conſequence of this treaty both armies were immediately diſbanded, and the Engliſh now flattered themſelves that a final period was put to their diſtreſs: that diſcord would be ſucceeded by harmony, and the noiſy terrors of war give place to the calm pleaſures of domeſtic peace. But all their hopes were blaſted by means of the treacherous Edric, who, fearful that Edmund would call him to an account for his perfidy, hired two ruffians to aſſaſſinate him, which horrid deed was committed at Oxford, after he had held the ſcepter little more than nine months. And thus did the brave Edmund fall a victim to the treachery of one of the moſt execrable villains that ever diſgraced human nature.

From the ſhort reign of this prince, and the number of events that took place during the time, his virtues could not be ſufficiently diſplayed to form a proper idea of his character. It may, however, be ſaid with juſtice, that he was courageous and benevolent; intrepid in danger, and patient in adverſity. He was a friend to the brave, a friend to the virtuous and a friend to his country.

Edmund left two ſons, namely, Edmund and Edward, neither of whom ſucceeded to the throne.

CHAP. XVI.

CANUTE THE GREAT.

Canute is crowned king of England. Baniſhes the two ſons of Edmund. Puts to death the traitor Edric. Marries Emma, ſiſter to the duke of Normandy. Goes over to Denmark. Reduces Norway. Makes a pilgrimage to Rome. Returns, and obliges Duncan, grandſon to the king of Scotland to pay him homage. His death and character.

A. D. 1017. AS ſoon as Canute was informed of the death of Edmund (which information he received from the mouth of the treacherous Edric) he immediately repaired to London, and convening an aſſembly of the nobles and repreſentatives of the people, produced witneſſes, ſuborned for the purpoſe, to declare, that, in the late treaty between the two kings it was ſtipulated, that, in caſe of the demiſe of either party, the ſurvivor ſhould inherit his poſſeſſions, to the total excluſion of his iſſue, and other heirs. The members were aſtoniſhed at this unexpected claim, but not being able to diſpute the matter with a prince, who had a numerous and well-diſciplined army ready to obey his nod, they unanimouſly ſwore allegiance to Canute, who was immediately proclaimed king of England, and ſhortly after crowned with great pomp and magnificence.

But though Canute had thus obtained the Engliſh crown, to which he had neither lineal nor equitable right, yet he was exceeding uneaſy concerning Edward and Edmund, the ſons of the late king. To remove his fears on this head, he ſent the young princes to the king of Sweden his ally, whom he entreated to put them to death. But the Swediſh monarch, ſhocked at this inhuman requeſt, and at the ſame time afraid of the reſentment of Canute, ſent them to Solomon, king of Hungary, who, to his honour, cordially received the unfortunate exiles, and gave them an education ſuitable to their birth. Edmund, the eldeſt, died ſoon after, but his brother Edward married Agatha, daughter of Henry II. emperor of Germany, by whom he had Edgar Atheling, and Margaret, afterwards queen of Scotland.

The removal of the two princes was far from ſatisfying Canute, who next proceeded to put to death ſome noblemen, whom he knew to be ſtill attached to the race of their antient kings. The traitor Edric was likewiſe put to death. He had the

the aſſurance to reproach Canute with ingratitude, and complained that the rewards he had received were inadequate to his paſt ſervices. Provoked at his inſolence, and deteſting his character, Canute immediately ordered him to be beheaded, and his body thrown into the Thames.

But there were ſtill other objects who diſturbed the repoſe of Canute. Theſe were Alfred and Edward, the ſons of Ethelred, who were now grown up to mens eſtate, and remained in the court of Richard II. duke of Normandy, who might, as Canute juſtly feared, endeavour to place one of them on the Engliſh throne. To avert this ſurmiſed evil, Canute determined to ſecure the alliance of Richard. He accordingly ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to him, requeſting his ſiſter in marriage, and offering his own ſiſter Heſtritha to the Norman prince. Theſe propoſals were readily accepted by Richard, the double nuptials celebrated with great pomp, and a ſolid friendſhip formed between the two princes.

A. D. 1018. The wars of Canute had exhauſted his treaſury, and in order to pay off the arrears of his army, he laid a tax of 82,000l. upon the nation, 15,000l. of which was paid by the citizens of London. The chearfulneſs with which the Engliſh raiſed this money ſo pleaſed Canute, that he convened an aſſembly of the ſtates at Oxford, where he paſſed an act to incorporate the Engliſh and Danes as one people, and re-eſtabliſhed ſeveral of the moſt popular laws of Edgar and Edward the Elder. He likewiſe enacted, That no market, fairs or aſſemblies ſhould be held on Sundays; and that all Chriſtians ſhould receive the ſacrament at leaſt three times in the year.

A. D. 1019. Canute, being now fully ſecured on the Engliſh throne, turned his attention to the affairs of his own country, which was then in great danger from the Vandals, who had defeated the Danes in ſeveral engagements. He therefore went over to Denmark with a conſiderable army, one half of which was compriſed of Engliſh under the command of Godwin, earl of Kent. Having landed his forces he marched with all expedition towards the enemy, with whom, in the courſe of ſeveral days, he came up towards ſunſet. The day being ſo far declined he thought proper to encamp his army, deſigning to engage the enemy early the enſuing morning. But in this he was diſappointed by means of earl Godwin, who, being determined to ſignalize himſelf, ſecretly drew off his Engliſh forces in the night, and marching as privately as poſſible to the enemy's camp, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity that they were totally routed, and the greater part cut to pieces. This gallant action ſo pleaſed Canute, that he gave Godwin his ſiſter Thyrſa in marriage, and ever after diſtinguiſhed him with peculiar marks of affection.

A. D. 1020. The war being terminated in Denmark, Canute returned to England, whither he had no ſooner arrived than he removed every officer who had been guilty of oppreſſion during his abſence, particularly the dukes of Eaſt-Anglia and Northumberland, whom he baniſhed the kingdom. Theſe acts of juſtice greatly increaſed the eſteem the Engliſh had already conceived for him, and to win their affections ſtill farther, he appeared to be deeply penetrated with grief on account of the great multitudes of people, who had fallen victims to his ambition. To make ſome atonement he built a church at Aſhdown, on the ſpot where he fought a bloody battle with Edmund; and founded chauntries in thoſe places where any ſlaughter had been made of the Engliſh.

In this manner Canute ſpent his time for about eight years, when he formed the deſign of making himſelf maſter of Norway. Olave, the king of that country had long laboured to reſtrain the ferocity of his ſubjects, and render their lives conformable to the precepts of religion. But theſe reſtraints were odious to the Norwegians, and they determined to dethrone him. Canute, taking advantage of theſe diviſions, landed in Norway at the head of a powerful army, drove Olave from the throne, and was crowned king; ſo that being now poſſeſſed of three great kingdoms, he became the moſt powerful prince in Europe.

A. D. 1029. Canute, on his return to England, dedicated his whole time to what was then conſidered as the nobleſt acts of piety, namely, the founding of churches and monaſteries. He granted a charter to the celebrated monaſtery of St. Edmundſbury, by which all lands and privileges were confirmed. He likewiſe gave the profits of the port of Sandwich to Chriſt-church in Canterbury, and founded a monaſtery of Benedictine monks in Norfolk.

A. D. 1032. In the beginning of this year, Canute made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he preſented large donations to the churches, and confirmed whatever his predeceſſors had done in favour of the Engliſh college in that city. He likewiſe procured various privileges for the churches in England, and engaged all the princes through whoſe dominions he paſſed, to exempt the Engliſh pilgrims and merchants from all tolls and duties which had been before exacted from them.

Canute, on his return to England, was received by his ſubjects with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy; and indeed he juſtly deſerved this teſtimony of their affection. He enforced all the laws which had been made by his predeceſſors, particularly thoſe of Ethelred; added ſeveral new ones adapted to the times, and took every method he could project for promoting the welfare and happineſs of his people.

A. D. 1033. But while Canute was employed in cultivating the arts of peace among his ſubjects, his attention was called off to ſupport the dignity of his crown. Duncan, grandſon to Malcolm king of Scotland, being in poſſeſſion of Cumberland, refuſed to do homage to Canute for that fief, ſaying, it was due only to ſuch kings as were natives of England. Provoked at this inſolence of a Scottiſh prince, Canute marched at the head of a powerful army to reduce him to obedience; but by the interpoſition of the prelates and nobility of both kingdoms, a peace was concluded, Duncan agreeing to pay homage to Canute, as alſo to the future kings of England.

A. D. 1034. Canute, from his conduct, and the great power of which he was poſſeſſed, became the adulation of his ſubjects, and his courtiers would frequently flatter him in ſuch a manner as if they had thought him more than mortal. This was highly diſpleaſing to Canute, who reſolved to check them for ſuch abſurd conduct, and to point out to them the limited authority of earthly monarchs. Accordingly, one day when his courtiers were carrying their flatteries to an unbounded height, Canute, who then kept his court at Southampton, led them to the ſea-ſide, and ordering a chair to be placed on the beach near the ſurface of the tide, which was then flow-

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History of England.

HAROLD I.

CANUTE II.

EDWARD the Confessor

HAROLD II.

Metz delin.

Grignion sculp.

Four Portraits of the KINGS *of* ENGLAND *in the Habits of the Times in which they reigned; from* EGBERT *the Great, Father of the English Monarchy, to the* NORMAN CONQUEST. — *Plate V.*

ing, he ſat himſelf down, and, with a majeſtic tone of voice, thus addreſſed himſelf to the water: "Thou, O ſea, art a part of my dominions, and "the land whereon I ſit is mine. I therefore "charge thee not to encroach any farther on my "land, nor preſume to wet the feet of thy ſove-"reign." But the ſea continued its uſual courſe, and waſhed him with its billows: upon which Canute, riſing from his ſeat, and turning to his courtiers, ſaid, "Behold the narrow limits of mortal "power! the ſceptered hand of human greatneſs "exerts its force in vain. The ſea rolls on in con-"tempt of its authority: the operations of nature "make no diſtinction between the monarch and the "ſlave. Learn then, from this example, to ſet "proper bounds to flattery; and remember, that "He only deſerves unlimited praiſes who holds "in his hands the powers of nature, and whoſe "voice both the winds and the ſea obey." It is ſaid, that Canute would never after wear his crown, but ordered it to be placed on the head of the crucifix in the cathedral of Wincheſter.

A. D. 1036. Canute ſpent the remainder of his days in acts of piety and devotion, and at length paid the debt of nature at Shafteſbury, on the 12th of November, and was interred in the old monaſtery at Wincheſter. He left by his firſt wife two ſons, namely, Sweyn and Harold; and by Emma, his ſecond wife, another ſon called Hardicanute, and a daughter named Gunilda, who was married to Henry III. emperor of Germany.

With reſpect to the character of Canute, it is ſo inconſiſtent with itſelf that it is impoſſible to draw it in general terms. We muſt therefore, to do him juſtice, trace his actions, and characterize him differently at different periods. His youth was marked with blood and cruelty: his age with piety and devotion. He ſacrificed every thing in the morning of his reign to ambition; in the evening, to acts of benevolence and piety. The ſcepter was at firſt the rod of tyranny: at laſt the index of mercy. No monarch ever raiſed popular odium ſo high, or allayed it ſo effectually. He was a great general, a conſummate ſtateſman, and a wiſe legiſlator. When age had ſoftened the paſſions of youth, and the precepts of religion had eraſed the impreſſions of a ferocious education, Canute became a moſt excellent prince; and the virtues he practiſed during the peaceable time of his adminiſtration, gave him a much better claim to the title of Great than all his victories. In ſhort, his conduct during the latter part of his reign, totally obliterated his vices at the beginning, and he lived beloved, and died lamented.

CHAP. XVII.

HAROLD I. ſurnamed HAREFOOT.

Harold, after ſome diſturbances relative to the ſucceſſion, is crowned king of England. Forms a conſpiracy, in conjunction with Godwin, earl of Kent, for deſtroying the two ſons of Ethelred. Incurs the hatred of his ſubjects. His death and character.

A. D. 1036. CANUTE, ſome time before his death, made a will, by which he appointed his ſon Hardicanute to the throne of Denmark, and Sweyn to that of Norway, leaving the crown of England to Harold. But this was contrary to the treaty made between him and Richard duke of Normandy at the time of his marriage with Emma, in which it was ſtipulated that the crown ſhould be ſettled on the iſſue of ſuch marriage. In conſequence of this a great diſſention took place among the people, the Engliſh declaring for Hardicanute, and the Danes for Harold. At length, however, the diſpute was terminated by a general aſſembly of the ſtates, in which it was agreed that the kingdom ſhould be divided between them. Accordingly, all the country on the north ſide of the Thames was allotted to Harold, and the reſt of the kingdom to Hardicanute. But as the latter was then in Denmark, it was ſtipulated, that Emma, the queen-mother, aſſiſted by earl Godwin, ſhould govern his part of the kingdom during his abſence.

But this diviſion of the kingdom was far from being agreeable to Harold, who reſolved, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of the whole. He knew that Godwin was the only perſon capable of fruſtrating his deſigns, and took an effectual method to gain him over to his intereſt. Avarice was the ruling paſſion of that powerful nobleman, and Harold determined to gratify it. He accordingly ſeized the treaſures of his father Canute, and giving the greater part to Godwin, he abandoned the intereſt of Hardicanute, and embracing that of his rival, Harold was declared king of England.

This was a mortifying ſtroke to Emma, who now formed a ſcheme for obtaining the throne for one of her two ſons by Ethelred, namely, Alfred or Edward, who were then at the court of Normandy. But to prevent any ſuſpicion of her deſigns, ſhe appeared perfectly ſatisfied with her ſituation, and dedicated her time to acts of piety and devotion.

The firſt ſtep Emma took towards facilitating her intentions was, to requeſt of Harold that her ſons might be permitted to viſit her, which being readily granted, ſhe wrote a letter to Normandy, and they immediately embarked, with proper retinues, for England. But they had no ſooner arrived than Godwin, judging the true intent of their viſit, hinted his ſuſpicions to Harold, who ſeemed greatly alarmed, and readily complied with a propoſal made by Godwin, to get them into their hands, and put them to death.

Emma, being apprehenſive leſt ſome evil deſign might be formed againſt her ſons, never permitted them to be both abſent at the ſame time; for while one was paying his viſits to the nobility, ſhe carefully kept the other at home. At length Harold took the opportunity of inviting both princes to ſpend ſome days at his court. This was a very diſagreeable circumſtance to Emma, who, however, made an excuſe for keeping Edward with her, and ſending Alfred only. Godwin went to meet the young prince and his train on the road to London, and paid him ſuch an apparent reſpect that his Norman attendants were highly delighted; but on a ſudden they were ſtopped at Guildford-caſtle, and compelled to enter, under pretence of taking ſome refreſhment. Their fears did but anticipate their fate; for the eyes of young Alfred were put out, and all his attendants cruelly murdered. The unhappy prince was ſent to the monaſtery of Ely,

where he ſoon after died; but whether of grief or ſome farther violence is unknown. In conſequence of this treacherous act, Edward haſtily quitted the kingdom, and fled to Normandy; and Emma, being ordered to leave the country, retired to the court of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who received her with great cordiality, and aſſigned Bruges for the place of her reſidence.

A. D. 1038. Harold was now fully eſtabliſhed on the throne of England, and to prevent any attempts that might be made to his prejudice in future, he fitted out a powerful fleet for the protection of his coaſts, to ſupport which he laid a heavy tax on his ſubjects. But the people paid this tax with great regret, becauſe they conceived it was principally intended to oppoſe the attempts of Edward, whom they deemed the lawful heir to the throne.

A. D. 1040. The natural tyranny of Harold, and his frequent acts of cruelty, procured him the hatred of his ſubjects; and he would certainly have been dethroned had not death ſuddenly taken him off on the 18th of May, to the great ſatisfaction of the principal part of his ſubjects.

Harold had not the leaſt pretenſions to any of the good qualities of his father. He was headſtrong, brutal and cruel, paying no regard to morality or the principles of piety. His vices have been handed down to us in the moſt odious colours; but his virtues, if he had any, are buried in oblivion. He was ſurnamed *Harefoot*, from the amazing rapidity with which he walked, and in which he is ſaid not to have had any equal.

CHAP. XVIII.

HARDICANUTE, or CANUTE II.

Hardicanute aſcends the throne of England. Orders the body of his brother to be taken up, and thrown into the Thames. Acts with great cruelty to his ſubjects. Is guilty of intemperance, which occaſions his death.

A. D. 1040. AS ſoon as Hardicanute heard of the death of Harold he immediately embarked for England, and landed at Sandwich on the 13th of June, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. The Engliſh and Danes vied with each other who ſhould evince the moſt profound reſpect for their new ſovereign, whoſe proper name was Canute; but he acquired the appellation of *Hardy* from the uncommon ſtrength of his conſtitution.

The Engliſh promiſed themſelves great happineſs under the reign of this prince; but they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken, for no ſooner was he placed on the throne, than he committed an act ſhocking to humanity. He ordered the dead body of his brother Harold to be dug up, the head cut off, and the carcaſe thrown into the Thames. Theſe orders were ſtrictly obeyed, but the body, being afterwards found by ſome fiſhermen, was delivered to the Danes, who buried it in the church of St. Clement Danes in the Strand. The king, being informed of this, ordered it to be a ſecond time dug up, and caſt again into the river; but being afterwards found once more, it was carried privately to Weſtminſter, and there interred.

The next act that marked the character of this prince was, the impoſition of a heavy tax on his ſubjects, for defraying the expence of the navy that had brought him to England; a circumſtance the more cruel, as the kingdom was at that time threatened with a famine. So untimed a tax produced univerſal diſcontent throughout the nation; and at Worceſter two perſons were killed who were employed to collect it. This circumſtance ſo enraged the king, that he ſent Godwin, and two other noblemen, with a body of forces, againſt Worceſter, who firſt plundered, and then reduced the city to aſhes.

A. D. 1041. In the beginning of this year Edward, the ſon of Emma, left Normandy, and came to England, in order to learn the manners of a people whom he hoped, ſome time or other, to preſide over. Edward met with a very welcome reception, and it was not long before he demanded juſtice againſt Godwin, (as ſuppoſed at the inſtigation of his mother) for being concerned in the murder of his brother Alfred. The accuſer was the archbiſhop of York, and the king did not ſeem to have any objection to bringing the offender to trial; but Godwin, who well knew the diſpoſition of the king, made a well-timed appeal to his avarice; for ſoon after he was cited to anſwer the charge, he ſent the king a magnificent preſent of a ſuperb galley, carved and gilt in a very curious manner, and rowed by eighty men, each of whom wore a golden bracelet on his arm of the weight of ſixteen ounces. This ſplendid bribe anſwered the propoſed end: the earl was permitted to exculpate himſelf upon oath, nor did he make any ſcruple to ſwear, that he had no concern in the death of Alfred.

A. D. 1042. The great partiality* ſhewn by Hardicanute to the Danes rendered him univerſally hated by the Engliſh, whom he ſo oppreſſed that they had reaſon to conſider him more as an enemy than a king. But fortunately for them he did not long wield the ſcepter. He fell a martyr to the vices of his countrymen, namely, drunkenneſs and gluttony; for being at Lambeth celebrating the nuptials of a Daniſh nobleman, he drank to ſuch exceſs that it terminated his life on the 18th of June, after an inglorious reign of only two years. The Engliſh, in deriſion to his memory, uſed to commemorate the day of his death as an holiday, and to diſtinguiſh it by the name of Hog-Wedneſday, in alluſion to the immoderate luxury of this prince, whoſe palace was one continued ſcene of gluttony and drunkenneſs.

CHAP.

* It is ſaid, that in conſequence of the king's great partiality to the Danes, they became ſo inſolent during his reign, that if an Engliſhman met a Dane on a bridge, he was obliged to wait in a ſubmiſſive poſture till the other had paſſed him. And we are farther told, that the cuſtom of pledging each other when we drink had its riſe at this period; becauſe the Danes would frequently ſtab Engliſhmen while drinking, ſo that no one choſe to drink in the preſence of a Dane, without another perſon pledging himſelf for his perſonal ſecurity.

CHAP. XIX.

EDWARD, ſurnamed the CONFESSOR.*

Edward, by the intereſt of earl Godwin, is elected king, and crowned at Wincheſter. Begins his reign with acts of cruelty to his mother. Shews a partial attachment to the Normans, Quarrels with earl Godwin, and baniſhes him the kingdom. Aboliſhes the tax called Dane-gelt. Receives a viſit from William duke of Normandy. Is reconciled to earl Godwin. Aſſiſts Malcolm king of Scotland in the recovery of his dominions. Quells a diſturbance among the Welſh. Privately appoints William duke of Normandy his ſucceſſor. Rebuilds the abbey at Weſtminſter. His death and character.

A. D. 1042. AT the time of Hardicanute's death, Edward, the ſon of Ethelred II. by Emma, was the only perſon in the kingdom who had any kind of pretenſion to the crown of England, and indeed the only one whom the Engliſh wiſhed to be their ſovereign. But Edward was fearful of meeting with ſome difficulties from Sweyn, the ſon of Canute, who was then in Norway. To avoid this he ſolicited the protection of earl Godwin, the moſt powerful man in the kingdom; and though it was but a few months before that Edward demanded legal juſtice againſt him, yet the earl promiſed to eſpouſe his cauſe, on condition of his ſwearing to marry his daughter Editha.

This being agreed to by Edward, the earl immediately ſummoned a convention of the nobles for the election of a king; who being met, he expatiated on the miſeries the kingdom had ſuffered from the Danes, and then, taking the prince by the hand, addreſſed them in words to this effect: "Behold your king! this is prince Edward, the ſon of king Ethelred and queen Emma, and to him I pay my allegiance." In conſequence of this Edward was unanimouſly elected king, though the ceremony of his coronation, on account of a dearth which then prevailed, was poſtponed till the enſuing year, when it was ſolemnized with great pomp at Wincheſter.

A. D. 1043. Edward began his reign with an act which was far from being to his credit either as a man or a king. He firſt ſeized all the lands held by his mother from the crown, after which he repaired to Wincheſter, and ſtripping her of all her treaſures and effects, left her only a very moderate penſion for her ſubſiſtence. Not ſatisfied with this, he ſoon after accuſed her of a criminal correſpondence with Alwin, biſhop of Wincheſter. Her oſtenſible impeacher was Robert the Norman, who was afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury; but he not having any evidence to make good his allegations, inſiſted upon her undergoing the fire ordeal, in order to purge herſelf from the imputation. This being accepted by Emma, ſhe walked blindfold over nine red-hot plough-ſhares without receiving the leaſt injury, to the great confuſion of her accuſers, and the aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators.†

A. D. 1044. Edward was now alarmed at receiving intelligence that Sweyn, king of Denmark, the ſon of Canute the Great, was making preparations for invading England, in order to aſſert his right to the crown. On this important occaſion earl Godwin acted with great ſpirit and diligence: he put the Engliſh fleet upon a reſpectable footing, ordered thirty-five ſail of large ſhips to rendezvous at Sandwich, and even perſuaded Edward (who was one of the moſt unwarlike kings that ever ſat upon a throne) to repair on board, and take upon himſelf the command. It was Godwin's intent to prevent the Danes from landing by attacking their fleet at ſea; but the expedition was rendered abortive by an unexpected incident, Sweyn, inſtead of invading England, being obliged to ſtay at home, in order to defend his own territories from the invaſion of Magnus, king of Norway, who had entered his dominions with a formidable army.

All danger being now over, and England happily enjoying peace, Edward determined to fulfil his promiſe made to earl Godwin, and accordingly married his daughter Editha: but the marriage was never conſummated, though ſhe was equally diſtinguiſhed for the beauty of her perſon, and the graces of her mind.

A. D. 1045. At this time the Engliſh coaſts were greatly infeſted by Daniſh pirates, and twenty-five ſail of their veſſels arriving at Sandwich, the terrors of the Engliſh began afreſh; for the pirates not only plundered the country, but even ſeized on ſome of the inhabitants, whom they carried abroad, and ſold as ſlaves: but earl Godwin, with the dukes Leofric and Siward, ſoon took ſuch ſteps as ſecured the people on the coaſt from any farther danger.

After this a variety of incidents rapidly followed each other to produce a rupture between the king and Godwin. Sweyn, one of the earl's ſons, having carried off and debauched the abbeſs of Leominſter in Herefordſhire, was baniſhed the kingdom; on which he retired to Denmark, and fitting out a fleet of ſhips committed ſeveral outrages on the Engliſh coaſts. He afterwards murdered earl Bearn, who had kindly undertaken to procure his pardon from Edward. Theſe enormous crimes rendered him rather an object of deteſtation than of mercy; but the great power of his father, joined with the intereſt of ſeveral of the prelates and principal nobility, procured his pardon, and he returned to England.

A. D.

* Edward is ſaid to have taken his ſurname from his great piety; but how far he merited that epithet will be found in the ſequel. His canonization as a ſaint did not take place till many years after his death, when pope Alexander III. gave him the diſtinguiſhed title of Confeſſor.

† Many modes of trial, equally ſingular with this, are, at this day, uſed in various countries, particularly in Africa, where perſons are tried by means of a liquor called Bonda, which the criminal is obliged to drink. If he is ſo far inebriated as to fall down in a ſtate of inſenſibility, he is pronounced guilty, and immediately dragged to execution; but if, after drinking, he is capable of ſtanding upright, he is declared innocent.

A. D. 1046. The people in general were highly pleaſed with the conduct of Edward on this occaſion; but he ſoon forfeited their eſteem by the great attention he paid to foreigners. Being educated at the court of Normandy, he had formed ſtrong attachments to the manners and cuſtoms peculiar to that country. In conſequence of this his court was filled with Normans, on whom were beſtowed the principal poſts of honour and profit both in church and ſtate; and their intereſt was ſoon ſo great that no favour was to be obtained from Edward but by their intereceſſion. Godwin perceived their influence and was alarmed for the conſequence. He remonſtrated with the king on the impropriety of his conduct, but in vain; Edward continued firm to his attachments, which ſo irritated Godwin that he determined to take the firſt favourable opportunity of ſhewing his reſentment.

Nor was it long before an opportunity offered. Euſtace, count of Boulogne, having paid a viſit to the king, ſet out for Dover on his return to his own dominions. One of his ſervants, who was ſent before to provide lodgings in the town, behaving in a very inſolent manner, a fray enſued, in which the ſervant loſt his life. Exaſperated at this Euſtace and his attendants broke open the houſe where the fray happened, the maſter of which fell a victim to his reſentment. The town was now alarmed, and a general fray took place, in which twenty of the inhabitants were killed, and nineteen of the count's ſervants. After the fray was over Euſtace returned to Edward, and demanded juſtice; upon which the king, allowing the validity of his claim, ordered Godwin, who was then governor of Dover, to march immediately at the head of a body of troops, and chaſtiſe the inhabitants. But Godwin peremptorily refuſed to obey the king's orders. He boldly told him that, as earl of Kent, it was his duty to protect the very people he was ordered to puniſh: that the laws of England did not admit of ſubjects being condemned unheard; and that the only method of adjuſting the affair was by legal trial.

Edward conſidered the boldneſs of Godwin as an inſult on majeſty, and ſeverely reprimanded him for his diſobedience. But Godwin was not to be intimidated by the frowns of power: he refuſed to obey the king's orders, chuſing rather to hazard his own ſafety than inflict puniſhment on the innocent, or ſacrifice the liberties of his country at the ſhrine of foreign inſolence.

A. D. 1048. Though Edward did not think proper to inſiſt any farther on his orders being obeyed, yet he determined to puniſh Godwin for his behaviour. Nor was it long before an opportunity offered for executing his deſign. The Welſh had made inroads into the Engliſh territories, of which Sweyn, one of the earl's ſons, was governor, who, with his father Godwin, raiſed a powerful army to oppoſe them. Edward ſummoned a meeting of the nobility at Glouceſter to enquire into the cauſe of theſe diſorders, when it was repreſented by the enemies of Godwin, that he and his ſon had been the aggreſſors. In conſequence of this, Edward determined to wreak his vengeance not only on the earl but his his whole family; and accordingly, having cited them to appear before the council, and they refuſing to obey the ſummons, he baniſhed them the kingdom. Godwin himſelf retired to the court of Baldwin earl of Flanders, and his ſon Harold went to Ireland. But Edward's reſentment did not ſtop here: he ſhewed it in a conſpicuous manner to his amiable conſort, the daughter of Godwin, whom he ſtripped of every thing valuable, and then immured her within the walls of a monaſtery.

A. D. 1050. Edward having, by his ſtrong attachment to foreigners, incurred the general hatred of the Engliſh, determined now to do ſomething that might gain their affections. The tax, known by the name of Danegelt, had long been a very heavy burthen to them. The reaſons which originally rendered it neceſſary had ceaſed for many years, but the impoſt was ſtill continued. Edward, therefore, perſuaded that he could not perform an action more acceptable to his people, totally aboliſhed this tax, and diſtributed all the ſurplus of what had been collected, which then remained in the treaſury, among the different diſtricts from whence it had been gathered.

A. D. 1051. In the beginning of this year William, duke of Normandy, paid a viſit to Edward, and was received with the warmeſt marks of gratitude. He had protected and ſupported Edward in his exile, and merited a ſuitable return. The duke was highly ſatisfied with his reception, and returned to Normandy, loaded with preſents. Soon after William's departure Emma, the king's mother, paid the debt of nature, and her remains were interred at Wincheſter.

A. D. 1052. During theſe tranſactions Godwin had obtained from the earl of Flanders a powerful ſquadron, and being joined by his ſon Harold with another fleet from Ireland, they committed ſome depredations on the Engliſh coaſts, after which they ſailed up the river Thames, and advancing near London, threw the inhabitants into the utmoſt confuſion. The king ſeemed determined to oppoſe them with ſuch ſhips as could be haſtily got together; but his council objected againſt this proceeding as bordering on raſhneſs, and adviſed him to make uſe of more gentle methods to induce Godwin to return to his obedience. The earl, being informed of the ſentiments of the council, ſent a very humble meſſage to Edward, proteſting, in the ſtrongeſt manner, that he had no other intention than that of ſubmitting his actions to a fair trial, nor wiſhed for any thing more than that of being reſtored to his honours and eſtates. In conſequence of this, and the powerful intercеſſion of the nobility, Edward agreed to pardon Godwin, who accordingly gave hoſtages for his future good behaviour; but Edward not thinking his own power ſufficient to ſecure them, they were ſent to the court of Normandy.

From this period the earl's power and influence became much more conſiderable than before; and thoſe foreigners, who had long baſked in the ſunſhine of royalty, were, by his means, baniſhed the kingdom. But Godwin did not long ſurvive his reſtoration. He was ſuddenly deprived of the faculty of ſpeech as he ſat at dinner with the king, in which ſtate he continued for three days, and then expired *.

On

* There are two accounts given of the immediate cauſe of Godwin's death. One is, that he died of an apoplectic fit; and the other, that while the king was ſpeaking of his brother Alfred, in terms reproachful to the earl, the latter wiſhed a piece of bread he was about to ſwallow might be his laſt if he was any way acceſſary to the death of that prince, and that he was

On the death of Godwin, his eldeſt ſon Harold, who far ſurpaſſed him in abilities, ſucceeded to all his authority, and proved an equal ſupport to the Engliſh againſt the Norman intereſt. By his great affability and addreſs, he gained the particular friendſhip of Edward, and both the nobility and people were firmly attached to his intereſt.

A. D. 1054. Peace and tranquillity now prevailed in England, but the kingdom of Scotland was involved in terror and confuſion, owing to the ambition of Macbeth, who had driven Malcolm from his dominions, and uſurped the ſovereignty. The unfortunate Malcolm applied to Edward for ſupport againſt the tyrant of his country; and that prince, thinking it a duty incumbent on kings to aſſiſt royalty in diſtreſs, ſent 10,000 men, under the command of Siward, earl of Northumberland, to drive the uſurper from the throne. Siward, who was one of the moſt intrepid generals of the age, immediately joined his forces to thoſe under the command of Macduff, the Scottiſh commander, and marched againſt the rebels. A deſperate battle enſued, in which Macbeth was totally defeated, and obliged to fly to the mountains for ſhelter; and Malcolm was re-placed on the Scottiſh throne. Siward, ſoon after, paid the debt of nature, and Tofti, by the intereſt of his brother Harold, was made earl of Northumberland.

A. D. 1056. The Welſh had, for ſome time, made frequent inroads into the Engliſh territories, and committed the moſt horrid depredations on the inhabitants. Alfegar, ſon of the duke of Mercia, and brother-in-law to Harold, held a treaſonable correſpondence with the inſurgents, and being found guilty of the crime, was declared an out-law, and baniſhed the kingdom. In conſequence of this he immediately repaired to Ireland, where he ſoon raiſed a large body of forces, and landing in Wales, joined the army of Griffith, prince of that country. Theſe combined troops ſoon after defeated a body of Edward's forces, and then marching into Herefordſhire, entered the capital of that county, maſſacred the inhabitants, and reduced the whole city to aſhes. Exaſperated at theſe inhuman proceedings, Edward diſpatched Harold, at the head of a body of forces, to chaſtiſe the inſurgents. The abilities of the Engliſh general ſtruck the invaders with terror: they fled into South-Wales, and applied, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, to Edward for peace. Their requeſt was accordingly granted, and the tranquillity of the country reſtored; ſoon after which, Alfegar, at the interceſſion of Harold, received a pardon, and was reſtored to his eſtates and honours.

A. D. 1057. The greatneſs of Harold's merit, and his diſtinguiſhed popularity among the people, excited the jealouſy of Edward, who, having no children of his own, was deſirous of ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown, in order, if poſſible, to prevent the horrors of a civil war. To effect this he ſent to Hungary for his nephew Edward, the ſon of Edmund Ironſide, who accordingly arrived in England with his two daughters; but he did not long ſurvive his arrival; and Edgar Atheling, the ſon of that prince, was too young to ſucceed to the government.

Edward, being thus diſappointed in his deſign, turned his thoughts towards his kinſman William duke of Normandy, who had ſufficiently eſtabliſhed his reputation for prudence and intrepidity. Secrecy was abſolutely neceſſary to procure ſucceſs, and it was accordingly obſerved with the greateſt caution. Edward, in the moſt private manner, tranſmitted his deſign to William, who received the intelligence with pleaſure, and eagerly embraced the flattering hopes of adorning his brow with the Engliſh diadem.

A. D. 1058. Some time after this Harold requeſted permiſſion of Edward to make a voyage to Normandy, in order to obtain the enlargement of his brother Ulnoth and his nephew Hacun, who had been delivered among the hoſtages for the good behaviour of Godwin, but were ſtill in confinement at that court. This requeſt was exceeding diſagreeable to Edward, who, fearful that Harold might diſcover what had paſſed between him and the duke, refuſed to give his conſent. Harold, however, reſolved to take that liberty which Edward would not grant, and accordingly embarked for Normandy; but a violent ſtorm overtook him in his paſſage, and he was driven into one of the ports of Picardy, in the government of the count of Ponthieu, who detained him priſoner at his court, and demanded a very exorbitant ſum for his ranſom. In this ſituation he wrote a letter to William who ordered the count to ſet him at liberty; in conſequence of which he repaired immediately to Rouen, where he was received by the duke with the greateſt marks of eſteem.

William was charmed with the noble qualities of his illuſtrious gueſt; and Harold had the addreſs to perſuade him that he had undertaken the voyage merely from his great regard to the Norman court, and his ſtrong inclinations to enter into ſuch engagements with William, as might prove advantageous to their mutual intereſts. In conſequence of this William communicated to Harold his deſigns upon the crown of England, and the ſecret contract between him and Edward on that ſubject; at the ſame time, as he was not ignorant of Harold's views, gave him to underſtand that he expected he would reſign his pretenſions. The earl, who had never ſuſpected any ſuch colluſion between the king and the duke, now found himſelf on the brink of a precipice, and that the only method of preventing his deſtruction was, to diſſemble his ſentiments. He therefore, with the greateſt appearance of candour, acknowledged he had entertained thoughts of aſpiring to the crown before the arrival of prince Edward from Hungary, but would now readily promiſe to join his intereſt in behalf of William; and, to cement their friendſhip, propoſed marrying his daughter. The duke, being highly pleaſed with his frank manner of deportment, conſented to his propoſal, and after Harold had confirmed his promiſe by an oath before the ſtates of Normandy, he was betrothed to his daughter, who was then too young for the conſummation of the marriage.

Both parties now appearing perfectly ſatisfied, Harold returned with his hoſtages to England, whither he had no ſooner arrived than he took

was choaked by the bread ſticking in his throat. But it is the opinion of moſt hiſtorians, that he died of an apoplectic fit, and that this ſtory was made by the Norman writers in after-times to degrade the character of a man who had been ſuch an inveterate enemy to their countrymen.

every opportunity of encreasing the national prejudices against the Normans, and of strengthening his own party, among the nobles, as the surest methods of baffling the duke's designs. Edward perceived his intentions, but took no pains to counteract his projects, having no connexions that he valued above his own peace and tranquillity, which he determined, if possible, to preserve during the remainder of his days.

A. D. 1063. A circumstance now happened greatly in favour of Harold, as it recommended him still more to the affections of the people. The Welsh had again made inroads on the English territories, and committed the most horrid depredations on the inabitants. Harold marched at the head of a body of forces to repel the insurgents, and such was his success that he obliged them to dethrone their king Griffith, and to become tributary to England. But the Welsh soon after restored their king; upon which Harold harrassed marched at the head of his forces, and terrified them in such a manner that they sent him the head of Griffith as a token of their submission.

During these transactions the Northumbrians, being greatly oppressed by earl (Tosti, the brother of Harold,) expelled him the county. In consequence of this Harold, by the king's command, marched to chastise them. The Northumbrians met Harold at Northampton, and convinced him that their behaviour had originated not from rebellious principles, but those of self-defence; for that the conduct of their governor had been so rapacious as not to be endured. Harold represented the matter to the king in its genuine light, and procured a pardon for the Northumbrians; after which Morcar, son of the duke of Mercia, was appointed their governor.* This circumstance procured Harold the entire confidence of the people in the north, and greatly contributed to his future advancement.

A. D. 1065. While Harold was pursuing every measure for ingratiating himself into the affections of the people, Edward, who now stooped under the weight of age and infirmities, was employing his time in acts of devotion. He had, for some years, vowed to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome; but not being able to perform it, obtained the pope's dispensation, on condition of rebuilding the abbey of Westminster, which had been entirely destroyed by the Danes. † This work engaged his whole attention, and on its being finished, he summoned a general council of the nation to confirm the charter he had granted to that edifice. By this charter he exempted it from all episcopal jurisdiction, settled large revenues on it, and granted it the privileges of a sanctuary. He attended, with great devotion, the dedication of this religious structure, and seemed to be re-animated on that solemn occasion. But this was the last action of Edward's reign. He was soon after seized with a violent fever, which put an end to his life on the 5th of January, in the 24th year of his reign; and his remains, pursuant to his own request, were interred in the abbey he had so lately consecrated.

Though Edward had been married many years, yet he never cohabited with his queen, and this continence, from whatever cause it proceeded, occasioned him afterwards to be ranked among the saints.

With respect to the general character of Edward, it must be acknowledged that he had but few virtues, nor any very atrocious vices. The principal among the former was his strict attention to the administration of justice. He compiled a body of excellent laws, which he collected from those of Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred. This compilation, though now lost, was long the object of the peoples attention, and the various laws contained in it were strictly observed throughout the kingdom.

Edward the Confessor was the first monarch who touched for the King's Evil. The opinion of his sanctity procured belief to this cure among the people; and his successors regarded it as a part of their power and grandeur to support the same opinion. This practice however, has been long laid aside, as it was attended with ridicule in the eyes of all men of understanding.

CHAP. XX.

HAROLD II.

Harold is crowned king of England. Acts with great prudence, and is beloved by his subjects. Is opposed by William duke of Normandy. Battle of Hastings. Death of Harold.

A. D. 1066. HAROLD, by his judicious conduct, had so effectually gained the affections of the people, that on the death of Edward he was immediately declared his successor. The title of Edgar Atheling, to whom the crown should have descended, was not even mentioned, much less the claim of the duke of Normandy, who had, indeed, no other title than the intentions of Edward in his favour. Harold, therefore, having assembled the council, was unanimously chosen to the sovereignty, and the day following Edward's death was crowned king by Aldred, archbishop of York.

The first steps taken by Harold after his accession was, to pursue such measures as were most likely to secure the affections of his people. He accordingly eased them of several oppressive taxes, listened to their complaints, and dispensed justice with an impartial hand. He knew that Edgar Atheling was beloved by his people, as the only remaining heir of their antient kings: he therefore took him under his immediate protection, created him earl of Oxford, and caused him to be educated in such a manner as if he had a serious intention of his succeeding to the crown when he should arrive at years of maturity. By these prudent

* From this time Tosti bore an implacable hatred to his brother Harold, and it is recorded that he took the following cruel method of shewing his resentment. Going to his brother's country-house with his attendants, he killed some of his domestics, cut their bodies into pieces, barrelled them up, and sent them as a present to Harold, immediately after which he fled, with the utmost expedition, to Flanders.

† This edifice was taken down by Henry III. who erected the present magnificent structure (which was fifty years in building) in its stead, except that part which was afterwards added to it by Henry VII. and called Henry the VIIth's chapel.

dent measures Harold secured the affections of the Engliſh, who conſidered him at once as their father and their king.

But while Harold was thus employed in ſettling the domeſtic tranquillity of the nation, he was interrupted by his brother Tofti, who having obtained ſome ſhips and troops from the earl of Flanders, made a deſcent on, and plundered the Iſle of Wight; after which he proceeded to Sandwich, but hearing that Harold was preparing to march againſt him, he ſailed northwards, and in his way pillaged the coaſt till he arrived in Lincolnſhire. Here he landed, and committed the moſt horrid depredations on the inhabitants; but was met by the joint forces of the earls of Northumberland and Mercia, when a ſharp battle enſued, in which Tofti was defeated, and obliged to retire to his ſhips with conſiderable loſs.

After this defeat Tofti left the coaſt, and ſailed to Norway, where he found Harfagar, the king of that country, making preparations for invading England, to which he had been induced by William duke of Normandy, who thought it might facilitate his long intended project of attempting the conqueſt of Britain. Tofti and Harfagar having united their forces, which conſiſted of three hundred ſhips, ſet ſail for England, and entering the Humber, landed in Yorkſhire, where they committed the moſt violent depredations, and at length poſſeſſed themſelves of the city of York. Harold advanced, at the head of an army, againſt the enemy, whom he met at Stanford-bridge on the river Derwent. A deſperate battle enſued, which was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of Harold, and the two leaders, Harfagar and Tofti, fell among the ſlain. But this defeat, though glorious to Harold, was attended with fatal conſequences: he loſt many of his braveſt officers and ſoldiers in the action, and diſguſted the reſt by refuſing to divide among them the ſpoils taken from the enemy, which he reſerved to ſupply the exigencies of the ſtate.

During theſe tranſactions William, duke of Normandy, ſent ambaſſadors to Harold, demanding that he ſhould reſign the crown in his favour, and threatening, in caſe of refuſal, that he would declare war againſt him. Harold told the ambaſſadors that the duke had no right to the crown; that if he had engaged himſelf in his intereſt by an oath, it was extorted from him, and that he was determined to ſupport his right againſt all oppoſition. This anſwer ſo enraged the duke that he made immediate preparations for invading the kingdom, in which he was greatly aſſiſted by the princes of the neighbouring ſtates, particularly the court of Bretagne, who ſent him a body of five thouſand men under the command of his eldeſt ſon. But what tended ſtill more to render his deſign ſucceſsful was, the pope's declaration in his favour. He ſent him a conſecrated banner, and publiſhed a bull, declaring the juſtice of his cauſe, and animating all the Chriſtian powers to aſſiſt him in his attempt on the Engliſh throne. In conſequence of this Harold was declared a perjured uſurper, and every perſon excommunicated who dared to oppoſe the armies of Normandy. But ſtill the great ſupport of war was wanted. William was poſſeſſed of very little treaſure, and the ſtates abſolutely refuſed to grant the prodigious ſums he required. The wealth of individuals, however ſupplied what the ſtates had refuſed, and William was ſoon enabled to collect a fleet of three thouſand ſail, and an army of forty thouſand men, a force which he imagined ſufficient to enable him to effect his intended purpoſes.

With this powerful armament William ſet ſail from Normandy, and on the 29th of September landed, without oppoſition, at Pevenſey in Suſſex. The duke himſelf, as he leaped on ſhore, happened to fall; upon which, fearful that his troops might think it a bad omen, he graſped a handful of the ſoil, and riſing with great agility, and extending his arm, called out, "Thus I take poſſeſſion of the country." Having refreſhed his troops, he ſent back his fleet to Normandy, to convince his followers that they had no hope but conqueſt, and then proceeded by the ſea ſide to Haſtings, where he erected a fort, and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring the motives by which he had been induced to engage in the expedition.

As ſoon as it was known that the Normans had landed, a general alarm took place throughout the kingdom. Forces were immediately raiſed to join the army of Harold, who was then at York, and who immediately haſtened with all expedition to London. Immediately on his arrival a council of war was called, when ſeveral of Harold's officers were for deferring a battle, alledging, that if he acted only on the defenſive, as the winter was approaching, the enemy would, in all probability, be ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of leaving the kingdom. But Harold was deaf to all advice, and a reſolution was taken to engage the Norman army. In conſequence of this Gyrth, the king's youngeſt brother, a nobleman poſſeſſed of great courage and wiſdom, endeavoured to diſſuade Harold from the reſolution of expoſing his perſon in battle. "Let us not, ſaid he, venture upon one chance of war the liberties of England, the properties of Engliſhmen, and the fortunes of our families. Reſerve yourſelf for better times. While you are ſafe, the enemy can never be ſaid to conquer; but on your perſon the fate of our country depends. Leave me to fight with the Norman; and I will take care to diſcharge the duty of a brother, a general, and a ſubject. If I ſucceed it is in a good cauſe: if I fall, it is with a quiet conſcience; while, in either caſe, you will ſurvive to reap the glory, or to repair the misfortune." But Harold was inflexible to this advice: he determined to give the enemy battle in perſon, and riſk his crown on the fortune of a ſingle day.

In conſequence of this reſolution Harold marched, at the head of his forces, within ſight of the Norman army, when William, having poſted himſelf on an advantageous ſpot, ſent a meſſenger to Harold, offering to decide the conteſt by ſingle combat, that it might ſpare the effuſion of much blood: but this challenge Harold refuſed, telling the meſſenger that he would leave the event to the God of armies.

All negotiations were now at an end, and the hour was approaching which was to put a final period to the diſpute between the two powerful armies. The night preceding the battle was ſpent in a very different manner by the contending parties. The Normans paſſed it in prayer; but the Engliſh in riot and diſſipation. The dawn, however, put a period to their reſpective exerciſes, and both armies prepared for battle.

The fight began with equal fury and bravery on each ſide; but the Engliſh ſoon obliged the enemy to retire. The Normans, however, returned to the charge, and were again driven back by the Engliſh. The battle continued the whole day, and victory, more than once, ſeemed to declare in favour of

Harold. The abilities of the two commanders, and the valour of their troops, were equal. Liberty animated the Engliſh; glory, blended with deſpair, the Normans. The former knew, that every thing they held dear depended on their valour: the latter, that a retreat was impoſſible. William flew from rank to rank, from ſquadron to ſquadron, animating his troops by his words, and encouraging them by his example. Harold, with equal ſpirit, and with ſuperior ſucceſs, oppoſed him. William, perceiving his danger, had recourſe to a ſtratagem which was attended with ſucceſs: he ordered his men to make a haſty retreat, which drawing the Engliſh from their ranks, he ſuddenly faced about, and returning to the charge with freſh fury, repulſed the purſuers, with great ſlaughter. The Engliſh, however, regained the advantageous ground they had quitted, and again bid defiance to the attacks of the enemy. At laſt Harold and his two brothers were ſlain at the head of their forces, and the ſoldiers having loſt their leaders, fled from the field of battle. Above ſixty thouſand of the Engliſh fell in this dreadful conteſt; and William purchaſed the victory with the loſs of fifteen thouſand of his beſt troops.

Thus was gained by William duke of Normandy the great and deciſive victory of Haſtings, after a battle which was fought from morning till ſunſet. The next day the Normans buried their dead on the field of battle, and permitted the Engliſh peaſants to do the like by their deceaſed countrymen. The bodies of Harold and his two brothers were found, and ſent to their mother, who cauſed them to be interred in the abbey at Waltham, which had been founded by Harold.

The Norman writers have traduced the character of Harold, in order to render that of the conqueror more ſplendid, a circumſtance which too often attends a change of fortune. But it muſt be acknowledged that he was a prince poſſeſſed of many virtues. He was humane, generous, affable and intrepid: he was a champion for freedom, and fell in its defence. In ſhort, if we except the injury he did to Edgar Atheling, in excluding that young prince from the throne of his anceſtors, his character is without blemiſh; and from his general conduct while he reigned he appears to have been in all reſpects well qualified to wield the ſcepter with reputation to himſelf, and happineſs to his people.

Harold, by his firſt wife had three ſons, namely, Edmund, Godwin and Magnus, who, on the death of their father, immediately fled to Ireland. By his ſecond wife he had a ſon named Wolf, whom William Rufus afterwards knighted.

The death of Harold put a period to the Anglo-Saxon government, after it had continued above ſix hundred years, from its commencement in the perſon of Hengiſt, the firſt king of Kent.

Remarkable occurrences between the death of ALFRED the Great, and that of Harold II.

907 A ſevere froſt in England, when moſt of the rivers were paſſable on the ice for two months.
918 Continual rain in Scotland for five months.
936 A great inundation of the river Thames.
943 A violent ſtorm happened in London, which deſtroyed upwards of 1500 houſes.
946 The firſt ſet of tuneable bells ſet up at Croyland Abbey in Lincolnſhire.
947 Theft made death by the laws of the land.
951 The town of Southampton nearly deſtroyed by a ſtorm.
953 A plague in Scotland, which carried off 40,000 perſons.
964 St. Paul's cathedral deſtroyed by fire.
973 An inundation of the Thames, which did conſiderable damage.
974 A great famine in England, and another three years after.
980 The city of London nearly deſtroyed by an accidental fire.
987 A ſharp froſt began Dec. 22, which laſted 120 days.
989 A bloody flux in England, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.
991 The firſt land-tax in England.
1005 A prodigious inundation of the ſea on the Engliſh coaſts, which demoliſhed many ſea-port towns.
1024 Muſical notes invented.
1050 The Great Seal firſt uſed in England.

CHAP. XXI.

Containing a conciſe View of the political government of the Saxons, their Manners, Cuſtoms, Laws, &c.

ON the death of Harold (the laſt of the Anglo-Saxon kings) the throne was filled by a ſtranger; and new laws, new cuſtoms, and even a new conſtitution, were introduced, inſtead of thoſe which had been obſerved by the Saxons. It will, therefore, be neceſſary, in this place, to give the reader ſome account of the government, manners, laws, &c. of thoſe people.

The Saxons had no idea of a deſpotic power: liberty was their darling object, and they conſidered a king only as a more diſtinguiſhed citizen, bound by the ſame laws, and ſubject to the ſame cuſtoms, as themſelves. They had no eſtabliſhed rule with regard to the right of ſucceſſion to the crown: the children, indeed, often ſucceeded their father in the ſeat of power; but a ſmall circumſtance was ſufficient to ſet it aſide. All affairs of moment, eccleſiaſtical or civil, were propoſed in the general aſſembly of the nation, called Wittenagemot; and without the conſent of the body, no laws were binding on the ſubject. The biſhops, abbots, and aldermen, or governors of provinces (called earls after the Daniſh invaſion) formed a part of this national council; but whether the repreſentatives of boroughs, or the more wealthy citizens, compoſed the other, cannot be aſcertained.

The Saxons were divided into three claſſes, viz. nobles, freemen and ſlaves. The nobles chiefly reſided on their own eſtates, and were at great expence in maintaining hoſpitality. The greater part of the freemen were their farmers, whoſe buſineſs was chiefly confined to agriculture; and the ſlaves were employed in domeſtic occupations.

With reſpect to the manners of the Saxons, they were, like thoſe of mankind in general, blended with virtue and vice. They were valiant and generous, but at the ſame time intemperate and riotous; nor did they deem drunkenneſs diſgraceful. Their attachment to gaming was ſo great, that many, after having gamed away their property, and even wives and children, would ſtake their own freedom, and run the chance of becoming the ſlave of their antagoniſt. They were addicted to ſudden ſtarts of paſſion, and as ſudden fits of generoſity, and from the ſallies of anger would make haſty tranſitions to the meltings of humanity. They were large in ſtature, robuſt in conſtitution, intrepid in danger, active in emergency, and inured to fatigue; but they were par-

30 94 JAN

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

WILLIAM the CONQUEROR

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Invaded England Sept.r 29. 1066. | *Crowned at Westminster December 25. 1066.* | *Died in Normandy Sept.r 9. 1087.*

ticularly cruel to thoſe whom they made captives by force of arms.

Before the reign of Edmund I. death was never inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon laws, crimes of every kind being compenſated with pecuniary fines. A price was fixed on the head of each perſon according to his rank, even that of the king not excepted. The price of wounds, and the loſs of members was fixed; and was always proportioned to the ſize and danger of the former, and the uſe of the latter.

The Anglo-Saxons had various methods of trial; but that by juries was the moſt prevalent. However, where the crime could not be proved by witneſſes, recourſe was had to the moſt ridiculous methods, equally calculated to puniſh the innocent or the guilty. Theſe were, ſingle combat, and the trial of fire or water, which were called ordeal. The celebrated Monteſquieu, in ſpeaking of theſe ſuperſtitious practices, very juſtly obſerves, that "our anceſtors reſted the honour, the fortune, and the lives of citizens, on circumſtances which depended leſs on reaſon than chance; and frequently made uſe of proofs that could not convict, and which had no manner of connection either with innocence or guilt. How many evils has the culture of reaſon removed, and how many benefits has it procured to mankind!"

The military ſtrength of the nation conſiſted in the militia. Every freeman was under an indiſpenſible neceſſity of arming in defence of the ſtate: he marched to battle under the ſtandard of his lord, and was not to leave the army till the time of his ſervice was expired.

With reſpect to learning it was at a very low ebb during the time of the Saxons. Alfred, indeed, exerted himſelf nobly in defence of literature, as did alſo his ſucceſſor Edward the Elder, the firſt of whom founded the univerſity at Oxford, and the latter that of Cambridge. But their labours were not ſufficient to complete their noble deſigns. The ravages of the Danes deſtroyed the lovely branch which Alfred and his ſon had planted, and ſpread over the whole kingdom a blacker cloud than before.

Before Alfred the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſon for learning was Bede, or Beda, an Engliſh monk. He wrote ſeveral books on theology; but his chief work is an eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, which diſplays a genius and aſſiduity that might, in a more enlightened age, have led to diſcoveries of the moſt important nature.

The moſt learned man of his time after Bede was Aſſer Menevenſis, biſhop of St. David's in the reign of Alfred, whom he greatly aſſiſted in his ſtudies. He wrote ſeveral hiſtorical books, one of which is ſtill extant, and intituled, "Annales Rerum Geſtarum Alfredi Magni." Three editions of this work have been publiſhed; one by archbiſhop Parker, another by Camden, and a third by Wiſe.

St. Dunſtan is ſaid to have been a good muſician, painter and graver; but he has no title to be conſidered as a man of learning.

BOOK VI.

From the Norman Conqueſt, to the Death of King Stephen.

CHAP. I.

WILLIAM, ſurnamed the CONQUEROR.

Conſequences of the battle of Haſtings. Submiſſion of the Engliſh. William is crowned king. Goes over to Normandy. Diſcontents of the Engliſh. Their inſurrections. Return of William. New inſurrections. Introduction of the feudal law. Innovation on eccleſiaſtical government. Inſurrection of the Norman barons. Revolt of prince Robert. Battle of Gerberoy. William and his ſon Robert are reconciled. Doomſday-book. William ſeizes his brother Odo, and puts him in confinement. Makes a new foreſt in Hampſhire. Engages in a war with France. His death and character.

A. D. 1066. THE fatal iſſue of the battle of Haſtings threw the Engliſh into the utmoſt conſternation. Harold, with his two brothers, were ſlain, and his children had made their eſcape into Ireland. Edgar Atheling, though beloved by the people, as the deſcendant of their antient kings, had neither inclination to take, or capacity to guide, the helm of government. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, indeed, placed him on the throne, and nobly exerted himſelf to reſtore order and ſubordination among a terrified and divided people. But his attempts were fruitleſs: every ſalutary ſcheme was oppoſed; and every meaſure which tended to promote unanimity, and baffle the deſign of the Conqueror, was rendered abortive.

During this perplexed ſtate of affairs among the Engliſh, the victorious William was taking meaſures for renewing the advantage he had already gained, and obtaining that crown to which he had long aſpired. Having refreſhed his forces, he left Haſtings, and marched to Dover, the caſtle of which was full of ſoldiers, who had fled thither after the battle; but ſo great was their conſternation that they immediately delivered up the fortreſs on terms of capitulation.

Having left a ſtrong garriſon in the caſtle, William marched at the head of his victorious army towards London; and the nearer he approached, the greater was the confuſion of the Engliſh. No plan was formed for oppoſing his march, nor was any general choſen to head the troops againſt him. The clergy, inſtead of exerciſing their authority to heal the diviſions, and ſtimulate the people to courage and unanimity, laboured to increaſe the diſorder. Moſt of the dignified eccleſiaſtics were Normans, and therefore juſtified an enterprize which was undertaken by papal authority. The friends to the conſtitution of England perceived it was now too late to ſupport the falling ſtate of

their country; that oppoſition would only tend to exaſperate the conqueror, and forge heavier chains for a brave and warlike people. They therefore determined to ſubmit to William, and ſheath the ſword which threatened deſtruction to their country. Accordingly, the primate, the nobility, the principal citizens, and even Edgar Atheling himſelf, repaired to the Norman camp, and entreated him to accept a crown which his great ablities had rendered him worthy of enjoying. In conſequence of this, Chriſtmas-day was fixed for his coronation, which was accordingly performed at Weſtminſter-abbey by Aldred, archbiſhop of York, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people *.

A. D. 1017. The firſt ſtep taken by William after his coronation was, to poſſeſs himſelf of the treaſures which had been amaſſed by Harold, and were then depoſited at Wincheſter. With theſe he gave rewards to his followers, diſtributed charities to the monaſteries, ſent preſents to the churches of France, Aquitain and Burgundy, where maſſes had been ſaid for the ſucceſs of his expedition, and remitted large ſums to the pope, with coſtly preſents to the church of St. Peter at Rome. He likewiſe (in order to conciliate the affections of the Engliſh) erected a church and monaſtery in the field where Harold was ſlain. The church was dedicated to St. Martin, and the abbey, which was filled with Benedictine monks, and exempted from epiſcopal juriſdiction, was called Battle-abbey. He granted the citizens of London a new charter, by which all the privileges and immunities that city enjoyed in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor were confirmed. He affected to treat the Engliſh nobility with diſtinguiſhed reſpect, and not only careſſed Edgar Atheling in a particular manner, but granted him large eſtates, and confirmed to him the title of earl of Oxford, which had been conferred on him by Edward the Confeſſor.

From theſe acts of kindneſs the Engliſh flattered themſelves with a long ſeries of domeſtic tranquillity under a wiſe and impartial ſovereign. But they were ſoon convinced of their miſtake. The king ſeized on all the eſtates of thoſe who had joined Harold againſt him, and gave them to the Norman officers. He erected fortreſſes in various parts of the kingdom, and filled them with foreign troops. He diſarmed the people and broke up the militia. Theſe meaſures were very diſagreeable to the Engliſh, who now perceived that William acted rather as a conqueror than a king; and that he appeared to wiſh that power, rather than the affections of his ſubjects, might be the ſupport of his crown.

Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions for the internal ſafety of the kingdom, William determined to gratify his love of ſtate and magnificence, by viſiting his native country, where he doubted not of being welcomed with ſignal marks of congratulation by the neighbouring princes. Accordingly, having appointed his brother Odo (biſhop of Bayeux) and his couſin William Fitz-oſborne (whom he had created earl of Arundel and Hertford) to the joint government of the kingdom, he ſet ſail for Normandy, accompanied by ſuch of the Engliſh nobles, as he ſuſpected might take advantage of his abſence, and foment his new ſubjects to rebellion. On his arrival in Normandy he took up his reſidence in the abbey of Feſcamp, where he was viſited by Rodolph, uncle to the king of France, and a great number of the principal perſons in Normandy and the adjoining provinces, all of whom congratulated him on his acceſſion to the throne of England.

But while William was receiving theſe honours in Normandy, all the precautions he had taken to ſecure the tranquillity of England were fruſtrated. Odo and Fitzoſborne exerciſed the power inveſted in them with ſuch intolerable oppreſſion and rapacity as juſtly provoked the general indignation of the people, and urged them to take up arms in vindication of their violated rights. The people of Kent, after repeated remonſtrances to Odo, ſupplicated the aſſiſtance of Euſtace, count of Boulogne, who ſoon after landed a body of forces in the neighbourhood of Dover, which effecting a junction with the Kentiſhmen, they made an attack upon the garriſon of that place, during the abſence of the governor. But the Norman being timely apprized of the intended aſſault, had the fort put in a ſtate of defence, and the aſſailants were repulſed with great ſlaughter. Euſtace's nephew was taken priſoner, and the count himſelf, with a few of his followers, narrowly eſcaped.

Though the Engliſh failed in this attempt, yet it was far from diſpiriting their countrymen, who broke out into open rebellion in various parts of the kingdom. They even formed a ſcheme for maſſacreing all the Normans, which, in all probability, might have taken place, had it not been for the ſudden and unexpected arrival of William from Normandy, who had, no doubt, received private information of the intended conſpiracy.

But though William's return allayed the ſtorm that had been raiſed in his abſence, yet it gave ſuch a diſguſt to the Engliſh, that he determined to curb their turbulent ſpirit by oppreſſion, to cloſely rivet the chains of ſlavery, which before he had only an opportunity to fit on, and in future to rule them with a rod of iron.

A. D. 1068. The firſt inſtance William gave of his intention to rule by arbitrary power was manifeſted in his reviving the tax called Danegelt, which had been abrogated by Edward the Confeſſor. Aldred, archbiſhop of York, who had hitherto ſtrenuouſly ſupported all the meaſures of William, exerted his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſs this reſolution. To effect this he had recourſe to perſuaſions and remonſtrances; but finding all endeavours fruitleſs, he not only abandoned the intereſt of William, but anathematized him and all his family. This, however, had no effect upon William: he defied the eccleſiaſtical as well as the temporal power, and levied the tax with the utmoſt rigor.

This violent and arbitrary proceeding occaſioned inſurrections in various parts of the kingdom. The people of Exeter refuſed to take the oath of allegiance, or to admit a Norman garriſon. In conſequence of this William marched with a body of

* During the ceremony a tumult enſued, which had liked to have produced very fatal conſequences. The abbey was ſurrounded with a body of Norman ſoldiers, who hearing a confuſed noiſe within, imagined it aroſe from tumult and diſorder, and that the life of their duke was in danger. Fired at what they conſidered as a perfidious ſtratagem of the Engliſh, without giving themſelves the leaſt time for examination, they ſet fire to the adjacent houſes, and aſſaulted the populace with the utmoſt fury. The alarm ſpread with amazing rapidity, and deſpair was viſible in every countenance; but as ſoon as the new king was able to paſs through the crowd, he appeared among his troops, and at length, with great difficulty, ſuppreſſed the outrage.

of forces to Exeter, and made the neceſſary preparations for reducing them to obedience by force of arms; but the inhabitants implored and received pardon; on which William built a caſtle in the city, and placed in it a large body of his Norman troops.

But this inſurrection was trifling compared with thoſe which took place in the north, where Edwin and Morcar (earls of Northumberland and Mercia) combined with Sweyn king of Denmark, Malcolm king of Scotland, and Blethwin prince of North Wales, to make one vigorous effort for the recovery of their antient liberty. William, however, marching againſt them with a numerous army, diſconcerted their ſcheme, but pardoned the inſurgents on their ſubmiſſion. He ſoon after concluded a peace with the king of Scotland, which deprived the other parties of any future aſſiſtance from that quarter. When we ſay the inſurgents were pardoned, it muſt be underſtood only the leaders of the different parties; for many who were leſs guilty were ſeverely puniſhed, and ſome, who had no concern in the inſurrection, were impriſoned.

Morcar, and ſome other noblemen, retired to Scotland, and perſuaded prince Edgar, with his mother and ſiſters to accompany them. They were all received with the greateſt reſpect by the Scottiſh king, who was ſoon after married to Margaret, the eldeſt ſiſter of Edgar.

A. D. 1070-2. Having reduced the inſurgents, and erected caſtles in different parts of the kingdom, William reſolved to introduce thoſe innovations he thought neceſſary to ſupport that deſpotic power by which he was determined to govern the kingdom. He confiſcated the eſtates of the Engliſh nobility, and gave them to the Normans and other foreigners, who had aſſiſted him in the conqueſt of the country; by which means the moſt antient and opulent families were reduced to indigence, and pined for want on the very eſtates which had deſcended to them through a long line of illuſtrious anceſtors. He likewiſe introduced the feudal polity, which had been long eſtabliſhed in France and Normandy. He divided the kingdom into ſeven hundred baronies, which he beſtowed on his particular friends, no Engliſhman being ſuffered to enjoy that honour. Nor were the clergy exempted from theſe arbitrary proceedings: he put the church lands on the ſame eſtabliſhment with others, and obliged the eccleſiaſtics to furniſh their proportion of men for the wars, though the Saxon churches had exempted them from all military ſervice. The Monks were compelled to ſupply his troops, which he quartered on the monaſteries, with proviſions. He depoſed many Engliſh abbots and biſhops, and appointed foreigners to ſupply their places: in particular, Lanfranc, an Italian, was promoted to the ſee of Canterbury. Thomas, a canon of Bayeux, was created archbiſhop of York, and the ſee of Winchester was filled up by one of his own chaplains.

Nor did William ſhew a leſs deſire of accumulating riches than extending his power. Being informed that many perſons had lodged their plate, money, and other valuables, in the monaſteries, he gave orders that thoſe places ſhould be ſearched, when his emiſaries, being properly inſtructed, not only ſeized upon what had been concealed, but alſo took away the church plate, and even ſtripped the ſhrines of their offerings.

The Engliſh now felt the chains of ſlavery, which had, for ſome time, been forging for them. Some were frightened into paſſive obedience, while others formed the noble reſolution of ſhaking off their chains, or periſhing in the attempt. Accordingly many of the latter retired to the Iſle of Ely, and ſet at defiance all the power of William. Among theſe was the brave Hereward de Wake, reputed the greateſt warrior of his age. He was choſen captain of this reſolute band, and bravely exerted the great talents he poſſeſſed. As ſoon as William was informed of this oppoſition, he immediately marched at the head of a body of forces to chaſtiſe the inſurgents. But it was no eaſy taſk to drive them from their retreat. He attacked the iſland ſeveral times without ſucceſs, and was at length obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade. This, however, not anſwering his wiſhes, he had recourſe to ſtratagem, and effected by art what he found exceeded his abilities to perform by force. Knowing that the monaſtery of Ely had very large poſſeſſions that lay out of the bounds of the iſland, he ſeized them, and after poſſeſſing himſelf of their moſt valuable effects, gave the lands to his ſoldiers. Alarmed for their eſtates, the monks offered to betray the iſland, and pay him a thouſand marks provided he would reſtore to the convent the lands he had ſeized. William readily embraced the offer, and Thurſton the abbot opened a paſſage to the royal army. The gallant Hereward, finding himſelf betrayed, cut his way through the Norman troops ſword in hand; but the reſt were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and great numbers of them were made priſoners, among whom was Morcar, earl of Northumberland.

During theſe tranſactions Malcolm king of Scotland made an irruption into the northern provinces; in conſequence of which William, having quieted the diſturbances in the Iſle of Ely, marched with his forces into the north; but on his approach Malcolm retired, and William following him, he was glad to make peace, and to pay the uſual homage to the Engliſh crown. By one of the articles of the treaty Edgar Atheling was to return to England, and renounce all right to the crown, on receiving a ſufficient maintenance from the Conqueror.

A. D. 1073. William, having thus reduced the Engliſh to ſubjection, and concluded a peace with the Scottiſh monarch, it might have been expected that he would have enjoyed ſome reſpite from the toils of war. But the alarms of invaſion were not yet over. Philip, king of France, either jealous of William's growing power, or hoping that the unſettled ſtate of his affairs in England would prevent him aſſiſting his ſubjects on the continent, attacked the duchy of Normandy, and made himſelf maſter of the city of Mans, the capital of the province of Maine. Alarmed at this unexpected attack, William paſſed over to the continent at the head of an Engliſh army, who, on their arrival, were joined by ſome troops levied in Normandy. He immediately attacked the invaders, recovered the territories they had taken, and obliged Philip to make peace with him on his own terms.

A. D. 1074. But while William was endeavouring to eſtabliſh peace in his Norman dominions, he received advice that freſh troubles were excited in England by perſons whom he little ſuſpected of diſaffection. Several of the Norman barons, who had engaged with him in the conqueſt of England, and were enriched by the wealth he had beſtowed upon them, determined no longer to ſubmit to his imperious ſway. Robert, the youngeſt ſon of William Fitz-Oſborne, earl of Hereford, had, a little before the king's departure for Normandy, applied to William for permiſſion to marry his ſiſter to Ralph de Gauder earl of Norfolk, and received a peremptory denial. Enraged at this refuſal,

fuſal, it was reſolved to ſolemnize the marriage during the king's abſence, and the ceremony was accordingly performed with the greateſt magnificence. The imperious behaviour of William naturally became the ſubject of converſation, the moſt bitter reflections were made on his tyrannical government, and they unanimouſly came to the reſolution of no longer ſubmitting to his arbitrary adminiſtration. They accuſed him of uſing every ſpecies of tyranny over the Engliſh, who, they ſaid, were unjuſtly ſubjected to the arbitrary nod of an uſurper. Earl Waltheof, one of the greateſt warriors of the age, was the only Engliſhman who retained any power. He had, ſome time before, married Judith, the king's niece, and was created earl of Northumberland for his valour. This brave ſoldier was one of the gueſts, and joined with the reſt in the conſpiracy to dethrone William; but fearful of their own power, it was agreed to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Sweyn, king of Denmark, whom they knew to be a profeſſed enemy to the imperious Norman.

This plan was laid, and agreed to by Waltheof, at the time the company were in their height of jollity, and when there was no time for reflecting on the conſequences that were likely to attend ſo raſh an action. But cool reflexion ſoon convinced Waltheof that the conſpiracy was at once idle and unjuſt. Remorſe ſucceeded, and he informed Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, of the whole deſign. The prelate perſuaded him immediately to croſs the ſeas, and reveal all he knew to William. Waltheof followed the advice of the archbiſhop; but unfortunately for him he had alſo revealed the ſecret to his wife, who (having previouſly placed her affections on another perſon) ſent an expreſs to William, and uſed all her art to incenſe him againſt her huſband. Waltheof, however, met with a gracious reception from William, and flattered himſelf he had nothing to fear. The diſappearance of Waltheof alarmed the conſpirators, and ſome ſteps taken by the regency convinced them that the ſecret was diſcovered. In conſequence of this they immediately flew to arms, without waiting the arrival of the Danes, on whoſe aſſiſtance they placed their chief confidence. But all their efforts were fruitleſs: they were defeated wherever they went; ſo that when William landed in England, he found the conſpiracy entirely ſuppreſſed.

Immediately on the arrival of William, a parliament was ſummoned at Weſtminſter, where the caſe of thoſe concerned in the late rebellion came under conſideration, and they were proceeded againſt with the utmoſt ſeverity. Some of inferior rank were puniſhed with the loſs of their eyes, and others with that of their feet or hands. Earl Waltheof, notwithſtanding the proof of fidelity which he had given in diſcovering the plot, was tried for being an accomplice, and, upon the information of his own wife, ſentenced to loſe his head. Lanfranc exerted all his intereſt to ſave him; but William was inflexible, he was determined to quench even the ſmalleſt ember of rebellion with blood, and accordingly Waltheof was beheaded at Wincheſter on the 29th of April 1075. Thus fell the laſt Engliſhman who had enjoyed any conſiderable degree of power in the nation after the conqueſt. His infamous wife did not long enjoy her inhuman triumph over her huſband; for ſhe was univerſally deſpiſed, and ſuffered that diſgrace and contempt her perfidy ſo juſtly merited.

A. D. 1076. In the beginning of this year William received an embaſſy from pope Gregory VII. requiring him to do homage for the kingdom of England, and demanding the payment of Peter's-pence, which the liberality of the Saxon princes had conſtantly ſent to Rome; but without ever intending to render the cuſtom binding to their ſucceſſors, or conſidering it as a mark of ſubmiſſion to the holy ſee. William, however, was not to be terrified at the unreaſonable demands of the pontiff. He told the ambaſſadors that the money ſhould be ſent as ſoon as it could be collected; but, in the moſt peremptory terms, abſolutely refuſed to pay him homage. And, to convince the pope that he was in earneſt, and deſpiſed his power, he ſoon after publiſhed an edict, prohibiting his ſubjects from acknowledging his ſuperior authority, or obeying any commands from Rome without his permiſſion.

A. D. 1077. While the nation appeared to be in a tolerable ſtate of tranquillity, William met with freſh diſturbances from a quarter he little expected. His eldeſt ſon Robert, who was a prince of an enterprizing diſpoſition, determined to obtain that power to which he thought himſelf juſtly entitled. William had promiſed, before the peers of France, that as ſoon as he was ſettled on the Engliſh throne, his eldeſt ſon Robert ſhould be left in poſſeſſion of Normandy. Philip, king of France, deſirous of creating diſſentions in the family of William, inſtigated Robert to demand the poſſeſſion of his patrimony. Robert, fired with what he conſidered as an injury, laid his claim before his father, and urged it with ſome warmth; upon which William was highly offended, and ſent him for anſwer, "that he was never accuſtomed to ſtrip till he went to bed, and that therefore he ought to wait till his deceaſe."

This peremptory anſwer ſo irritated Robert that he determined, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of Normandy by force of arms, and accordingly raiſed a powerful body of troops to effect his deſign. As ſoon as William was apprized of this he went over to Normandy with an Engliſh army, and compelled Robert and his followers to take refuge in the caſtle of Gerberoy, which the French monarch had provided for their reception in caſe of neceſſity. In this place William beſieged them, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened, but with very little advantage to either party. At length Robert, diſdaining to be ingloriouſly ſhut up within the walls of a caſtle, drew out his forces, and gave his father battle. The conteſt was very ſharp, and for ſome time, continued equal. At length an arrow, from an unknown hand, ſtruck Williams's horſe, which immediaiely fell, and the king was thrown, almoſt breathleſs, to the ground, where he was in the utmoſt danger of being trampled to death. In this deplorable ſituation he called for help; and Robert, hearing the well-known voice of his father, was ſtruck with horror. All the ſentiments of duty and filial reverence were awakened in his breaſt: he raiſed his father from the ground with the utmoſt tenderneſs, threw himſelf at his feet, implored his pardon, and offered to purchaſe his forgiveneſs by any atonement. But William, without complying with his requeſt, immediately drew off his army, and repaired to Rouen; upon which Robert diſbanded his forces, and followed him. The queen interpoſed in behalf of her ſon, and her influence, added to the ſubmiſſion of Robert, at length produced a reconciliation. Robert was again received into his father's favour; but William did not think it prudent to leave him in Normandy, leſt the ſame inſtigations ſhould a-

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Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

ODO *Bishop of Bayeaux and Earl of Kent,* TAKEN PRISONER *by his Brother* WILLIAM *the* CONQUEROR, *for illegally amassing immense Sums of the Public Money.*

gain produce the ſame alarming events. He therefore brought his ſon with him to England, and ſent him at the head of an army to repel the Scots, who taking advantage of William's abſence, had made inroads in the northern parts of England. This ſervice Robert ſoon performed, and returning to London was received by his father with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. Some time after this William built the Tower of London, to keep in awe the citizens, of whom he entertained a conſtant jealouſy.

A. D. 1081. The nation being now in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity, William dedicated his thoughts to the purſuit of thoſe meaſures that were likely to preſerve his own power, and ſecure himſelf in that elevated ſtate which he had obtained by the force of arms. Among other things he determined to finiſh a ſurvey of the kingdom, which had been began by Edward the Confeſſor. In this ſurvey an account was taken of all the lands in England, their extent in each diſtrict, their value and quality, and the number of tenants, cottagers, freemen and ſlaves; together with black cattle, ſheep, hogs, cattle for draught, and other animals, with the names of thoſe to whom they belonged; and the number of mills and fiſheries. This work was ſix years in compiling, and was at firſt called "The Roll of Wincheſter, becauſe originally kept in that cathedral; but it was afterwards named Dombec, or Doomſday-book, becauſe its evidence was deciſive, and there was no appeal from its authority.

During the time the proper commiſſioners were employed in making the before-mentioned ſurvey, an event took place of a very ſingular nature, and which particularly attracted the attention of the public. Odo, biſhop of Bayeux, ſome time before created earl of Kent, and appointed chief juſticiary of the kingdom, had amaſſed immenſe ſums of money by the moſt illegal and oppreſſive methods. He was naturally turbulent and ambitious, and deeply tinctured with the folly of the times, by placing confidence in the idle predictions of aſtrologers. One of thoſe itinerant fortune-tellers, among other ridiculous aſſertions, foretold that Gregory, who then filled the papal chair, ſhould be ſucceeded by a prelate named Odo. Animated with the hopes of obtaining that ſeat of envied greatneſs, Odo, who placed the moſt implicit faith in what was then called the language of the ſtars, determined to employ the vaſt treaſures he had collected by the rapacious hand of injuſtice, in procuring the papacy. He therefore purchaſed a palace at Rome, furniſhed it in the moſt ſuperb manner, and employed a great number of agents to engage the voices of the cardinals in his favour. He endeavoured to keep his deſign a profound ſecret, and propoſed to withdraw privately out of the kingdom, and take up his reſidence at Rome, till the death of Gregory ſhould open a way to the ſucceſſion. But his intentions could not be concealed; and one of his pretended friends informed William of the chimerical projects formed by his brother. The loſs of ſuch enormous ſums, and the conſequences that might attend his endeavours to obtain the papacy, determined William not to ſuffer him to leave the kingdom. He therefore ordered him to be arreſted; but his officers being intimidated at the great power of the clergy, heſitated to execute his orders, being more fearful of eccleſiaſtical than civil puniſhment. William perceived their ſcruples, and ſeized the ſhop with his own hands. It was in vain that Odo pleaded his exemption from temporal juriſdiction. William anſwered, that he did not arreſt him as biſhop of Bayeux, but as earl of Kent. Pope Gregory had recourſe alternately to perſuaſions and menaces to obtain the releaſe of Odo; but in vain. William ſet all the thunders of the vatican at defiance, and Odo was kept cloſely confined in one of the caſtles of Normandy during the life of his brother.

A. D. 1082. William, like moſt of the Norman kings, was fond of hunting, and the methods he took to indulge himſelf in this diverſion have juſtly loaded his memory with reproach. Not contented with thoſe large foreſts poſſeſſed by former kings in different parts of England, he reſolved to make a new foreſt near Wincheſter, the uſual place of his reſidence, without diminiſhing his own revenue. He accordingly laid waſte the county of Hants for an extent of thirty miles, expelling the inhabitants from their houſes, ſeizing their property, and even demoliſhing the churches and convents, without making the unhappy ſufferers the leaſt compenſation for the injury. Nor was he ſatisfied with this inhuman ſtretch of his tyrannical power. He enacted the moſt ſevere laws relative to the foreſts, by which thoſe who dared to kill a deer, or a hare, were condemned to loſe their eyes, while at the ſame time the moſt horrid crimes were only compenſated with a fine. But it was uſeleſs to complain. William laid every oppreſſion he could think of on the Engliſh. He not only robbed them of their wealth and eſtates, but even formed a project for depriving them of their language. He ordered the French to be taught in the ſchools throughout the kingdom. It was ſpoken at court, and therefore ſtudied by the polite part of the inhabitants. It was alſo uſed in the courts of juſtice, and all the public acts, and private contracts, were written in that language.

A. D. 1087. In the beginning of this year William went over to Normandy in order to quell a rebellion which had broke out in that part of his dominions. But he had not been long in Normandy before a miſunderſtanding took place between him and Philip of France, which was attended with very fatal conſequences. It happened that William was taken ill, and for ſome time confined to his bed. He was always corpulent, which increaſing with his years, he was now become exceeding unweildy. Philip turned this natural infirmity into ridicule. Knowing of William's illneſs he jocoſely aſked one of his attendants, "Whether the king of England was delivered of his big belly." This being reported to William, he was ſo highly enraged, that he declared he would celebrate his recovery at Notre Dame with ten thouſand lances inſtead of lights; alluding to the practice of women, who then offered wax tapers at the altar after their recovery from child-birth.

As ſoon as William's health was reſtored he immediately proceeded to fulfil his promiſe. He entered France at the head of a very powerful army, and committed the moſt inhuman ravages that fury, blended with malice, could invent. Towns and villages, churches and chapels, palaces and huts, were alike deſtroyed: a ſmoaking deſert cloſed the rear of his army. The city of Mantes was one of the unfortunate places that fell into his hands, and felt the dreadful effects of his unbounded rage. He laid the whole in aſhes, and beheld with ſatisfaction this horrid ſacrifice to his revenge. But his triumph was of no long continuance: his

horſe, terrified at the ſmoking ruins, plunged violently, and throwing the rider forward bruiſed his belly againſt the pommel of the ſaddle. A rupture, attended by a fever, was the conſequence, and William was conveyed to Rouen. Senſible of his danger, he was ſtruck with remorſe for the many violences and cruelties he had committed to ſatisfy the cravings of an unbounded ambition. To make ſome atonement he gave money to rebuild the churches which he had deſtroyed at Mantes, and ordered conſiderable ſums to be diſtributed to the poor. He likewiſe gave orders for the enlargement of a great number of priſoners; and then, commanding his principal officers to ſurround his bed, he ſpoke much of his military reputation; but acknowledged that he had not honeſtly obtained the crown of England, and that he thought himſelf anſwerable for the lives of thoſe who were loſt in that conqueſt. Soon after this he paid the debt of nature, on the 9th of September, 1087, in the 61ſt year of his age, the 52d of his reign over the Normans, and the 21ſt of his reign over the Engliſh.

As ſoon as William's attendants perceived he was dead, they immediately plundered his coffers, and ſeized his moſt valuable effects. They even ſtripped his corpſe of the rich mantle with which it was covered, and then left the remains of this mighty conqueror naked and expoſed. A country gentleman beheld this ſcene of rapacity, and was touched with compaſſion. He cauſed the body to be embalmed at his own expence, and made the neceſſary preparations for interring it in the abbey-church of Caen, which had been founded by William. The proceſſion was awfully ſolemn, and a funeral oration was pronounced by Gilbert, biſhop of Evreux, who, with ſix other prelates, attended the mournful ceremony. But juſt as they were going to depoſit the body in the earth, one Anſelm Fitz-Arthur, a Norman gentleman, preſſed forward through the crowd, and, with an audible voice, forbad the prelates to inter the body. "On that ſpot, ſaid he, once ſtood my father's houſe, which was unjuſtly ſeized by William, who I now ſummon before the Moſt High to anſwer for that flagrant act of tyrannical oppreſſion." This occaſioned a general confuſion among the people, till at length it was agreed to give thirty ſols for permiſſion to inter the body; beſides which young Henry promiſed, if his claim ſhould appear to be well founded, he would make him a reaſonable ſatisfaction for the eſtates of which he had been deprived.

Such was the end of William I. the mighty Conqueror of England; a prince liberally endowed by nature with all the talents neceſſary for placing him on the pinnacle of human greatneſs. His genius was piercing, and improved by a noble education. He was intrepid in danger, and fruitful in reſources: a great general, and a valiant ſoldier. He was formed to ſhine both in the cabinet and the field. He was an excellent judge of men, and employed none but thoſe of the greateſt capacity either in church or ſtate. But his ambition carried him beyond the bounds of humanity. He availed himſelf of the right of conqueſt (the only title by which he had acquired a great kingdom) to trample on the laws of juſtice, and erect the throne of deſpotiſm upon the ruins of the conſtitution of a free people. He ſacrificed to avarice every principle of juſtice, and to oppreſſion every dictate of humanity. He extended the iron rod of tyranny over a people his arms had conquered; and felt not for the miſeries of innocence in diſtreſs. William, however, was not wholly deſtitute of virtues. In private life he was a tender huſband, an indulgent parent, and, where political intereſt did not interpoſe, a generous maſter. He introduced the regulation of the *curfeu* into England, by which all the inhabitants were obliged to put out their fires, and extinguiſh their lights on the ſound of a bell, which was tolled at eight o'clock in the evening.

With reſpect to exterior qualifications, he was remarkably tall, finely proportioned, and had a great dignity of aſpect; but towards the latter part of his life, he grew corpulent, and had a protuberance of belly which appeared diſguſtful to beholders, and was diſagreeable to himſelf.

William left three ſons, namely, Robert, William and Henry. To his eldeſt ſon Robert he bequeathed Normandy; and wrote a letter to Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſiring him to crown his ſecond ſon William king of England. He gave to Henry nothing more than the poſſeſſions of his mother Matilda, who had been dead about four years; but foretold that he would one day ſurpaſs both his brothers in opulence and power.

Beſides theſe ſons, William left five daughters, one of whom died young, one was an abbeſs, and the other three married into very reſpectable, princely, and noble families.

Remarkable occurences during the reign of William the Conqueror.

A. D.
1076 A violent earthquake in England, which did conſiderable damage in various parts, and threw the people into a general conſternation.
In the ſame year there happened a great froſt, which continued from November to April.
1077 The greater part of the city of London was deſtroyed by an accidental fire.
1078 The Tower of London built by William.
1079 The Courts of Exchequer and Chancery eſtabliſhed.
1082 A dreadful famine in England, which reduced the inhabitants to the greateſt diſtreſs.
1087 London, and ſome other cities, nearly deſtroyed by fires.

CHAP. II.

WILLIAM II. ſurnamed RUFUS.

William Rufus is crowned king of England. A conſpiracy formed againſt him by the Norman barons. He treats his ſubjects with great tyranny. Invaſion of Normandy. The Cruſades. Acquiſition of Normandy. Death and character of William.

A. D. 1087. WILLIAM (ſurnamed Rufus, or the Red, from the colour of his hair) was appointed by the deceaſed king to ſucceed him on the Engliſh throne, though the right of primogeniture belonged to his brother Robert. William, fearful that this circumſtance might occaſion great diſturbances relative to the ſucceſſion, and knowing that his right to the crown was founded only on the letter which his father had ſent to Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, haſtened with all

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Waledelin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born in Normandy 1057. | *Crowned October 5. 1087.* | *Killed by Tyrrell August 2. 1100.*

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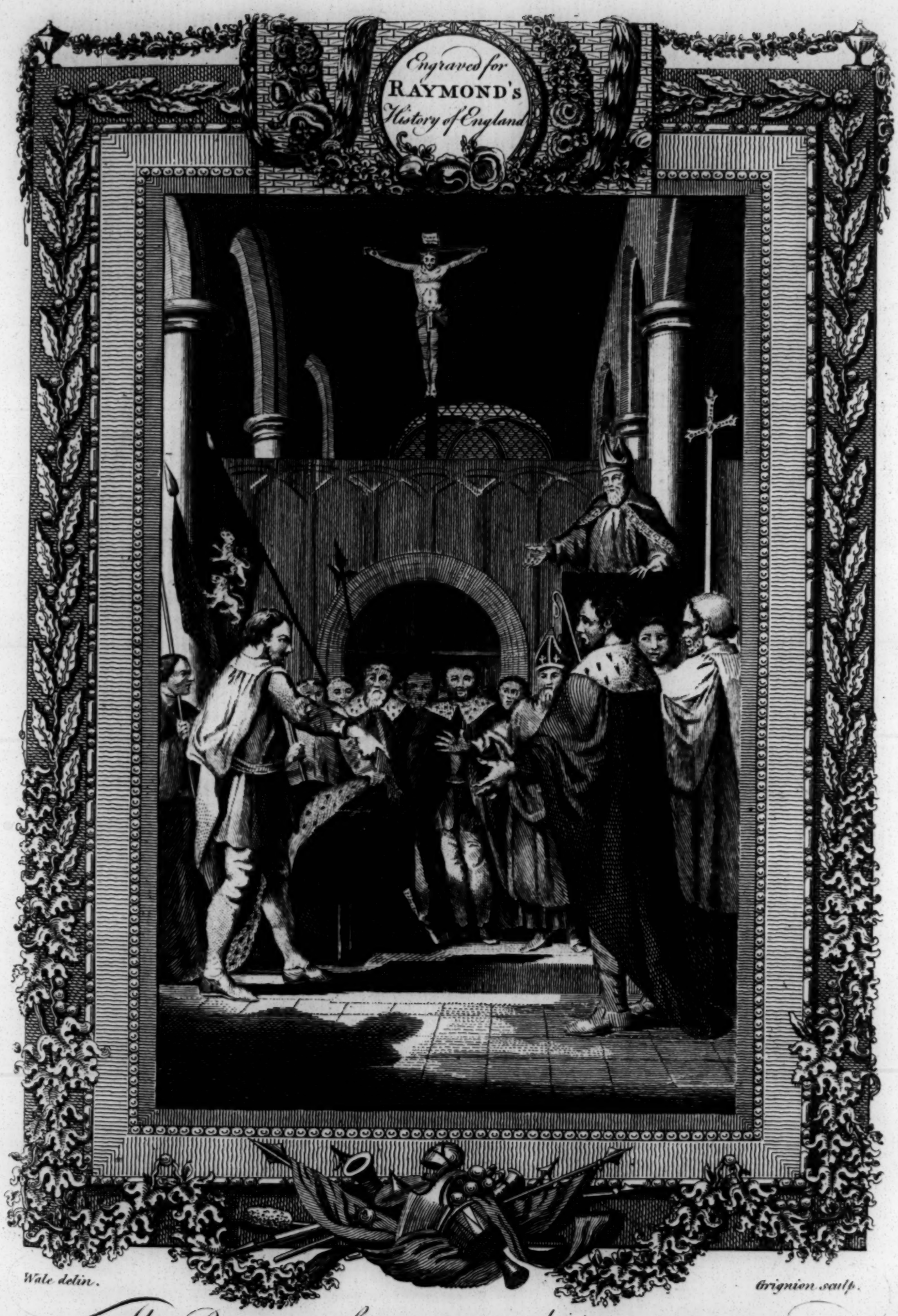


Wale delin. Grignion sculp.

The Remains of WILLIAM *the* CONQUEROR
refused INTERMENT *by Anselm Fitz-Arthur.*

expedition to England, before any intelligence of the death of the Conqueror could reach the kingdom. On his arrival he immediately applied to Lanfranc, who having been entruſted with the care of his education, looked upon him with the affection of a parent. But notwithſtanding this, he refuſed to exert himſelf in his favour, unleſs he would promiſe, "To govern with equity and moderation, maintain the liberties of the people, and behave like a dutiful and obedient member of the church." Rufus made this promiſe in the moſt ſolemn manner, in conſequence of which, as ſoon as the death of his father was publicly known in England, Lanfranc cauſed Rufus immediately to be proclaimed king; after which, having aſſembled the biſhops, with a great number of the principal nobility, he proceeded to the ceremony of coronation, which was performed at Weſtminſter on the 5th of October, A. D. 1087. Thus Rufus obtained that crown, which by right belonged to his elder brother Robert, who, in the mean time, contented himſelf with taking quiet poſſeſſion of Normandy.

A ſhort time after the coronation of Rufus, Odo, biſhop of Bayeaux, the chief miniſter and favourite of Robert, arrived in England, under pretence of ſoliciting the reſtitution of an eſtate he had formerly poſſeſſed as earl of Kent, and which had been confiſcated by William the Conqueror. The king received him with the moſt diſtinguiſhed marks of reſpect, and immediately reinſtated him in his former poſſeſſions. But the recovery of an eſtate was not the principal deſign of Odo's viſit. His intentions were, to wreſt the ſcepter from the hands of Rufus, and give it to Robert, as the undoubted heir to the Conqueror. He accordingly applied to ſeveral of the principal barons, whom he found ready to ſupport the pretenſions of his patron, provided they could be aſſured of a ſufficient force from Normandy to ſecond their intended deſigns.

Having thus far ſucceeded, Odo ſent a letter to Robert, aſſuring him that nothing but his preſence, at the head of a body of Norman troops, was wanting to recover that throne from which he had been unjuſtly excluded by the caprice of his father. Though Robert was naturally exceeding indolent, yet he was not inſenſible to the calls of ambition. He received the news with great ſatisfaction, and returned for anſwer, that as ſoon as his friends were in a condition to declare in his favour, they might be aſſured of his arrival at the head of a powerful army.

Odo communicated this intelligence to the partiſans of Robert, who were ſo elated that they immediately retired to their reſpective caſtles, and broke out into open rebellion. Several parts of the kingdom were at once thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and many of the counties again laid waſte by the ſword of deſolation. William was alarmed at theſe proceedings; but inſtead of purſuing any violent meaſures, he followed the advice of Lanfranc, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs the rebellion by means the moſt gentle and conciliative. He choſe rather to convince the inſurgents of the folly of ſupporting a cauſe pregnant with deſtruction, than force them to ſubmiſſion by ſtrength of arms. The ſucceſs of theſe prudent meaſures was ſoon apparent: the chiefs of the conſpirators abandoned the cauſe of Robert, and became the firm friends and adherents of Rufus. Odo, finding his ſcheme thus rendered abortive, fled to Normandy, and his poſſeſſions being ſeized by Rufus, he diſtributed them among thoſe who had particularly engaged themſelves in his intereſt.

A. D. 1088. While William was ſurrounded with enemies, and felt the crown, as it were, totter on his brow, he ſhewed every mark of favour and reſpect for his ſubjects. But no ſooner did he find himſelf firmly fixed in the ſeat of power, than, forgetting the promiſes he had made to Lanfranc, he treated his ſubjects with the cruelties of a conqueror. Inſtead of mitigating, he greatly increaſed the ſeverity of the foreſt laws, which had been enacted by his father. It was in vain for the Engliſh to complain: he was deaf to their petitions, and beheld their miſeries without giving them the leaſt redreſs. Lanfranc remonſtrated with him, in the moſt forcible manner, on theſe deſpotic proceedings. He reminded him of the ſolemn promiſes he had made when a candidate for the crown, and urged the noble and generous conduct of the Engliſh in his favour. William's haughty ſoul was ſtung to the quick at this freedom taken by the primate; but not judging it politic to quarrel with a perſon of his great influence in the kingdom, he affected to turn it off in a jeſting manner, ſaying, "Piſh! man, doſt think kings can keep all their promiſes." It was not long, however, before this check to William's tyranny was removed by the loſs of Lanfranc, whoſe death was juſtly regretted both by Normans and Engliſh. He made no diſtinction between the two nations, every good man being ſure of his favour and protection. He gained the love of all parties; and was juſtly conſidered as a faithful and vigilant paſtor, and an able and upright ſtateſman.

William, being now no longer under reſtraint by the adminiſtration of Lanfranc, determined to give a full career to his natural tyranny and avarice. The Engliſh were at once inſulted and oppreſſed; and even the privileges of the church, ſo ſacred in thoſe early times, proved a feeble rampart againſt his uſurpations. Eccleſiaſtical benefices were put up to ſale, and the higheſt bidder was ſure to be the purchaſer. Nor were theſe illegal methods ſufficient to ſatisfy his avarice: he delayed appointing ſucceſſors to vacant benefices, that he might have the opportunity of ſeizing their revenues. Theſe tyrannical proceedings ſpread an univerſal alarm throughout the kingdom; but the terror of his authority ſtifled the voice of complaint, ſo that the people ſeemed to be fixed in a ſtate of the moſt abſolute ſubjection.

A. D. 1090. Robert, duke of Normandy had, by his natural ſupineneſs and puſillanimity, loſt the Engliſh crown; and was now in danger of being deprived of his Norman dominions. The reſtleſs and independent ſpirit of his vaſſals was greatly increaſed by his injudicious and negligent adminiſtration. The ſword of civil diſcord was drawn, and Normandy felt all the horrors of an inteſtine war. Robert had mortgaged near one third part of his dominions to his brother Henry for three thouſand pounds. In conſequence of this Henry, fearful (from the great diſturbances among the barons) that he might loſe what he had obtained from his brother, applied to the Engliſh monarch for aſſiſtance, and adviſed him to attack the Norman dominions of his brother. Rufus, whoſe avarice was never ſatisfied, readily took this advice, and immediately went over to Normandy at the head of a powerful army. Robert was in no condition to oppoſe him. William, therefore, ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the principal towns in Normandy,

mandy, and even the capital itſelf was on the point of falling into the hands of the invader, owing to the treachery of Conan the governor. Robert applied to the king of France for aſſiſtance, but in vain, that monarch being ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of William. Henry now ſaw his error, and trembled for his own property. He therefore deſerted the party of Rufus, and joined Robert with an excellent body of forces. The two brothers arrived juſt time enough to ſave the capital; and Robert, exaſperated at the conduct of the governor, ordered him to be thrown headlong from the battlements of the caſtle, as a puniſhment for his perfidy.

William being thus diſappointed in poſſeſſing himſelf of the capital of Normandy, made preparations for proſecuting the war with redoubled vigour. But at the interceſſion of ſome powerful nobles, both of England and Normandy, a treaty of peace was concluded between him and Robert, in which it was ſtipulated, that on the death of either, without iſſue, the ſurvivor ſhould ſucceed to both dominions. In this treaty not the leaſt notice had been taken of the intereſts of Henry, which ſo much exaſperated that prince, that he retired, with his troops, to St. Michael's Mount, a ſtrong fortreſs on the coaſt of Normandy, from whence he made conſiderable depredations on the adjoining parts of the country. Robert and William, with their joint forces, beſieged him in this place, and reduced him and his army to great diſtreſs for want of water. Robert, on hearing this, not only granted his brother Henry permiſſion to ſupply his garriſon with that neceſſary article, but alſo ſent him a large quantity of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for what he thought an ill-timed piece of generoſity, he replied, "What! ſhall I ſuffer my brother to periſh with thirſt? Where ſhall we find another when he is gone?

While William lay encamped before St. Michael's, an incident happened of a very ſingular nature, and which evinced that though he was of a moſt avaricious diſpoſition, yet he had ſome ſenſe of generoſity. One day, riding out to take a ſurvey of the fortreſs, he was attacked by two ſoldiers, and diſmounted. In conſequence of this one of them drew his ſword in order to diſpatch him, upon which William exclaimed, "Hold fellow, I am the king of England." The aſſailant immediately threw down his ſword, raiſed him from the ground with the greateſt marks of reſpect, and received a noble reward.

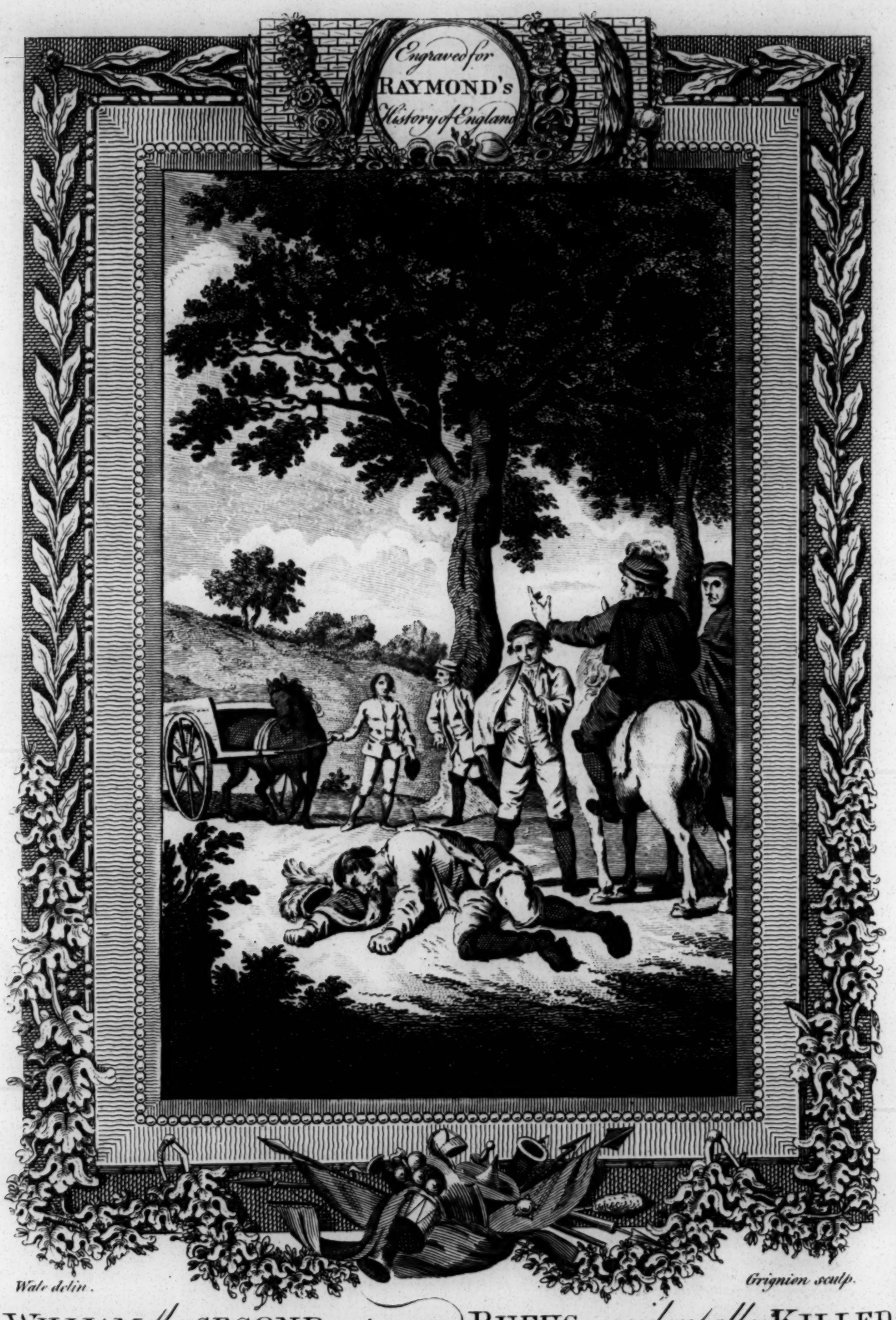
Henry maintained a brave defence for about ſeven weeks: but was at length compelled to decline the conteſt; and being deprived of all his poſſeſſions, wandered from place to place, accompanied only by a few of his faithful attendants, who ſhared with him the diſtreſſes of extreme poverty to which he was frequently reduced.

A. D. 1094. William after concluding a treaty of peace with his brother Robert, left Normandy, and returned to England. On his arrival he found the kingdom in the utmoſt confuſion, owing to the inroads of the Welſh, who, exaſperated at the tyranny of the Norman barons, entered the Engliſh territories, and committed the moſt cruel depredations on the inhabitants. Exaſperated at their cruelties, William marched againſt them at the head of a numerous army, and having repulſed and killed great numbers of the main body the reſt made a precipitate flight, and retired to the mountains, upon which William returned with his forces to the capital.

Some time after this a moſt dangerous conſpiracy was formed againſt the life of William by ſome of the principal barons in the kingdom, at the head of whom was Robert Mowbray, then the moſt powerful ſubject in England. As ſoon as William was informed of this conſpiracy, he took the moſt prudent meaſures poſſible to render it abortive. He ſummoned Mowbray to appear before him at Wincheſter, to anſwer for his conduct in plundering four merchant ſhips, which had put into an Engliſh port under his juriſdiction. Mowbray, conſcious of his guilt, refuſed to obey the royal mandate; in conſequence of which William marched with an army againſt him, and Mowbray, not being in a condition to engage in battle, ſhut himſelf up in Bamborough Caſtle, which the king immediately inveſted. Mowbray, knowing that the fortreſs, though impregnable, muſt, for want of proviſions, be forced to ſurrender, found means to make his eſcape, and, repairing to Tinemouth endeavoured to corrupt the governor of that place; but before he could effect his purpoſe, he was taken priſoner by a detachment of William's army. After the departure of Mowbray the garriſon in Bamborough caſtle ſurrendered, and the governor impeached all the conſpirators. Mowbray was ſentenced to be confined for life, ſeveral others were put to death, and the eſtates of the greater part confiſcated. Count D'Eu was impeached of being engaged in this conſpiracy. He, however, denied the charge, and offered to vindicate himſelf by ſingle combat with his accuſer; but being defeated, he was ſentenced to be deprived of his ſight, and ſuffer caſtration. His couſin, William D'Alderi, was ſentenced to be publicly whipped, and afterwards hanged on a gallows thirty feet high. Thus was this dangerous conſpiracy ſuppreſſed, and peace and tranquillity once more reſtored to the nation.

A. D. 1095. In the beginning of this year a great difference took place between the king and Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, the cauſe of which aroſe from a ſchiſm that happened in the church of Rome. Two prelates claimed the pontifical dignity. Odo, biſhop of Oſtia, under the name of Urban II. was acknowledged pope in Italy and France, while his competitor, Gilbert, archbiſhop of Ravenna, under the title of Clement III. was conſidered as the ſucceſſor of Peter, by ſeveral of the European powers, among whom was the king of England. Anſelm oppoſed his ſovereign, diſdaining to ſubmit to any temporal authority. He even determined to mortify William, and accordingly demanded leave to repair to Rome, and receive his archiepiſcopal pall from the hands of pope Urban II. adding, that he conſidered him as the true head of the church. Provoked at this inſolence, William was, with the utmoſt difficulty, reſtrained from laying violent hands on the primate, who, perceiving that he ſhould not be ſupported by the prelates and clergy, quitted the kingdom. In conſequence of this William immediately ſeized the temporalities of the archiepiſcopal ſee; nor could he be perſuaded to reſtore them during the remainder of his life.

A. D. 1096. This year produced one of the moſt extraordinary occurrences recorded in the annals of hiſtory, namely, the Cruſades, which was patronized by pope Urban, and in which many princes of Chriſtendom engaged. Peter the Her-



WILLIAM *the* SECOND *surnamed* RUFUS, *accidentally* KILLED
by Sr Walter Tyrrell, in New Forest, Hampshire.

mit, a native of Amiens in Picardy, having made a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, was ſo affected at the ſufferings inflicted by the infidels on the Chriſtians of Paleſtine, that he formed the bold reſolution of attempting to relieve them from the oppreſſion of the Saracens, and make a conqueſt of that country in which Chriſtianity was firſt promulgated. His plan being approved by the pope, he began to preach the propriety of entering on the intended buſineſs, and urged all Chriſtian princes to contribute their aſſiſtance towards the recovery of the Holy Land. He travelled bare footed and bare headed from court to court, and preached, as he went from place to place, with a zeal that proved how much he was in earneſt. The princes, nobility and clergy, encouraged his deſign wherever he went; and a council being held at Clermont, the pope himſelf recommended the expedition, and the people univerſally called out, "It is the will of God."

A. D. 1097. The ſpirit of emigration now ſpread itſelf throughout Europe, and great numbers of the firſt rank ſold their poſſeſſions at much leſs than their value, in full confidence of obtaining a better ſettlement in Aſia: nor is it to be wondered at when we conſider the diſpoſition of the times, and that the pope gave ſuch countenance to the deſign as to promiſe great indulgencies to thoſe who ſhould engage in the enterprize.

Among the various princes who were deſirous of diſtinguiſhing themſelves on this memorable occaſion, was Robert duke of Normandy. But his finances not being adequate to the expence of ſuch an undertaking, he offered to mortgage his dukedom to his brother William for ten thouſand marks. Rufus did not heſitate to conclude the bargain; and having raiſed the money by levies on his ſubjects went over to Normandy, and paid it to his brother, who, after putting him in poſſeſſion of his dominions, ſet out, at the head of his vaſſals, to gather laurels on the plains of Paleſtine.

Thus was England and Normandy once more united, and the many contentions that had ſubſiſted between the barons of the two provinces, entirely laid aſide. Both were ſubjects to William, and both felt the weight of his power.

A. D. 1099. William had not long left Normandy before he had occaſion to re-viſit that part of his dominions, owing to the depredations of a powerful nobleman named Helie, who poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral towns in Normandy, and at length laid ſiege to the city of Mans. William was hunting in the New Foreſt when he received advice of this tranſaction, upon which, turning to his attendants, he aſked them in what direction the city of Mans lay. Being anſwered, he immediately turned his horſe's head towards the place, and rode full ſpeed to the ſea-ſide, calling to his attendants, "Let him that loves me follow me." Dartmouth was the firſt ſea-port town they came to, where finding a veſſel ready to ſail, they immediately went on board; but the maſter heſitating to put to ſea on account of the tempeſtuous weather, William aſked him if he ever heard of a king being drowned." Silenced by this reproof, the maſter ſailed immediately out of the harbour, and the next morning reached Barfleur in ſafety.

No ſooner did Helie hear of William's arrival in Normandy, and that he was marching towards him at the head of a powerful army, than he inſtantly raiſed the ſiege of Mans, and retreated with his forces. William followed the flying enemy, attacked their rear, and took Helie priſoner. The captive nobleman was treated with great indignity, at which he was ſo incenſed, that he told Rufus, "he had little cauſe for triumph, as his ſucceſs was owing rather to ſurprize than valour." Adding, "that if he were again at liberty, he would not find it eaſy to defeat him in a fair engagement." The king, piqued at theſe bold words, immediately ordered Helie to be ſet at liberty. "Be gone, ſaid he fiercely, do "thy worſt; and, by the face of St. Luke, "if thou haſt the good fortune to conquer "me, I will not aſk the ſmalleſt return for "the freedom I now confer upon thee." But no action happened between them. Helie retired to his own territories, and William returned to England.

During theſe tranſactions Robert was diſplaying the greateſt courage againſt the infidels in Paleſtine. After the greateſt fatigues, and the loſs of multitudes of people, the famous city of Jeruſalem was taken, and the diadem of that celebrated capital offered to Robert. But the great reputation he had gained in the fields of Aſia, induced him to hope that it would now be eaſy for him to recover his duchy, and even get poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne. He therefore declined the offer, and the crown of Jeruſalem was placed on the head of Godfrey of Boulogne, a prince equally diſtinguiſhed for his virtues and military proweſs.

A. D. 1100. But though Jeruſalem was recovered from the infidels, numbers of warriors continued to flock from moſt parts to the plains of Aſia. William, earl of Poctiers, and duke of Guienna, reſolved to engage in this buſineſs, and for that purpoſe raiſed a very powerful army; but his finances being inſufficient to diſcharge the expence of the expedition, he applied to Rufus, offering to mortgage his duchy for the ſum wanted. The king, with his uſual avidity, concluded the bargain, raiſed a large army, and fitted out a powerful fleet, with a view of taking perſonal poſſeſſion of the earl's territories.

But while theſe preparations were making, an accident intervened which at once put an end to the life and ambition of Rufus. William frequently amuſed himſelf with hunting in the New Foreſt, in which excurſion he was always attended by Walter Tyrrel, a French knight, who was celebrated for his great ſkill in archery. In the courſe of the day the king and Tyrrel were ſeparated from the reſt of the company, upon which William alighted from his horſe to wait till they joined him. Juſt at this juncture a ſtag ruſhed from an adjacent thicket, and paſſed the king. William immediately let fly an arrow, which wounding the animal he followed it in expectation that it would ſoon fall. While William was engaged in watching the wounded ſtag, another iſſued from the ſame thicket, and croſſing the path between Tyrrel and the king, the knight ſhot an arrow, which, either by glancing againſt a tree, or the horns of the animal, changed its direction, ſtruck the monarch in the breaſt, and piercing his heart, he fell on the ground, and immediately expired. Tyrrel, who had been the innocent cauſe of this fatal cataſtrophe, fled immediately to the ſea ſide, and eſcaped to France. The royal corpſe was treated with the ſame indignity as that of his father. His attendants, who feared his power, and had followed his fortunes, paid no reſpect to his remains. The body was ſuffered to lie in the poſ-

ture it fell for ſome time, till at length a peaſant coming up with his cart, they threw it in, and in that ignominious manner conveyed it to Wincheſter, where it was interred without the leaſt ceremony.

Thus, by an accidental ſtroke * fell William Rufus, on the 2d of Auguſt, A. D. 1100, in the 44th year of his age, and 13th of his reign.

William was in perſon of a middle ſtature, but appeared ſhorter than he really was, owing to his great corpulency. His complexion was florid, his hair of a yellowiſh red, and one of his eyes ſpotted, which rendered it unlike the other. He had a ſtrong powerful voice, which he frequently exerted, in order to intimidate thoſe to whom he was ſpeaking; but the ſound of his voice was exceeding diſagreeable owing to a natural impediment he had in his ſpeech.

With reſpect to the character of William, it muſt be acknowledged, that he had ſome virtues, and many vices. He was intrepid and magnanimous, a lover and encourager of arts and learning, and a friend to real merit. But he was ungrateful, avaricious, tyrannical, perfidious, cruel and diſſolute. In ſhort, his few virtues were obſcured by his vices, which were ſo diſtinguiſhed as to fix a laſting ſtain on his memory.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Rufus.

A. D.

1088 A dreadful earthquake, which ſhook the whole kingdom. This was followed by a great ſcarcity of fruit, and ſo late a harveſt, that corn was not properly ripe at the end of November.

1091 A violent ſtorm happened, which did conſiderable damage in various parts of the kingdom, particularly at Winchelſcomb in Glouceſterſhire, where the ſteeple of the church was thrown down.
A few days after this there was another ſtorm, which threwn down upwards of 500 houſes in London only, and blew off the roof of Bow-church; and at Saliſbury it not only deſtroyed many houſes, but likewiſe threw down the ſteeple belonging to the cathedral.

1094 This year was remarkable for ſo great a mortality among men and beaſt, that the ground remained untilled, and what added to the calamity was, its being ſucceeded by a very ſevere dearth.

1096 This year was remarkable for the commencement of the Cruſades, or Holy War.

1098 A great ſcarcity in England.
London-bridge carried away by the floods, and a new one erected by Rufus, who alſo enlarged the Tower, and built Weſtminſter-hall.

1100 An inundation of the ſea overflowed the lands of Godwin earl of Kent, which, to this day, are called Godwin Sands.

CHAP. III.

HENRY I. ſurnamed BEAUCLERC.

Acceſſion of Henry I. His marriage with Matilda, daughter to the king of Scotland. Robert invades England, but by means of Anſelm the primate an accommodation is effected between him and his brother Henry. Diſpute between the king and Anſelm. Henry makes himſelf maſter of Normandy. Engages in foreign wars. Death of prince William. Second marriage of the king. His death and character.

A. D. 1100. AS the late king left no iſſue, the throne of England fell, by right, to his elder brother duke Robert; but that prince being then abroad, Henry, the younger brother, determined to ſeize the crown in his abſence. He, therefore, immediately on hearing of William's death, repaired with all expedition to Wincheſter, and made himſelf maſter of his brother's treaſures. This acquiſition inſured him ſucceſs. He eaſily gained over the nobility and prelates to his intereſt, and on the 5th of Auguſt, three days after his brother's death, was crowned with great ceremony by Maurice, biſhop of London.

In order to inſure the affections of his ſubjects, Henry, on the very day of his coronation, publiſhed a charter, confirming the privileges of his ſubjects, and redreſſing the grievances under which they laboured. By this charter (copies of which were diſperſed throughout the kingdom) the churches were reſtored to all their immunities, and exempted from thoſe impoſitions under which they had laboured during the late reign. He engaged to admit the heirs of barons to the enjoyment of their eſtates, without exacting thoſe enormous fees which had been required by the two preceding princes. He promiſed to remit the wardſhip of minors, by which the crown had received the profits of their poſſeſſions during their minority. He engaged not to oppoſe any marriages which the barons might contract for their daughters or other relations, unleſs the perſons propoſed were known to be his enemies. He promiſed to exerciſe with juſtice and moderation the right of levying impoſts, to pardon all paſt offences, to remit all debts due to the crown, and to maintain in full force the laws of Edward the Confeſſor.

This charter was ſoon followed by another, in which he granted many ample privileges to the citizens of London. In particular he aboliſhed the curfeu, which had been eſtabliſhed by William the Conqueror, and was always conſidered by the Engliſh as a badge of their ſlavery.

Theſe were not the only meaſures Henry took to gain the affections of his ſubjects. To ſhew the ſincerity of his intentions for their welfare, he committed Ralph Flambard, biſhop of Durham, the oppreſſive and deteſted miniſter of Rufus, to the Tower; but the artful prelate found means to make his eſcape, and fled to France, where he endeavoured to embroil that government he could no longer direct.

Henry was no ſtranger to the great reſpect which the Engliſh bore for Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who had been baniſhed in the former reign, on a quarrel with the king, and went to Lyons. He therefore recalled that prelate, reſtored him to his former dignity, and took him into his particular favour.

As a farther ſtep towards ſecuring himſelf on the

* Richard, the elder brother of William, loſt his life by an accident in the New Foreſt, as did alſo Richard his nephew, natural ſon of duke Robert; ſo that, on the king's fate, it was obſerved by many, that, as the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence in expelling all the inhabitants of that large diſtrict, to make room for his game, the juſt vengeance of heaven was ſignalized in the ſame place by the ſlaughter of his poſterity.

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Born at Selby in Yorkshire 1068. | *Crowned August 5. 1100.* | *Died in Normandy December 1. 1135.*

the Engliſh throne, Henry now determined to enter into marriage with Matilda, daughter to Malcolm king of Scotland, by Margaret, ſiſter to Edgar Atheling. That princeſs had been brought up in the monaſtery at Wilton ever ſince the death of her father. She was not only a lady of moſt deſirable accompliſhments, mental and perſonal, but alſo an unexceptionable match in point of intereſt, her uncle Edgar having no children, and the old Engliſh party eſteeming her as the only ſurvivor of the Saxon race, from whom they might expect a continuance of that antient line. Nothing, therefore, could tend more to promote the deſigns of Henry, than his forming an union with this princeſs. But there was an impediment to be removed before he could accompliſh his wiſhes. She had worn the veil, but never taken the vows; and it was a matter of doubt whether or not it was lawful for her to marry. The king applied to Anſelm, who refuſed to decide the queſtion by his own authority. He therefore ſummoned a general council at Lambeth, where he ſo enforced his arguments for Matilda's being at liberty to marry, as to obviate every negative plea, and the nuptials were accordingly celebrated with great magnificence, to the general ſatisfaction of the people of both kingdoms.

A. D. 1101. During theſe tranſactions duke Robert arrived in Normandy from his expedition into the Holy Land, and knowing he had been deprived of his right in not ſucceeding to the throne of England, determined to aſſert his claim. He accordingly raiſed a very powerful army, with which he landed at Portſmouth, where he was joined by ſeveral of the moſt powerful barons in the kingdom, who thought, as he was the elder brother, he ought to have had the preference in the ſucceſſion.

The crown of Henry now tottered on his brow: he knew his brother was advancing towards the capital, and feared the conſequences. He therefore applied to Anſelm, who effectually interpoſed his good offices in favour of Henry. He publickly repreſented to the people the fatal conſequences that muſt inevitably enſue from a civil war, and prevailed on them to think favourably of the mild and equitable government of their then ſovereign. He likewiſe declared that, if Robert perſiſted in his deſign of driving Henry from the throne, he would excommunicate him and all his adherents. This had the deſired effect. Eccleſiaſtical cenſures were at that time more dreaded by the common people than the moſt powerful armed force. Robert, therefore, found that inſtead of his troops increaſing, they daily decreaſed in numbers; and even thoſe that continued firm to his intereſt, advanced with timidity.

Henry, placing himſelf at the head of his forces, marched againſt his brother; and the two armies encamped within ſight of each other on a plain not far from Wincheſter. They remained in this ſituation for ſome time without coming to action, Henry being fearful his troops would deſert him on the day of battle, and Robert declining to engage in expectation of receiving freſh reinforcements.

During this interval of inaction, Anſelm exerted all his intereſt to ſheathe the ſword of war, by concluding a peace between the two brothers. After ſome difficulties he obtained his wiſhes, and a treaty of accommodation was effected on the following terms: 1. That the king ſhould reſign to Robert full poſſeſſion of Normandy. 2. That the friends of each party ſhould have full reſtoration of all their lands and eſtates, both in England and Normandy. 3. That Henry ſhould pay to Robert the yearly ſum of 3000 marks of ſilver; and that if either of the two died without lawful iſſue, his demeſnes ſhould be inherited by the ſurvivor as well in England as Normandy.

This treaty being ſigned by proper perſons on each ſide, as guarantees for its faithful execution, both armies were diſbanded, and Henry took his brother Robert with him to court, where they lived together in the greateſt apparent harmony for the ſpace of two months, at the expiration of which Robert took his leave, and embarked for Normandy.

Robert had no ſooner left England, than Henry violated the treaty which had been made between them. He commenced proſecutions againſt thoſe barons who had declared in favour of Robert; and they, thinking it would be imprudent to appear, were baniſhed the kingdom, and their eſtates confiſcated. As ſoon as Robert heard of theſe tranſactions he conſidered it his duty to intercede, and attempt the recovery of the poſſeſſions of thoſe noblemen who had ſuffered in violation of the treaty between him and his brother. He accordingly came over to England, for that purpoſe; but Henry, not being in any fear from the attempts of an enemy, paid no regard to his remonſtrances. Inſtead thereof he treated him with the utmoſt contempt, and even hinted that his own liberty was in danger. Robert clearly ſaw his ſituation and was glad to make his eſcape to his own dominions.

A. D. 1103. A moſt violent diſpute now took place between the king and Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, which had like to have been productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. The prelate determined, if poſſible, to curtail the royal prerogative in matters eccleſiaſtical, and to render the authority of the mitre little inferior to that of the crown. He had two grand points in view, one of which was, to oblige the clergy to celibacy, and the other to wreſt from the crown the right of giving inveſtiture to biſhops and abbots. A ſynod was accordingly convened, in which a ſentence of excommunication was pronounced againſt married prieſts. Having thus far ſucceeded, Anſelm determined to proceed, and accordingly propoſed, that all the biſhops who had received inveſtiture from the king ſhould reſign their ſees, or be immediately excommunicated. Henry, exaſperated at theſe inſolent proceedings, ſummoned Anſelm to appear before him in the king's court. The prelate accordingly obeyed, and was commanded inſtantly to do homage to the king and to conſecrate ſuch perſons as had been nominated to vacant ſees, or to depart the kingdom. Henry likewiſe declared, that no perſon ſhould reſide in any part of his dominions, who refuſed to pay the allegiance due to a ſovereign." But Anſelm deſpiſed the threats of royalty, and, with the reſolution of a man conſcious of his power, told the court, "that he was not to be intimidated from doing his duty: that he ſhould immediately retire to Canterbury, where he would continue to exerciſe his archiepiſcopal functions, and wait the iſſue with the utmoſt reſignation. As Henry was determined not to part with ſo valuable a branch of his prerogative, and the prelate not to recede from the cauſe he had undertaken, there remained no hopes of an accommodation. At length

was agreed by both parties to ſend a deputation to Rome, in order to lay the whole diſpute before his holineſs; and that, in the mean time, the biſhops and abbots ſhould continue to exerciſe the functions of their repective offices.

A. D. 1105. But this eccleſiaſtical diſpute did not divert Henry from attending to ſuch other matters as concerned his intereſt. An opportunity now ſeemed to offer for faciliating the deſign he had long entertained of poſſeſſing himſelf of Normandy, and annexing that duchy to his own dominions. His brother Robert, though a brave and generous prince, neglected the affairs of government, and wholly employed his time in diſſolute pleaſures, whereby his ſubjects became a prey to the avidity of his officers, and rapine and injuſtice ranged at large over the dominions of Normandy. The mildneſs of his diſpoſition gave a boldneſs to depredation, and his indolence a tacit ſanction to outrage. Thus neglected by their own prince, and ſubject to the continual inſults of rapine and violence, the Normans applied to Henry for redreſs. That prince liſtened with pleaſure to their complaints; but not having even a ſhadow of a pretence to juſtify a rupture with his brother, he did not think proper to comply immediately with their requeſt. He, however, wrote a letter to Robert, repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the enormity of his conduct in not redreſſing the grievances of his ſubjects, and ſecuring their properties from tyrannical invaders. He entreated him, in the moſt preſſing manner, to reſume the conduct of a prince, and to act in ſuch a manner as might procure him the glorious title of being father of his people. He farther told him, that he thought it his duty as a brother, and the reſpect he had for the inhabitants of Normandy, to uſe every means in his power to redreſs their grievances; and that, if he ſhould turn a deaf ear to theſe remonſtrances, he muſt not think it ſtrange if he exerted himſelf in favour of his diſtreſſed countrymen.

This artful letter, though varniſhed over with ſeeming love and kindneſs, was, in fact, intended only to farther his deſign, by inflaming the minds of the Normans to a greater pitch of diſcontent againſt Robert. Henry took particular care to have the letter made as public as poſſible, and the iſſue fully anſwered his expectations; for, in a very ſhort time after, he received a general application from the Norman nobility, beſeeching him to have compaſſion on the miſeries of their church and ſtate, and take them under his immediate care. This was what Henry aimed at. He accordingly no ſooner received the invitation, than he haſtened to comply with it; and, towards the cloſe of autumn, paſſed over to Normandy at the head of a powerful army.

Henry landed at Barfleur, and as ſoon as his arrival was known the Norman nobility immediately repaired to his camp; but the ſeaſon being too far advanced, he did not think it prudent to commence hoſtilities againſt Robert. Many of the Norman and Engliſh barons now feared the conſequences that might attend an open rupture between the two brothers, and laboured aſſiduouſly to bring about a reconciliation. Their endeavours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs that Robert paid a viſit to Henry, and, by the interpoſition of ſome of the moſt moderate noblemen on each ſide, their diſputes ſeemed to be amicably terminated. But this was far from being the caſe. Henry's deſign was to make a conqueſt of the country, and therefore, after taking leave of his brother, he ſeized the ſtrong towns of Bayeaux and Caen belonging to Robert, and having garriſoned them with Engliſh troops, returned to his dominions.

This was an act contrary to the laws both of nature and nations. Robert ſent a letter to his brother remonſtrating with him on his conduct; but Henry, inſtead of paying any attention to his complaints, treated them with contempt, and in the beginning of the following year went over to Normandy at the head of a powerful army. He opened the campaign with the ſiege of Tanchibray; and it became ſufficiently evident both from his preparations and progreſs that he intended to uſurp the entire poſſeſſion of Normandy. Robert was now rouſed from his accuſtomed indolence, and being joined by the earl of Mortaigne and Robert de Belleſme, earl of Shrewſbury (two inveterate enemies to Henry) he ſoon raiſed a conſiderable army, with which he marched towards his brother's camp, intending to finiſh, by one deciſive battle, the diſpute between them. He was now entered upon that ſcene of action, in which alone he was qualified to excel; and, accordingly, he ſo animated the Norman troops by his example, that they made great havock among the Engliſh, and had nearly obtained the victory, when Belleſme ſuddenly drawing off his forces, the reſt of the army was thrown into the utmoſt diſorder, and, in a ſhort time, totally defeated. Among the noble priſoners taken by Henry were the duke himſelf, and Edgar Atheling, the latter of whom had followed Robert in his expedition to Jeruſalem, and returning with him had taken up his reſidence in the court of Normandy.

This victory was followed by the entire reduction of the country. Rouen immediately ſubmitted to the conqueror. Falais, after ſome negotiation, opened its gates; and, by this acquiſition, beſides making himſelf maſter of an important fortreſs, Henry got into his hands the perſon of prince William, the only ſon and heir of Robert. In conſequence of this ſucceſs Henry called together an aſſembly of the ſtates of Normandy, and having received homage from all the heads of the duchy, and ſettled the government, he returned to England, bringing with him as priſoners his brother Robert and Edgar Atheling. The unfortunate Robert was detained in priſon during the remainder of his life, which was twenty-eight years when he died in the caſtle of Cardiff, in Glamorganſhire. Henry gave Edgar Atheling his liberty, and ſettled on him a ſmall penſion, with which he retired, and continued in privacy during the remainder of his life. Prince William was left in Normandy under the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's daughter, and who, being a man of diſtinguiſhed probity and honour, diſcharged his truſt with the greateſt fidelity.

A. D. 1107. The famous controverſy between Henry and Anſelm the primate, was now drawing to a concluſion. The deputies returned from Rome, and brought with them an excommunicative letter from Paſchal the pope to the king, for his having aſſumed the right of inveſtitures. Henry concealed the contents of this letter, and prevailed on the biſhops who brought it to declare, that the pope did not diſapprove of his granting benefices, though he did not chuſe to declare his opinion in writing. Anſelm, who was well acquainted with every thing that had paſſed at Rome, ſupported the cauſe he had

had undertaken with firmneſs and reſolution. He not only refuſed to conſecrate ſome new biſhops, who had received inveſtiture from the king, but alſo to communicate with them. Henry was irritated to the higheſt degree; and the prelate, to avoid the ſtorm which he ſaw gathering, retired to Rome. The people were alarmed at the departure of the archbiſhop, and dreaded the conſequences of an excommunication. They beheld, in idea, the flames of diſſention and diſcord lighted up by the dreadful torch of religious fury. Henry himſelf was deſirous of avoiding the conſequences, and diſpatched an ambaſſador to Rome, who told the pope, that his maſter would ſooner loſe his crown than part with the right of granting inveſtitures. "And I, replied Paſchal, would rather loſe my head than allow him to retain it." Thus every thing indicated a rupture between Henry and the pope: but the former not chuſing to hazard the conſequences of the pontiff's great authority, wiſely gave up the claim of inveſtitures, on which Paſchal conſented to his exacting from the biſhops the homage they owed him as temporal peers. Thus was an accommodation at length happily effected; and Anſelm, returning to England, was reinſtated in his archiepiſcopal dignity.

A. D. 1108. In the beginning of this year, Henry convened a general aſſembly of the ſtates, in which, at the requeſt of his nobles, he removed ſeveral cuſtoms that had been long oppreſſive to his ſubjects, among which were the following: His court and attendants had, for ſome time, claimed the privilege of living upon free quarter, in all places through which their maſter paſſed. This occaſioned the land to be abandoned by the inhabitants, when they ſuſpected a royal progreſs; for the inſolent attendants ſpoiled and plundered all that came in their way, while the people retired, with all the proviſion they could carry off, into woods and receſſes. But an effectual ſtop was now put to this abuſe by the king's proclamation, which inflicted ſevere corporal puniſhments on all who, in future, ſhould be guilty of the like depredations.

Another grievance, which particularly called aloud for redreſs, was, defacing the current coin of the kingdom. Small money, ſuch as pence and half-pence, were often broken by the country people, for the convenience of change; by which means, when they were not divided into equal pieces, the ſmaller ones remained in the hands of the proprietor, to his great prejudice. This abuſe, which had come to a great height, was remedied by the coining of pence in one round piece, with two creaſes interſecting it into four equal parts, ſo that, by breaking it according to thoſe creaſes, it might fall into two half-pence, or four farthings.

A. D. 1109. In this year, the famous Anſelm, archbiſhop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature, univerſally regretted by the clergy. He was a prelate of great learning, conſidering the age in which he lived; but ſo ambitious and haughty, that he greatly hurt the peace of the church, which it was his duty to preſerve. Power, and not piety, was the end he wiſhed to attain. He ſacrificed internal purity to external magnificence, and preferred the ſhadow to the ſubſtance of religion.

About this time ambaſſadors arrived from Henry IV. emperor of Germany, to demand Matilda, Henry's daughter, in marriage; and the terms of the treaty were adjuſted in the preſence of the council. In conſequence of this treaty, Henry impoſed an extraordinary tax of three ſhillings upon every hide of land throughout the kingdom, by which he raiſed a noble portion for his daughter, who did not leave England till the following year.

A. D. 1110—1116. Though Henry had for ſome time, been maſter of his brother's territories, he found it very difficult to defend his uſurpation. He was frequently involved in wars; and for ſeveral years found it neceſſary at times to croſs the ſeas, in order to ſtop the inroads of the neighbouring princes and diſcontented barons. William, the ſon of duke Robert, who was left in the care of his brother-in-law, had taken up his reſidence in the court of Anjou, where he became ſo beloved that a reſolution was formed by the neighbouring princes, of obtaining for him the dominions of his father. Lewis king of France was at the head of this aſſociation, and accordingly joining the other princes, he marched a conſiderable body of forces into Normandy, with a reſolution of ſupporting William in his juſt rights againſt all the power of the uſurper. Henry was now ſufficiently alarmed, and accordingly went over to Normandy at the head of a powerful army. But he was too far advanced for any military operations of conſequence to take place; and the two armies, after a few ſkirmiſhes of no material conſequence, retired into winter quarters.

A. D. 1119. The two ſucceeding campaigns were ſpent to very little purpoſe. Henry was obliged to act on the defenſive, and the allied army made but a ſlow progreſs in reducing the fortified towns in Normandy. At length, Henry, having gained over the earl of Anjou to his intereſt, was able to meet the enemy in the open field. The two armies met in the plain of Brenneville, when a bloody battle enſued, which was continued with great fury for ſome time, when fortune ſeemed inclined to give the palm of victory to the French and Norman army. Henry himſelf began to tremble for the conſequences. In this alarming criſis the Engliſh, who formed the rear of Henry's army, advanced, and charged the enemy with ſuch fury, that, unable to ſuſtain the ſhock, they gave way, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation. All attempts to rally them proved fruitleſs. Lewis himſelf was hurried away with the torrent, thrown from his horſe, and eſcaped by the aſſiſtance of a peaſant, who conducted him from this dreadful ſcene of confuſion, through woods and bye-paths, to the caſtle of Andeli.

A. D. 1120. Lewis, after this defeat, thinking it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to obtain the duchy for the young prince by force of arms, applied to the council of Rheims, aſſembled by pope Calixtus II. flattering himſelf with being able to turn the indignation of the pontiff againſt the Engliſh monarch. Aware of the danger, Henry took the moſt prudent method to divert the ſtorm. He ſent large preſents to Calixtus, and brought him over to his intereſt; ſo that all the attempts of Lewis were rendered abortive. The pope declared himſelf ſatisfied with the reaſons Henry had given for his conduct, and diſſolved the aſſembly. A peace was ſoon after concluded between the contending monarchs, and Henry continued maſter of the dominions of Normandy.

Peace being thus reſtored on the continent, Henry flattered himſelf that his public proſperity would inſure to him an inexhauſtible ſource of private

happineſs; but in this expectation he was diſappointed by a domeſtic calamity that embittered the remainder of his life. William, his own ſon, who had been recognized as his ſucceſſor in a general council of the nation, and attended him into Normandy, was now on his return with his father to England. The ſhip in which the prince embarked was, by ſome accident, detained ſeveral hours after the reſt of the fleet, and the interval being ſpent in drinking, neither the maſter, nor any of the ſeamen were capable of directing the ſhip, in conſequence of which ſhe ſtruck upon a rock and foundered. All was now a ſcene of hurry and confuſion: the boats were hoiſted out, and every one endeavoured to provide for his own ſafety. The prince, with a conſiderable number of his attendants, leaped into the long boat, and, with great difficulty, got clear of the ſhip. But hearing the loud ſhrieks of his natural ſiſter the counteſs of Perche, he inſiſted on the boat being rowed back, in hopes of ſaving her. The ſailors accordingly obeyed, but they no ſooner reached the ſide of the ſhip, than ſuch numbers jumped into the boat that ſhe overſet, immediately ſunk, and they all periſhed. A butcher of Rouen, by clinging to the maſt, was the only perſon ſaved, and by whoſe means the circumſtances of this tragical accident were made known. The king, on hearing the melancholy news, fainted away; and it is recorded he was never ſeen to laugh from that moment to the day of his death.

A. D. 1121. The late melancholy accident having deprived Henry of an heir to the throne, and his amiable queen Matilda being dead, he determined to engage in a ſecond marriage with Adelais, daughter of Geoffrey, earl of Louvain. He accordingly ſummoned a council at London, where the match being propoſed and approved, deputies were appointed to carry on the negotiation, and the whole was tranſacted with ſuch expedition, that the nuptials were ſolemnized at Windſor in the month of February following.

A. D. 1122. In the beginning of this year Ralph, archbiſhop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature, which circumſtance occaſioned a very warm conteſt between the monaſtic and ſecular clergy concerning the ſucceſſion to the Metropolitan ſee; but at length the king decided it in favour of the former, by nominating William de Corboil, abbot of the monaſtery of St. Oſyth, to ſupply the vacancy, who, being approved by the council, was ſoon after conſecrated by William biſhop of London.

About this time Fulk earl of Anjou ſent an embaſſy to Henry, demanding his daughter, who was contracted in marriage to the late prince William. She had fortunately come over with the king, and by that means eſcaped the fate of her huſband. Henry complied with the demand, and the young lady was immediately ſent back to her father.

A. D. 1123. This year Henry received advice of a confederacy being formed againſt him in Normandy. It conſiſted of ſome of the firſt perſons among the Norman nobility, who, from Henry's having no children, revived the claim of William, ſon to duke Robert. Theſe noblemen were ſupported by the earl of Anjou, who now gave his eldeſt daughter in marriage to the prince of Normandy, and with her the duchy of Maine; aſſuring him, at the ſame time, that he would aſſiſt him with all his forces to recover his paternal inheritance. Henry, not being in a condition to go over to Normandy himſelf, diſpatched thither his natural ſon Robert, and Ranulph, earl of Cheſter, with what forces they could collect, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the inſurgents. On their arrival in Normandy they were joined by all the king's troops in that duchy; but the confederates not having committed any act of hoſtility, they employed their time in making the neceſſary preparations for oppoſition, by viſiting all the fortified places, and putting them in the beſt poſture of defence.

During theſe tranſactions Henry received a viſit from cardinal de Crema, who came over as the pope's legate. He was received in the moſt pompous manner, but at the ſame time given to underſtand, that he muſt not attempt to make innovations in the kingdom, or do any thing prejudicial to the royal prerogative. He, however, aſſembled a general council at London, in which he preſided, and enacted, among other rigorous laws, a ſevere canon againſt marriage among the clergy, which he affirmed to be a moſt notorious crime. This excited the general indignation of the people, and to prevent any bad conſequences that might enſue, Henry ſent William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to Rome, in order to claim the independency of the metropolitan power. But the prelate, inſtead of ſupporting, betrayed the cauſe of the Engliſh prieſthood, and returned veſted with a legative power, by authority of which he called a ſynod at Weſtminſter, and confirmed the canon againſt marriage among the clergy.

While Robert and the earl of Cheſter were repairing and augmenting the fortifications in Normandy, Henry was providing both money and troops in England, and about the middle of the ſummer, A. D. 1124, he embarked, and landed his forces at Rouen, where he ordered a general rendezvous of his army. But no action of conſequence happened during the whole courſe of the campaign; both parties employing themſelves in ſtrengthening their reſpective intereſts with the people and nobles. In the mean time, the king of France ſupplied the conſpirators with all kinds of neceſſaries, though he had not yet declared himſelf in their favour. Henry, therefore, thinking it more ſafe to have an open than a ſecret enemy, declared war againſt France, and both parties made preparations for taking the field early in the ſpring.

A. D. 1125. In the beginning of the month of March the French king, at the head of his forces, entered Normandy, and being joined by the army of the inſurgents, proceeded with all expedition towards Rouen; they were met on the way by the royal army, which had been increaſed by draughts from all the neighbouring garriſons, in order to oppoſe their progreſs. Henry's army was commanded by William earl of Tankerville, who concealed the greater part of his men in a bottom, where they could not be ſeen by the enemy. Having formed this ſtratagem, he engaged the inſurgents, at the head of a ſmall body of troops, near the village of Teroud, about eight miles diſtant from Rouen. At firſt the French bore down all before them, upon which Tankerville retreated with very little loſs towards the place where his men were planted in ambuſh, who ſuddenly ruſhing out entirely ſurrounded the enemy. The battle now became general, and laſted for ſome time with great obſtinacy on both ſides, but at length victory declared in favour of the Engliſh, great numbers of the enemy being ſlain, many taken priſoners, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

After this victory Henry marched againſt all the caſtles and forts belonging to the conſpirators, moſt of which ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, and the

the reſt after a very feeble reſiſtance. Additional works were now raiſed round Rouen, and the fortications of many other important places repaired and enlarged.

A. D. 1126. Having terminated the diſturbances on the continent, Henry returned to England, and on his arrival found the people in general very diſcontented, on account of the enormous taxes that had been impoſed upon them for ſupplying the exigencies of the campaign in Normandy, while the miſeries ſuffered by the lower ſort had almoſt driven them to deſpair. The perſons entruſted with the government during his abſence had almoſt totally neglected the executive part of juſtice, by which robberies, thefts and murders were become ſo frequent, and perpetrated in ſo open and daring a manner throughout the whole kingdom, that neither the life nor property of any perſon was ſecure. Henry, therefore, made it his firſt care to reform theſe abuſes, and enacted ſeveral ſevere laws againſt all diſturbers of the public peace: at the ſame time he ordered forty-four criminals, who had been convicted of enormous crimes, to be executed, and puniſhed in the moſt exemplary manner.

Henry now began to deſpair of having any iſſue by his ſecond queen, ſhe having been married near five years without ſhewing the leaſt ſign of pregnancy. He therefore now directed his attention towards providing an heir to the crown, that his death might not occaſion the kingdom to be diſtracted by inteſtine wars. In order to this he determined, in his own mind, to ſettle the ſucceſſion on his daughter Matilda, who, on the demiſe of the emperor her huſband, had returned to England, and from her perſonal as well as mental qualifications, was univerſally beloved by the people. Having formed this reſolution, Henry ſummoned a convention of all the immediate dependents on the throne, at which were preſent David, king of Scotland, and Stephen, count of Boulogne, the king's nephew. Henry laid his intentions before them, which being approved of by the whole aſſembly, Matilda was declared preſumptive heir to all the poſſeſſions of her father.

A. D. 1127. Henry being deſirous of ſtrengthening his power by foreign alliance, now propoſed a marriage between his daughter and Geoffrey Plantagenet, ſon of the count of Anjou; and the overtures being accepted, the ceremony was no ſooner ſolemnized than the count relinquiſhed his territories in favour of his ſon, and ſet out for Jeruſalem to be inveſted with the ſovereignty of that kingdom, vacant by the death of Baldwin earl of Flanders. In promoting this marriage the king rather provided for his own intereſt, than conſulted the honour or inclination of his daughter, who certainly derogated from the royal dignity, by eſpouſing a ſubject, merely from the impulſe of obedience to the will of her father.

A. D. 1128. Henry having thus attached to his intereſt a very powerful nobleman, reſolved to go over to the continent, and chaſtize the French for having ſo ſtrongly eſpouſed the cauſe of his nephew. Accordingly having raiſed a powerful army he went over to France, and laid ſiege to Aloſt, which made ſuch a reſiſtance that William prince of Normandy had time to come to its relief. In conſequence of this a battle enſued, and Henry would, in all probability, have been conquered, had not William been mortally wounded with a lance, of which he languiſhed five days, and then expired. This accident, together with the great ſuperiority of Henry's army, induced Lewis to conclude a peace with the Engliſh monarch; and as Robert had now no legitimate iſſue, Henry was left the undoubted heir to the duchy of Normandy.

Having made peace with Lewis, the king entered into an alliance with Theodoric, who had married Sibilla, his daughter-in-law, while the Normans, now from compulſion, quietly acquieſced in his government. At the ſame time, to conciliate their affection, he extended his forgiveneſs to all who implored his mercy, and attached many perſons of property and influence to his intereſt, by acts of benevolence and generoſity. He likewiſe releaſed ſome of the principal people who had been concerned in the late conſpiracy, reinſtated them in their poſts, and reſtored to them all their lands and poſſeſſions.

Henry, having thus fully ſecured himſelf in the poſſeſſion of Normandy, returned with his army to England, which he found in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity; and he had now the greateſt reaſon to hope that his life, which had hitherto been tempeſtuous and cloudy, would be cloſed in ſerenity.

A. D. 1130. In the ſpring of this year Henry took the opportunity of viſiting Normandy, to which he was invited as well from his natural affection for that country, as his tenderneſs for his daughter Matilda. Some time after his arrival that princeſs was delivered of a ſon, who was named Henry, and afterwards ſucceeded to the throne of England.

The king continued in Normandy for three ſucceſſive years, and then returned to England; but it was only to take a view of the general ſtate of public affairs, which having done, he again went over to the continent with a reſolution of ſpending the remainder of his days in his native country.

A. D. 1134. While Henry was enjoying his eaſe in Normandy, his brother Robert, whom he had, for ſome years, treated with great cruelty, paid the debt of nature in the caſtle of Cardiff. He was a prince of great humanity, affability and generoſity, though, by his indolence and profuſion he loſt that crown to which he had ſuperior claim and which had been ſo unjuſtly uſurped by his brother. His remains were interred in the choir of the cathedral at Glouceſter.

A. D. 1135. The tranquillity of England was now in ſome meaſure diſturbed by the Welſh, who made incurſions in different parts of the kingdom. Intelligence of this being ſent to Henry, then in Normandy, he made preparations for a ſpeedy return to England. But he was prevented from his deſign, by a ſudden illneſs, occaſioned by his having too freely gratified himſelf at a meal upon lampreys, a ſort of food more pleaſing to the palate than conſiſtent with the preſervation of health.

Henry's diſeaſe increaſed ſo faſt that he was convinced his diſſolution was near at hand. He therefore ſent for Hugh, archbiſhop of Rouen, his natural ſon Robert, earl of Glouceſter, and ſeveral other noblemen, then in Normandy, to receive his laſt commands. He importuned them, in the moſt pathetic manner, to uſe their utmoſt intereſts in favour of his daughter Matilda, declaring her and her children, by lawful ſucceſſion, to be the heirs of all his dominions both in England and Normandy. He then ordered conſiderable ſums to be diſpoſed of in charitable uſes, and gave handſome preſents to all his domeſtics. He likewiſe directed that all his debts ſhould be diſcharged: that all forfeitures and mulcts, lately fallen to the crown, ſhould be remitted; that the exiles ſhould be reſtored to their country; and that all, who had been

been unjuſtly deprived of their eſtates, ſhould be reſtored to them, and ſuffered to enjoy them in peace and ſafety.

Henry, having thus ſettled his temporal concerns, reſigned himſelf up to the care of the clergy, and expired at the caſtle of Lyons, the firſt of December, A. D. 1135, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age, and thirty-ſixth of his reign. His body was carried the next day to Rouen, attended by a prodigious concourſe of people, and being there embalmed, was conveyed to Caen, and from thence to England, where it was interred in a monaſtery founded by himſelf at Reading in Berkſhire.

With reſpect to the character of Henry, it muſt be acknowledged he poſſeſſed all the qualities both of body and mind, natural and acquired, that could fit him for the high ſtation he attained. His perſon was manly, his countenance engaging, and his eyes clear, ſerene, and penetrating. The affability of his addreſs encouraged thoſe who might be over-awed by his dignity or wiſdom; and though he often indulged his facetious humour, he knew how to temper it with diſcretion, and always kept clear from any indiſcreet familiarities with his courtiers. His ſuperior eloquence and judgment would have given him an aſcendancy even had he been born in a private ſtation; and his perſonal bravery would have procured him reſpect, even though it had been leſs ſupported by art and policy. By his great progreſs in literature, he acquired the name of *Beauclerc*, or the ſcholar; but his application to theſe ſedentary purſuits did not leſſen the activity and vigilance of his government. He was a tender huſband, an affectionate parent, and a generous maſter. In ſhort, he poſſeſſed many valuable qualities, but theſe were unfortunately ſullied by a great number of faults. His behaviour to his brother and nephew have thrown ſuch a ſtain upon his memory as all his good actions can never obliterate. The bands of fraternal affection were ſeparated by the ſword of ambition; and the laws of juſtice, of humanity, and of nations, were ſacrificed at the ſhrine of unnatural uſurpation.

Henry was greatly addicted to women; and it is ſaid, by ſome hiſtorians, that he left behind him no leſs than ſeven illegitimate ſons, and ſix daughters.

In this king's reign, wheat to make bread for one hundred men one day was valued at one ſhilling; one ſheep at four-pence; one hide of land (as many acres as one team could plough) was taxed at one ſhilling per annum; and there being 244,400 hides ſouth of the Humber, this tax amounted to 12,220 pounds; to which may be added about an eighth for the lands north of the Humber.

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Henry I.

A. D.
1103 A violent ſtorm in England, which did conſiderable damage in various parts, but more particularly in London.
1110 The Arts and Sciences firſt taught at Cambridge.
1112 A dreadful plague in England, which in a ſhort time carried off prodigious numbers of the inhabitants.
1114 A remarkable drought, during which the river Thames was almoſt dry for three days.
1116 The firſt parliament held in England.
1117 The cities of Bath and Peterborough deſtroyed by fire.
1122 The order of Knights Templars inſtituted.
1123 Woodſtock Park made, the firſt in England.
1127 Churchwardens firſt appointed in England.
1132 A great part of London deſtroyed by an accidental fire.
1133 A violent earthquake in England, and a remarkable eclipſe of the ſun.

CHAP. IV.

STEPHEN.

Acceſſion of Stephen. War with Scotland. Inſurrection in favour of Matilda. Stephen taken priſoner. Matilda choſen to the ſovereignty. Stephen reſtored. Civil wars. Compromiſe between the king and prince Henry. Death and character of Stephen.

A. D. 1135. THOUGH the late king had taken every prudent meaſure he could deviſe for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the Engliſh throne to his daughter Matilda, yet all his precautions were rendered abortive by the ambition of Stephen earl of Boulogne, on whom he had beſtowed very conſiderable poſſeſſions both in England and Normandy.

Stephen had entertained the thoughts of aſpiring to the crown long before the death of Henry, which event no ſooner took place, than he immediately reſolved to carry the deſign into execution. He had ſworn fealty to Matilda; but fidelity was not in the catalogue of Stephen's virtues. He flattered himſelf that riches and artifice would be ſufficient to over-balance the claim of that princeſs, and therefore haſtened with all expedition to England, in order to ſeize by uſurpation that crown which had adorned the brow of his patron.

The late monarch had made Henry, the younger brother of Stephen, abbot of Glaſtonbury, and biſhop of Wincheſter. He was of an active and turbulent diſpoſition; bold, diſſembling and faithleſs; ready to conform himſelf to the circumſtances of the times, and always preferred his own intereſt to that of his country. By a pleaſing addreſs and fluency of ſpeech he had gained the eſteem and admiration of the populace, while his familiar deportment procured him diſtinguiſhed reſpect from the clergy. The biſhop of Saliſbury was alſo a man of diſtinguiſhed abilities, very rich, and likewiſe had great influence over the people.

Theſe two prelates exerted themſelves with the moſt unwearied diligence to incenſe the minds of the people againſt Matilda, and ſuch was their ſucceſs, that when Stephen arrived in London, he was received with open arms by the citizens, who unanimouſly acknowledged him as their lawful king. In conſequence of this the two prelates jointly applied to William, archbiſhop of Canterbury, requeſting him to inveſt Stephen with the vacant ſovereignty, by an immediate performance of the ceremony of coronation. The primate declined a compliance, as being incompatible with the oath of fidelity he had lately ſworn to Matilda; but an expedient, as diſgraceful as the other meaſures by which the deſigns of the two prelates were anſwered, was contrived for removing the archbiſhop's objection. They prevailed on Hugh Bigod, ſteward of the houſhold, to ſwear, in the moſt ſolemn manner, before the primate, that the king, upon his

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STEPHEN.

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born
Anno 1105.

Crowned
December 2. 1135.

Died
May 3. 1151.

30 31 JAN

his death-bed, expreſſed himſelf highly diſſatisfied with his daughter Matilda, and that his intention was to conſtitute Stephen ſole heir to his dominions. This oath removed all the ſcruples of the archbiſhop, and on the 26th of December Stephen was crowned with the uſual ceremonies.

Immediately after the ceremony Stephen took poſſeſſion of the late king's treaſures, amounting to an hundred thouſand pounds beſides plate and jewels. This enabled him to procure an aſcendancy over the more inferior clergy and nobility, who, from mercenary views, admitted his claim, and ſupported his meaſures, though they knew the firſt to be founded on injuſtice, and foreſaw that the others would be productive of national calamities.

Conſcious of the neceſſity of making ſome conceſſions to a people over whom he had arrogated the ſovereign power, Stephen began his reign with paſſing a charter, whereby he promiſed many advantages to the clergy, particularly, that on the demiſe of a biſhop he would inſtantly give the inveſtiture to the perſon appointed by a regular canonical election. He promiſed the nobility that they ſhould not be proſecuted for taking the diverſion of hunting in the royal foreſts; and to the people, that the tax of Danegelt ſhould be aboliſhed, and the laws of Edward the Confeſſor preſerved in their fulleſt extent.

Theſe flattering acts were the artifices of Stephen's ambition, and the ſtratagems he uſed to keep the crown of England on his head. But it was not long before he found the Engliſh noblemen were determined to make him keep his promiſes, and not, like his predeceſſors, break them as ſoon as he was firmly fixed in the ſeat of power.

Robert, earl of Glouceſter, a natural ſon of the deceaſed monarch, led the way to theſe neceſſary reſolutions. He was determined to ſupport the cauſe of Matilda; but the power of Stephen rendered it neceſſary for him to conceal his deſign. He accordingly ſwore allegiance to Stephen, but with this reſerve, that no innovation ſhould be made on his rights and dignities. Stephen ſaw the full force of this condition, but the great influence of that popular nobleman rendered it neceſſary to receive him upon theſe terms. The clergy, pleaſed with the cautious reſerve of Glouceſter, annexed conditions to their oath of allegiance: they declared that it ſhould be binding no longer than while he defended the eccleſiaſtical liberties of England, and ſupported the diſcipline of the church. The barons were determined not to be wanting to themſelves in this fortunate criſis: they, therefore required, in return for their ſubmiſſion, the liberty of fortifying and putting their own caſtles in a poſture of defence.—The king was ſenſible, that if he rejected the terms preſcribed, his authority would be rendered very precarious: he therefore judged it expedient to acquieſce in the demands of his ſubjects, as being the ſureſt methods of ſecuring that crown he had taken ſuch illegal methods to obtain.

A. D. 1137. It was not long before Stephen was fully convinced of the licentious and turbulent deſigns of his nobles. Many of them had no ſooner finiſhed the fortifications of their caſtles, than they renounced their allegiance, and ſet the power of the crown at defiance. Stephen now ſaw his error, but it was too late to correct it. Freſh diſturbances aroſe every day, and the whole kingdom was threatened with all the horrors of a civil war. It was in vain to attempt the removal of theſe enormities by reaſon or perſuaſions. Stephen, therefore, made his own power the ſole meaſure of his conduct. He ſacrificed to the rage of deſpotic government both his own conceſſions, and the antient privileges of his ſubjects. His authority was chiefly ſupported by mercenary ſoldiers, who, having exhauſted the royal treaſury, ſubſiſted by depredations. Hence diſcontents among the people, and complaints againſt the adminiſtration, were loud in every quarter, and the whole country was rendered a ſhocking ſcene of turbulence and confuſion.

While the king was meditating plans for reſtoring public tranquillity, Robert, earl of Glouceſter was not leſs aſſiduouſly engaged in projecting meaſures for effecting a revolution; and having ſettled all preliminary points with his friends, he retired to Normandy, from whence he diſpatched to Stephen a formal renunciation of his allegiance, upbraiding him with having violated the ſtipulations annexed to his oath of fealty.

A. D. 1138. In the beginning of this year David king of Scotland (who had reſolved to uſe his utmoſt efforts to procure his ſiſter Matilda the poſſeſſion of her hereditary dominons) entered England at the head of a powerful army, and penetrated as far as Northallerton in Yorkſhire. Stephen marched at the head of his forces againſt him, and a deſperate battle enſued, which was maintained, for ſome time, with great obſtinacy on both ſides, but at length victory declared in favour of Stephen. The Scottiſh army was entirely routed, and David, being hurried away with the torrent, was obliged to retreat to Carliſle, where he was afterwards joined by his ſon, and great part of his army. This battle was diſtinguiſhed by the name of the battle of the Standard, on account of a lofty crucifix placed on a waggon accompanying the Engliſh army as an enſign.

The defeat of the Scots might have been fatal to the intereſts, both of David and his ſiſter, had Stephen known how to profit by his victory. But flattering himſelf that he had now ſecured full poſſeſſion of the throne, he ſet no bounds to his ambition. He engaged in a controverſy with his clergy, to whom he was indebted for the crown, and to whoſe authority he could not be a ſtranger. They had aſſumed the privilege of acting entirely as barons, without a proper regard to the duties of their profeſſional characters. Inſtead of exerting their endeavours to prevent the diſturbances occaſioned by the laity, they became parties in, and promoters of, petty inſurrections and tyrannical ravages. Two ſtrong fortreſſes, one at Sherborne, and the other at the Devizes, had been erected and fortified by the biſhop of Saliſbury, who had alſo laid the foundation of another caſtle at Malmeſbury; and his nephew, Alexander, biſhop of Lincoln, had built a ſtrong fortreſs at Newark. Alarmed at the increaſe of citadels in all parts of his dominions, the king determined to make ſome alteration in a matter which had ſo conſiderable an effect in weakening the power of the crown. As, therefore, the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion appeared to be wholly inconſiſtent, with military operations and the duties of war, he reſolved to begin his reform by deſtroying the fortreſſes erected by the clergy; and accordingly, having cauſed the biſhops of Saliſbury and Lincoln to be taken into cuſtody, he obliged them, by menaces, to deliver up their caſtles.

This bold attempt to infringe on the liberties of the church greatly alarmed the whole body of the clergy, and none more than Henry, biſhop of Win-

Wincheſter, who, having, a ſhort time before, been inveſted with legantine authority, convoked a Synod at Wincheſter, and ſummoned Stephen to appear in perſon. But the king was determined not to ſubject the civil to the eccleſiaſtical power, and therefore refuſed to obey the ſummons. He, however, ſent one Aubrey de Vere, the moſt learned lawyer of his age, to anſwer for him, who juſtified the king's proceedings with great eloquence and force of argument. He obſerved, that it was inconſiſtent with the functions of the clergy, as the preachers of peace, to engage in the tumults of civil diſcord; and that the caſtles they had erected and fortified could be conſidered in no other light than as the ſeats of diſcord and the aſylum of rebellion. The legate loſt all patience at this bold remonſtrance, and was juſt going to pronounce an eccleſiaſtical anathema on the king and all his adherents, when Aubrey gave him to underſtand, that whoever dared to pronounce any ſpiritual interdict againſt his ſovereign ſhould never live to behold the fruits of his inſolence. This ſpirited declaration had more effect than all his reaſoning. Aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs of the deputy, and dreading the conſequences of Stephen's reſentment, the ſynod did not think it prudent to proceed. The prelates therefore departed, and the two complaining biſhops were obliged to give up their fortreſſes.

A. D. 1139. The earl of Glouceſter being no ſtranger to the contentions between Stephen and the clergy, thought it a proper opportunity of attempting to obtain that crown which by right belonged to his ſiſter Matilda. Accordingly having prevailed on her to repair with him to England, they ſet ſail, attended by a retinue of one hundred and forty-knights, and, after a quick paſſage landed ſafe on the coaſt of Suſſex. The empreſs immediately repaired to Arundel caſtle, where ſhe was affectionately received by the queen dowager, who had eſpouſed William de Albini, earl of Suſſex; and the earl of Glouceſter repaired to Briſtol.

The arrival of the empreſs and her brother greatly alarmed Stephen. He was no ſtranger to the popularity of Glouceſter, and was fearful that the people would join his ſtandard, in order to place his ſiſter on the throne. He therefore advanced immediately to Arundel caſtle, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, in order to make himſelf maſter of that fortreſs. The queen dowager, alarmed at the approach of Stephen, diſpatched a meſſenger, requeſting him not to beſiege the empreſs in her palace, but give her liberty to retire to ſome other place, aſſuring him that ſhe had received her only as a gueſt, not as a competitor for the crown. Stephen readily complied with her requeſt, and the empreſs naming Briſtol as the place ſhe choſe for her reſidence, the king ordered his brother Walleran, earl of Mellent, to eſcort her to that city.

The empreſs no ſooner arrived at Briſtol, where ſhe was received by her brother Robert, at the head of a body of forces, than ſhe openly declared her title, and aſſerted her claim to the crown of England, requiring all her ſubjects to come and pay their allegiance. This produced the deſired effect: the people flocked to her ſtandard from all quarters, and ſeemed to vie with each other in duty and affection. But what greatly contributed to her ſucceſs was, the intereſt of Miles, high conſtable of England, who abandoned the party of Stephen, and declared for the empreſs. This nobleman was then in poſſeſſion of the caſtle and city of Glouceſter, one of the moſt important fortreſſes in the kingdom. He had alſo great intereſt with many powerful noblemen, and was poſſeſſed of immenſe riches, which he freely gave the empreſs for the ſupport of her cauſe. His example was followed by ſeveral other diſtinguiſhed barons, and the party of the empreſs was ſoon able to contend with Stephen for the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh crown.

A. D. 1140. The whole kingdom now became a ſcene of anarchy and confuſion, almoſt every individual declaring for one or other of the contending parties. The powerful barons attacked each others territories with all the rage of the moſt implacable enemy. Caſtles, churches, monaſteries, towns, and villages, were levelled to the ground, or laid in aſhes, to gratify the private animoſity of contending nobles, and the moſt inhuman cruelties were practiſed on the innocent inhabitants.

In this ſhocking exigence recourſe was had to negotiation, and ſeveral treaties made between the contending parties; but they all proved abortive, and the horrors of a civil war continued to increaſe. At length the diſpute was terminated by the ſword. Stephen marched at the head of his forces, and laid ſiege to the caſtle of Lincoln, which being conſidered as a place of the utmoſt importance, Glouceſter determined, if poſſible, to relieve it. He accordingly marched with the utmoſt expedition, and his troops having forded the Trent, appeared in the neighbourhood before Stephen had received any information of his approach. A general engagement was now unavoidable, and both armies prepared for a conteſt that was to decide the fate of the crown of England. The battle was begun by William de Ypres, one of Stephen's generals, and conſidered as the beſt officer of his time. He fell with the utmoſt fury on a body of Welſh poſted in the left wing, and put them to flight; but purſuing the broken ſquadron too far, his diviſion was charged in flank, and entirely broken. The earl of Glouceſter taking advantage of this ſucceſs, fell with amazing impetuoſity on the infantry, which compoſed the center of the royal army, where Stephen himſelf fought in perſon. The conteſt was dreadful, and the field covered with the ſlain. For ſome time it appeared as if the palm of victory would have fallen on Stephen, but it was loſt from the cowardice of his cavalry, who making a precipitate flight, his infantry were obliged to ſave themſelves by a retreat. Stephen, diſdaining to turn his back on the enemy, continued to fight with the moſt aſtoniſhing bravery, till at length receiving a blow with a ſtone, thrown by an unknown hand, he was felled to the ground, and obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to the duke of Glouceſter. He was treated with the greateſt reſpect by that accompliſhed nobleman; but experienced a moſt humiliating reverſe of fortune, on his being delivered into the hands of the empreſs. That imperious princeſs treated him with every indignity, committed him a cloſe priſoner to the caſtle of Briſtol, and ordered him to be heavily loaded with chains.

As ſoon as the friends of Stephen heard of his defeat and captivity, the greater part deſerted him: the city of London, and the county of Kent (where his queen, his ſon Euſtace, and his great friend and favourite William de Ypres ſtill retained their authority) were the only places that continued faithful to the impriſoned monarch. Even his brother, the biſhop of Wincheſter, courted the favour of the empreſs: the attractions of power were ſtronger than the bonds of fraternal affection.

Henry declared for Matilda, who, in return, promiſed him all the honours his ambition could deſire, or which a churchman could receive. Armed with the legantine authority and proud of diſplaying his power, he ſummoned a ſynod, and after aſſerting that the clergy only had the right of electing and ordaining kings, declared that the empreſs Matilda ſhould be placed on the throne of England. The only laymen ſummoned to this council were the deputies of London, who were ſo far from agreeing with the unexpected declararion of Henry, that they peremptorily demanded the liberty of their king. The legate only anſwered by laying before them the errors of Stephen's adminiſtration, upon which the deputies, after ſolemnly proteſting againſt the proceedings of the ſynod, returned to London; and Henry pronounced an anathema againſt all the adherents of the impriſoned monarch. Thus was the ſceptre of England diſpoſed of by an aſſembly of ambitious churchmen, who dared to trample upon the authority of the nobles, and deſpiſe the liberties of the people. The power of the mitre was exalted above the power of the crown; and the rights of Engliſhmen ſacrificed at the ſhrine of eccleſiaſtical tyranny.

A. D. 1141. The authority of Matilda ſeemed now to be firmly eſtabliſhed, and ſhe might probably have lived and died ſovereign of England, had it not been for her natural pride and inſolence, by which ſhe loſt the affections of thoſe who had ſo warmly eſpouſed her cauſe, and defeated all the deſigns of her brother the earl of Glouceſter.

Some time after Stephen's captivity, his queen, ſeconded by many of the nobility, petitioned Matilda for the liberty of her huſband: and offered, if their requeſt was granted, that he ſhould renounce the crown, and retire to a convent. Another matter was aſked for by Henry the legate, namely, that his nephew, prince Euſtace, might inherit Boulogne, with the other patrimonial eſtates of his father: and the Londoners ſolicited for the eſtabliſhment of king Edward's laws, inſtead of thoſe of king Henry, which they conſidered as grievous and oppreſſive. But all theſe petitions were rejected by the empreſs in the moſt haughty and peremptory manner.

The haughty prelate was ſo exaſperated at the denial of his requeſt from the perſon who had obtained ſuch power from his authority, that he determined on a ſevere revenge. Accordingly, availing himſelf of the general diſcontent excited by the imperious conduct of Matilda, he ſecretly inſtigated the Londoners to a revolt, and a conſpiracy was accordingly formed for ſeizing the perſon of the empreſs. By ſome means or other Matilda received intelligence of this deſign, and retired haſtily to Glouceſter, in order to have recourſe to the counſel of the earl of Hereford, being diſguſted with her brother the earl of Glouceſter, who had adviſed her to purſue conciliatory meaſures, contrary to her arbitrary inclinations. She, however, ſoon after repaired to Oxford, where ſhe ordered a general rendezvous of her troops and party.

While Matilda was taking meaſures for ſecuring her authority by force of arms, her brother the earl of Glouceſter was uſing his utmoſt efforts to bring about a reconciliation between her and the legate; but all his endeavours proving abortive, he went to Oxford, where he found the empreſs preparing to ſet out at the head of her army, with a deſign of reducing the caſtle of Wincheſter. She was attended by the earl of Hereford, and expected the arrival of the earl of Cheſter, who had promiſed to march to her aſſiſtance, but had privately made peace with the legate and the royal party. She, however, repaired with her army to Wincheſter, and with little difficulty ſoon obtained poſſeſſion of the fortreſs. The legate found means to withdrew himſelf before her arrival, and having aſſembled all his followers, he joined his force to that of the Londoners and Stephen's mercenary troops who had not yet evacuated the kingdom. With theſe reinforcements he marched againſt the empreſs, took the city of Wincheſter, and beſieged Matilda in the fortreſs.

The legate had furniſhed the caſtle with ſuch a ſtock of proviſions that the beſieged held out ſeven weeks, and every attempt to take it by aſſault was rendered abortive by the valour and conduct of the earl of Glouceſter. But famine at length effected what force had attempted in vain; and the garriſon had but one alternative, either to cut themſelves a paſſage through the legate's forces, or ſurrender at diſcretion. They choſe the former, and made the neceſſary preparations for the deſperate attempt. The care of the perſon of the empreſs was committed to the main body of their forces; while Glouceſter himſelf, at the head of a ſmall party, ſallied out of the caſtle, and attacked the beſiegers with the utmoſt fury. Alarmed at the vigour of this party of the beſieged, the legate's army left their poſts to repulſe this gallant and reſolute part of the garriſon. This produced the wiſhed-for opportunity, and the empreſs, with the principal part of the army, made her eſcape, and fled to Glouceſter; but her brother, being overpowered by numbers, was taken priſoner, and ſent, under a ſtrong guard, to the caſtle of Rocheſter.

The earl of Glouceſter, though only a ſubject, was as much the life of his own party as Stephen was of the other; and the empreſs, ſenſible of his merit, conſented to exchange the noble priſoners upon equal terms. The earl was accordingly brought to Wincheſter, to which city Stephen, (having been releaſed from his confinement) alſo repaired. The latter was a ſtranger to that haughtineſs ſo common to thoſe who diſpute for empire, and therefore held a familiar and, ſeemingly, friendly, diſcourſe with the earl; after which they took leave of each other, and Robert repaired to his ſiſter at Glouceſter.

A. D. 1142. The intrepid and faithful earl took every meaſure he could project for ſtrengthening the intereſt of his ſiſter Matilda; but it was eaſily foreſeen, that while the empreſs, by whoſe proud and arbitrary conduct all the advantages gained by her friends had been loſt, continued at the head of her party in England, they could never hope for ſucceſs. A general meeting, therefore, of her adherents were ſummoned to meet at the Devizes, where it was agreed, that Geoffrey Plantagenet, huſband to the empreſs, ſhould be requeſted to ſend over the young prince Henry, that he might appear at the head of his partizans in England. In conſequence of this reſolution the earl of Glouceſter went over to Normandy, which, during Stephen's captivity, had ſubmitted to the earl of Anjou. The earl ſucceeded in his commiſſion, and accordingly brought the young prince, with a reinforcement of four hundred men, to England.

During the abſence of Glouceſter, Stephen had ſurpriſed the caſtle of Wareham in Dorſetſhire, taken the city of Oxford, and beſieged the caſtle, where the empreſs had retired for ſafety. But on the landing of Glouceſter, affairs put on a more pleaſing aſpect: he made himſelf maſter of the caſtle at Wareham, took poſſeſſion of the iſland of Purbeck,

Purbeck, and advanced, at the head of an army, to raiſe the ſiege of Oxford Caſtle. Stephen had, for ſome time, preſſed the ſiege with the greateſt vigour; but the inclemency of the ſeaſon (the winter being now far advanced) had ſo reduced his army, that he had hardly troops ſufficient to ſurround the place. The empreſs took advantage of this, and (before her brother's arrival) made her eſcape to Wallingford, where ſhe was ſoon after joined by the earl; and Stephen, having reduced the caſtle of Oxford, returned to London.

A. D. 1143---1146. After Matilda's eſcape from Oxford, nothing material took place between the contending parties: a few caſtles, indeed, were taken, and ſome ſkirmiſhes happened between detachments from each party, but nothing deciſive. But at length a circumſtance happened of the utmoſt conſequence to the empreſs. The earl of Glouceſter, the principal ſupport of her cauſe, died of a fever, and was buried at Briſtol. In this accompliſhed nobleman the empreſs loſt the only perſon that deſerved her entire confidence, perhaps the only one that ſerved her without views of intereſt. He was prudent, intrepid, generous and ſincere; and an enemy to tyranny, injuſtice and deceit. He was beloved by his friends, his ſoldiers and his country. His death was lamented by the good and the virtuous, and even Stephen himſelf dropped a tear of reſpect to his memory.

The death of this gallant nobleman gave a mortal blow to the party of the empreſs. She ſaw it would be in vain for her to contend any longer for the crown. Her troops deſerted her, her friends behaved with coolneſs, and every thing indicated a ſad reverſe of fortune. She therefore immediately withdrew to the continent, leaving Stephen in full poſſeſſion of the throne.

A. D. 1148---1150. After the departure of Matilda the ſovereignty was preſerved by Stephen, without any interruption from the party of his competitor, and all things appeared likely to produce the reſtoration of tranquillity. But at length an event took place, which greatly endangered the peace of the nation. Prince Henry (the ſon of Matilda) was deſirous of receiving the honour of knighthood, a ceremony which every gentleman in that age paſſed through before he was admitted to the uſe of arms; and which was even conſidered as a requiſite for the greateſt princes. At the ſame time he propoſed to receive the ceremony from his great uncle David king of Scotland; and for that purpoſe paſſed through England with a large retinue, attended by the moſt conſiderable of his partizans. He ſtayed ſome time with the king of Scotland; made ſome excurſions into England, and, by his dexterity and vigour in all manly exerciſes, by his valour, and his prudent conduct on all occaſions, he rouzed the hopes of his party, and gave indications of being able, ſome time or other, to obtain that crown which had been loſt by the indiſcretion of Matilda.

Soon after Henry's return from Scotland, his father Geoffrey paid the debt of nature; a ſhort time before which he made his will, leaving young Henry all the honours and revenues of his duchy. The king of France, incenſed at Geoffrey's doing this without firſt obtaining his conſent, invaded Normandy, and laid ſiege to Arques. He imagined Henry was too young to make any great oppoſition: but in this he was miſtaken; for that gallant prince made ſo powerful a diverſion in France, during the abſence of Lewis, that the latter was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Arques, and march, with all expedition, to the defence of his own dominions. A peace was ſoon after concluded, and, Geoffrey Plantaganet being dead, young Henry took quiet poſſeſſion of the duchy of Normandy, together with the provinces of Anjou and Maine.

Some time after this Henry married Eleanor, daughter and heireſs of William, duke of Guienne, and earl of Poictou. This lady had been married ſixteen years to Lewis VII. king of France, and had attended him in a cruſade againſt the infidels; but her huſband, ſuſpecting her fidelity while abroad, procured a divorce, and reſtored to her the rich provinces of Guienne and Poictou, which, upon his marriage, became annexed to the crown of France. But neither the diſparity of years, nor the report circulated to the prejudice of the lady's character, were ſufficient to check the aſpiring ſpirit of young Henry, who, ſix weeks after the divorce, eſpouſed the princeſs, and conſequently became entitled to all her poſſeſſions.

A. D. 1151. While every thing ſeemed to forebode proſperity to the duke of Normandy, Stephen imprudently involved himſelf in a quarrel with the pope, though it muſt be acknowedged he had ſufficient reaſon for his conduct. The pontiff had ſummoned a council to meet at Rheims, but inſtead of permitting Stephen, or even the church of England, to elect the deputies required, the pope nominated them himſelf. Stephen complained loudly of this breach of national privilege; but Eugenius, who then filled the papal chair, regarded not his remonſtrances. Enraged at this inſult, the king would not ſuffer them to attend, and the pontiff, in revenge for this interpoſition, laid the kingdom under an interdict. By this ſentence all religious offices were ſuſpended, the churches ſhut up, and the dead not ſuffered to be interred in conſecrated ground. An univerſal terror was ſpread throughout the nation; and Stephen thought it neceſſary to make ſubmiſſion to the pope, in order to procure a reverſion of the ſentence.

A. D. 1152. Stephen was no ſtranger to the increaſing power and popularity of the duke of Normandy, and was fearful of the conſequences. In order, therefore, to ſecure the Engliſh ſceptre in his own family, he convened a council in London, at which he propoſed admitting his ſon Euſtace to an equal ſhare in the government. This being appproved, the archbiſhop of Canterbury was requeſted to anoint Euſtace as his ſucceſſor; but the primate abſolutely refuſed to aſſiſt in the ſolemnity. Incenſed at his denial, Stephen ordered the archbiſhop to be confined; but he found means to corrupt the guards, and getting his liberty, paſſed over to the continent. The departure of the primate rendered the king's attempt to ſecure the ſucceſſion in his family abortive; it being then conſidered, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury poſſeſſed an unalienable right to crown the kings of England.

A. D. 1153. The primate's refuſal of anointing Stephen's ſon as his ſucceſſor, greatly animated the party of Henry, who diſpatched meſſengers to Normandy requeſting him to repair to England, and attempt the recovery of a crown which had been wreſted from him by an uſurper. Henry readily liſtened to their importunities, immediately embarked, and landed on the 6th of January, at the head of a very ſmall body of troops; but their number was ſoon increaſed by the greater and moſt reſpectable part of the nobility in the kingdom.

Stephen saw the gathering storm, and laboured assiduously to break its force. He marched, at the head of his forces, to meet the duke of Normandy; but the badness of the roads so greatly retarded his progress, that Henry made himself master of several strong castles before Stephen could afford the garrisons the least relief. At length the two armies met in the neighbourhood of Wallingford, and made preparations for deciding, by a general action, the great contest for the English crown. But the nobles on both sides, willing to prevent the farther effusion of human blood, interposed their good offices, and a negotiation being proposed and agreed to, a suspension of arms was immediately proclaimed at the head of each army.

This circumstance gave great uneasiness to Eustace, who foresaw there could be no agreement between his father and a prince of Henry's ambitious temper, but what must be greatly to his prejudice. His late prospect of being raised to the throne embittered his reflections. He warmly expostulated with his father on the impropriety of coming to any accommodation with Henry. Stephen was far from being deficient in parental affection; but could not listen to his son's request: the necessities of the times compelled him to submit. Eustace, fired with resentment, left the army, and retired into Cambridgeshire, where he took the field at the head of an independent body of troops, and committed some depredations in different parts of the country; but did not long continue to practise these outrages, for he died soon after at St. Edmundsbury, and was buried at Feversham.

The death of Eustace greatly facilitated the negotiation then carrying on between Stephen and Henry. The bishop of Winchester was also now desirous of concluding a peace between the two princes. That pragmatical prelate, the flame of whose ambition had lighted up the torch of war that so long desolated the kingdom, seeing no prospect of the sceptre's continuing in his family, began now to cherish pacific sentiments. Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, who was returned to England, and reinstated in all his former dignities and possessions, laboured also with great earnestness to accomplish the desirable work of peace. The business was at length effected, and articles being drawn up, it was agreed to call a general council of the nobility at Winchester, in order to their being ratified. This was accordingly done, and the substance of the treaty was to this effect: that Stephen should enjoy the crown during his life, and that, on his death, Henry should succeed to the throne.

The treaty being thus concluded, the barons did homage to Henry as lawful heir to the crown, and the two princes repaired to London, that Henry might receive the fealty of the citizens. On their arrival in the capital, the people testified their satisfaction by the loudest acclamations, and Henry, after staying only a few days, embarked for Normandy, leaving Stephen in quiet possession of the throne.

A. D. 1154. Being now freed from all apprehensions of an enemy, Stephen solely directed his attention to remove the sufferings of the people, and heal the wounds of his distressed country. He reformed many abuses, made several wise and salutary laws, and gave many instances of his great abilities and love of justice. In short, he seemed as if resolved to devote the remainder of his days to the ease and benefit of his subjects, to pursue every method for securing their properties, protecting their persons, and diffusing through the whole kingdom universal tranquillity. But while he was employed in these offices of justice and humanity, he was seized with a disorder called the *illiac passion*, of which he died on the 25th of October, in the 50th year of his age, and 19th of his reign. His remains were interred in the abbey church of Feversham, which had been founded by himself, and where, a short time before, were deposited the remains of his wife, and son.

Ambition was the ruling passion of Stephen. To gratify this darling object, he trampled on the laws of justice, and plunged an innocent people into all the horrors of civil discord. But at the same time it must be acknowledged, that he was a prince of great fortitude, courage, activity and generosity. He harboured not the passion of revenge, and malevolence seems to have been a stranger to his breast. He dispensed justice impartially to his subjects, and cherished the virtue of forgiveness. In short, he possessed so many good qualities, that had he ascended the throne by right of inheritance, and lived in less troublesome times, his administration would, in all probability, have produced honour to himself, and happiness to his subjects.

Remarkable Occurences during the reign of Stephen.

A. D.

1135 On the day Stephen landed to take upon him the sovereignty of England, there happened a most dreadful storm of thunder and lightning, which being in the winter season was considered by the people as an omen of those troubles that afterwards took place throughout the kingdom.

1149 This year there fell so much rain in the summer season that all the fruits of the earth were destroyed, and a dreadful famine ensued, which lasted for some time, till relief could be obtained from foreign countries.

On the 9th of December, in the same year began a very severe frost. It continued till the 9th of February following, during which time the river Thames was entirely frozen over, so as to admit a passage not only for people, but likewise for horses and carriages.

1150 On the 21st of March there happened a remarkable eclipse of the sun, by which it was so dark that candles were lighted at noon-day, and near the sun were seen several stars.

1154 The canon law first introduced into England.

BOOK VII.

From the Acceſſion of Henry II. to the Death of King John.

CHAP. I.

HENRY II. ſurnamed PLANTAGENET.

Acceſſion of Henry II. Firſt acts of his government. Henry marches againſt the Welſh. Goes over to France, and lays ſiege to Thouloufe, but, on the arrival of Lewis, raiſes the ſiege, makes peace with the French monarch, and returns to England. Goes again to France, and, with Lewis, pays diſtinguiſhed homage to the pope. Returns, and reſolves to make a reform among the clergy, to facilitate which he appoints Thomas a Becket to the ſee of Canterbury. Violent diſputes between the king and Becket. Conſtitutions of Clarendon. Becket, after behaving in an inſolent manner to the king, retires privately, and flies to the court of France. Henry paſſes over to the continent, in order to bring about a reconciliation with Becket; but without effect. Returns to England, and aſſembles a parliament at Windſor. Gets his eldeſt ſon Henry crowned, and ſerves the firſt diſh at his table. Goes over to the continent, and an accommodation takes place between him and Becket, who is reſtored to his archiepiſcopal dignities, but ſoon after aſſaſſinated. Compromiſe between Henry and the court of Rome. Conqueſt of Ireland. Revolt of young Henry and his brothers. Wars abroad, and inſurrections at home. Remarkable penance of Henry for the murder of Becket. William, king of Scotland, defeated and taken priſoner. Henry goes over to France, and an accommodation takes place between him and his ſons. Returns to England, and makes many wiſe regulations for the good of his ſubjects. Prince Henry again revolts, but ſoon after dies. His brother Geoffrey follows his example, but is ſtopped in his unnatural deſigns by being killed in a tournament. Revolt of prince Richard. Death and character of Henry.

A. D. 1154. AT the time Henry received intelligence of Stephen's death, he was engaged in beſieging a caſtle belonging to one of his mutinous barons on the frontiers of Normandy; but conſcious that his great power and popularity would prevent any ſchemes being formed for interrupting his ſucceſſion, and relying on the veneration in which he knew his perſon to be held in England, he determined to perſevere in his attempt of reducing the fortreſs, and accordingly continued the ſiege till the garriſon ſurrendered. As ſoon as this was accompliſhed he embarked for England, where he landed on the 8th of December, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people; and on the 19th of the ſame month he and his queen were crowned at Weſtminſter by Theobald, then archbiſhop of Canterbury.

A. D. 1155. The Engliſh had conceived very flattering ideas of the virtues and abilities of Henry; and the firſt acts of his government convinced them that their ideas were juſtly founded. He diligently applied himſelf to the removal of thoſe complaints which had been ſo general, in the late turbulent reign. He diſmiſſed the mercenary ſoldiers of Stephen, by which the kingdom was freed from a burthen that had occaſioned the moſt affecting complaints. The bands of robbers, who ſo long ravaged the country, were deſtroyed, and every ſpecies of violence ſuppreſſed: the powerful were reſtrained from acts of tyranny, and the licentious from diſturbing the repoſe of the peaceable and harmleſs. The laws were executed with proper authority; nor did any dare diſpute the power of the magiſtrate. The fortreſſes raiſed by the nobles, who had ſo often ſpread deſolation over various counties, were demoliſhed, except only a few, which were retained on account of their advantageous ſituation for the defence of the kingdom.

Henry was far from wanting aſſiſtance in eſtabliſhing theſe meaſures of national utility; he was ſupported by the people at large, and had nothing to fear but from a few turbulent barons, who at firſt oppoſed the deſtruction of their caſtles, but in a ſhort time quietly ſubmitted. Henry alſo paſſed a charter of liberties in which he confirmed all thoſe privileges which had been granted by his grandfather Henry I. By theſe, and other acts of popularity, Henry obtained the univerſal affection of his ſubjects, and perfect tranquillity was ſoon eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom.

A. D. 1156. In the beginning of this year Henry embarked for Normandy, in order to puniſh the inſolence of his brother Geoffrey, who had made incurſions into Anjou and Maine, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the principal parts of thoſe provinces. Henry no ſooner diſembarked than his claims were univerſally acknowledged; upon which Geoffrey finding it would be in vain to contend with the ſuperior power of his brother, reſigned his claims for an annual penſion, to be paid by Henry, of one thouſand pounds. Soon after this Geoffrey took poſſeſſion of the county of Nantz, which the inhabitants, who had expelled count Noel, their prince, put into his hands, and inveſted him with the full power of adminiſtration.

A. D. 1157. Having ſettled his affairs in Normandy, Henry returned to England, and on his arrival found that the Welſh, who were ever reſtleſs and uneaſy, had entered the Engliſh territories, and committed the moſt horrid depredations on the innocent inhabitants. In conſequence of this Henry marched againſt them at the head of a powerful army; but the cowardice of his ſtandard-bearer had like to have proved fatal both to him and his whole army. The attack of the Welſh was made with all the fury natural to thoſe people, which ſo terrified Henry de Eſſer, who carried the royal

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Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

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Born
Anno. 1133.

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December 19. 1154.

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July 6. 1189.

royal ſtandard, that, throwing down the enſign, he fled with the utmoſt precipitation. Alarmed at miſſing the royal ſtandard, the Engliſh were intimidated, and, thinking the king was ſlain, were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion. Henry, perceiving the cauſe of the diſorder, rode through the ranks bare-headed to convince them of their miſtake; in conſequence of which the Engliſh, aſhamed of their puſillanimous conduct, returned to the charge with redoubled courage, and fell ſo violently on the inſurgents that they were obliged to ſeek their ſafety by flight, after great numbers had been killed on the field of battle. Thoſe who eſcaped retired with all poſſible expedition to their own country, ſoon after which Henry concluded a peace with the Welſh prince, and diſbanded his army.

A. D. 1159. Though Henry was maſter of great power and conſiderable poſſeſſions, yet he was very deſirous of increaſing them, and therefore laid claim to the county of Thouloufe, in right of his queen, to whom it belonged; but Raymond, count of Thouloufe, refuſed to deliver up the territories. In conſequence of this Henry determined to obtain them by force of arms, and accordingly paſſed over to the continent, and engaged a number of mercenaries to aſſiſt him in his intended expedition. He began his military operations by laying ſiege to Cahors, the capital of the province of Quercy, which he ſoon reduced, and made himſelf maſter of the place; but the city of Thouloufe made a gallant defence, and the Engliſh monarch exerted all his abilities to take it. Lewis, king of France, was alarmed at Henry's progreſs. He was fearful that if he ſhould be ſuffered to make himſelf maſter of the principal places in the heart of France, his ambition might puſh him on to farther conqueſts, and he might even advance to the very gates of Paris. Lewis therefore marched at the head of a body of forces, and threw himſelf into Thouloufe before Henry could become maſter of the city. In conſequence of this Henry immediately deſiſted from farther proſecuting his deſign, declaring he owed ſo much reſpect to Lewis, that he would not attack a place defended by him in perſon. He therefore raiſed the ſiege, and a treaty of peace was ſoon after concluded between the two monarchs.

A. D. 1160.-1163. This peace, however, was but of ſhort duration: ambition ſoon diſſolved the bands of amity between the two monarchs. Henry's eldeſt ſon had, for ſome time, been contracted in marriage to Margaret, the daughter of Lewis, and it was agreed in the treaty that the princeſs ſhould have the city of Giſor, with part of Norman Vexin, for her portion; and that thoſe places ſhould remain in the cuſtody of the Knights Templars till the marriage was celebrated. Anxious for obtaining poſſeſſion of theſe valuable places, Henry prevailed upon the cardinals Piſa and Pavia to grant him a ſynodical decree, diſpenſing with the nonage of the parties. In conſequence of this the nuptials were immediately celebrated, though the prince was but ſeven, and the princeſs only three years of age; and the Templars, conſidering themſelves as free from their engagement, delivered up the caſtle of Giſon, and the other places aſſigned as Margaret's dowry.

The French monarch was highly incenſed at the proceedings of Henry; and his firſt reſentment fell upon the Templars, to whom the cuſtody of the caſtle had been committed, and whom he baniſhed his dominions. This, in all probability, would have been ſucceeded by a war between the two monarchs, had it not been for Pope Alexander III. who was then in France, and being deſirous of preventing the effuſion of human blood, interpoſed and brought about a reconciliation *.

Henry, after having accommodated all differences with the French monarch, returned to England, and flattered himſelf with poſſeſſing a long ſeries of peace and tranquillity; but he was greatly deceived in his expectations, and his life rendered unhappy by the very perſon who owed his whole fortune to his bounty. This was the celebrated Thomas a Becket †, whoſe conduct ſet the nation in a flame, and rendered abortive the ſcheme which Henry had formed for confining the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within proper bounds, and of ſuppreſſing the licentiouſneſs of the clergy, who arrogated to themſelves the privileges which were contrary to the peace of ſociety. Henry was reſolved to correct theſe enormities, and, without depriving the church of its real privileges, to eſtabliſh proper limits to the pretenſions of the clergy. He conſidered Becket as the moſt proper perſon for aſſiſting him in the execution of this noble deſign, and accordingly on the death of Theobald, promoted him to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury.

Becket, before his promotion, had given a looſe to the uſual pleaſures and amuſements of the age; but his whole behaviour was changed after being placed at the head of the church. He reſigned the office of chancellor, renounced all concern in ſecular affairs, ſubmitted to the moſt rigid mortifications, and became laviſh in his generoſity to the poor. By this conduct he gained the general reſpect of the people; but inſtead of becoming an aſſiſtant to Henry in executing his grand deſign of limiting the privileges of the clergy, he purſued only ſuch meaſures as were moſt conducive to his own emolument. He attempted to recover all the lands that had been alienated from the ſee of Canterbury, pretending that none of his predeceſſors had any right to diſpoſe of the property of the church. Nor was he contented with this attempt to extend his authority and power: he aſſerted that it was the prerogative of the archbiſhop to fill vacant church livings in the manors of the military tenants, as well as thoſe of the churches of Canterbury.

* In order to account for the pope's interference on this occaſion, as well as to form an idea of the great authority poſſeſſed by the Roman pontiff at that period, it may not be improper to remark, that the two kings had, the year before, met the pontiff at the caſtle of Toris on the Loire; and gave him ſuch marks of reſpect, that both diſmounted from their horſes to receive him, and each holding one of the reins of the bridle, walked by his ſide, and in that ſubmiſſive manner, conducted him to the gate of the caſtle.

† Thomas a Becket was the ſon of a citizen of London, and had ſpent his youth in the ſtudy of the civil and canon law at Boulogne. He was poſſeſſed of very ſingular talents, and had a ſpirit not to be daunted even by the frowns of royalty. He had been raiſed by Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, to conſiderable preferments in the church, and on Henry's acceſſion to the throne was recommended to him by that primate as a perſon worthy of his confidence and favour. Henry accordingly promoted him to ſeveral places of truſt, and in particular to that of chancellor, one of the firſt civil offices in the kingdom. After obtaining that high poſt he was made provoſt of Beverley, dean of Haſtings, and conſtable of the Tower; and, to complete his importance, was entruſted with the education of prince Henry, the king's eldeſt ſon, and heir apparent to the crown.

bury. He accordingly collated one Laurence to the rectory of Aresford; but the patron, who was a peer of the realm, reſolved not to ſubmit to ſo inſolent an intruſion, and immediately ejected Laurence from the benefice. This was conſidered by Becket as an unpardonable offence, and he pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt the patron.

As ſoon as Henry was informed of theſe proceedings he diſpatched a meſſenger to Becket, inſiſting that he ſhould immediately abſolve the patron; but the haughty prelate ſent him for anſwer, that it did not belong to him to command him either to abſolve or excommunicate any perſon whatever. A little reflection, however, convinced him of his error: a law, paſſed in the reign of William the Conqueror, inflicted the penalty of high-treaſon on any churchman, who ſhould promulgate an eccleſiaſtical cenſure on any military tenant of the crown, without the king's conſent; and the prelate, not chuſing to ſubject himſelf to this penalty, annulled the ſentence.

Henry was now convinced of his miſtake in the opinion he had entertained of Becket; but ſtill was reſolved, if poſſible, to reduce the power of the eccleſiaſtics; and an event ſoon happened which gave him the opportunity of attempting the execution of his deſign. A clergyman in Worceſterſhire debauched a gentleman's daughter, and in order to conceal the offence murdered the father. Henry gave orders that the criminal ſhould be tried in the ſecular court, and puniſhed according to the laws of the kingom. In conſequence of this Becket inſiſted on the privilege of the church, and poſitively aſſerted that no greater puniſhment could be inflicted than that of degradation, and being ſhut up in a monaſtery during the remainder of his life. He likewiſe added, that, to ſubject an eccleſiaſtic to the cognizance of the civil magiſtrate was an high infringement on the privileges of the church, and which he would always oppoſe to the utmoſt of his power.

Aſtoniſhed at the inſolence of Becket, the king called an aſſembly of all the prelates at Weſtminſter, and ſolemnly demanded, "whether they "conſented to, and allowed, that ſuch clergymen "as were convicted of felony ſhould be degraded, "and immediately on their degradation, deliver-"ed over to a ſecular officer for corporal puniſh-"ment." This demand, which was perfectly conſiſtent with juſtice, and the antient laws of the land, met with very little oppoſition from any of the clergy, except the archbiſhop, who alledged, that it was contrary both to the law and inſtitutions of the church, for a delinquent to undergo a double puniſhment for the ſame offence. At the ſame time told his brethren, that it ill became them (who were forbid to have any concern in ſentences of death) to expoſe any perſon of their own order to capital puniſhment. Swayed by the authority, and fearing the power of Becket, the biſhops declined coming to any reſolution on the ſubject of the king's demand. This greatly exaſperated the king, who put to them the following preciſe and deciſive queſtion: "Whether or not they were willing to ſubmit to the antient laws of the kingdom." The anſwer returned was equivocal: a ſalvo was added with regard to the clerical order and the privileges of the church; on which Henry left the ſynod with marks of the greateſt indignation.

The biſhops, alarmed at the abrupt departure of the king, repreſented to Becket, that his unreaſonable obſtinacy would, in all probability, be fatal to the privilege of the clergy; and therefore adviſed him to make conceſſions to offended majeſty. But the archbiſhop was deaf to their entreaties, declaring, that he was ready to lay down his life in ſupport of the canons of the church. Aſtoniſhed at the obſtinacy of Becket, the biſhops, who were not equally blinded by enthuſiaſm, conſidered that whatever honour their countenancing the prelate might reflect on them at the court of Rome, yet, as Engliſhmen, they had every thing to fear from the reſentment of an active and warlike prince. Inſtigated by theſe conſiderations, they waited on the king, and gave him an abſolute promiſe to ſubmit themſelves to the laws of the nation. Their example was followed by Becket, who promiſed, on the faith of an honeſt man, to pay a ſtrict adherence to the laws of the kingdom.

A. D. 1164. This ſubmiſſion was highly pleaſing to the king, who, in order to prevent any future controverſy, reſolved to have the laws of the kingdom fully explained and defined, that the limits of the civil and eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, might be properly aſcertained. For this purpoſe he ſummoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon, where the following laws (commonly called the *Conſtitutions of Clarendon*) were by the aſſembly framed and unanimouſly agreed to:

1. That all ſuits relative to the advowſon and preſentation of livings, ſhould be determined in the civil courts.

2. That the churches, belonging to the king's fee, ſhould not be granted in perpetuity without his conſent.

3. That clergymen accuſed of any crime, ſhould be tried in the civil courts.

4. That no perſon, particularly no clergyman of any rank, ſhould depart the kingdom without the king's licence.

5. That excommunicated perſons ſhould not be bound to give ſecurity for continuing in their uſual place of abode.

6. That the laity ſhould not be accuſed in ſpiritual courts, except by legal and reputable witneſſes.

7. That no chief tenant of the crown ſhould be excommunicated, nor his lands put under an interdict, except with the king's conſent.

8. That all appeals in ſpiritual caſes ſhould be carried from the archdeacon to the biſhop, from the biſhop to the primate, from him to the king, and no farther without the king's conſent.

9. That if any law-ſuit aroſe between a layman and a clergyman concerning a tenement, and if he diſputed whether the land be a lay or an eccleſiaſtical fee, it ſhould be determined by the verdict of twelve lawful men to what claſs it belonged, and if found to be a lay fee, the cauſe ſhould finally be determined in the civil courts.

10. That no inhabitant in demeſne ſhould be excommunicated for non-appearance in a ſpiritual court, till the chief officer of the place, where he reſided, be conſulted, that he might compel him, by the civil authority, to give ſatisfaction to the church.

11. That the archbiſhops, biſhops, and other ſpiritual dignitaries, ſhould be conſidered as barons of the realm; ſhould poſſeſs the privileges and be ſubject to the burthens belonging to that rank; and ſhould be bound to attend the king in his great council, and aſſiſt at all trials, till the

ſentence, either of death or loſs of members, be given againſt the criminal.

12. That the revenues of the vacant ſees ſhould belong to the king; the chapter, or ſuch of them as he might think proper to ſummons, ſhould ſit in the king's chapel till they made the new election with his conſent; and that the biſhop elected ſhould do homage to the crown.

13. That if any baron ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to the ſpiritual courts, the king ſhould uſe his authority in obliging him to make ſuch ſubmiſſion; and if any one threw off his allegiance, the prelates ſhould, with their cenſures, aſſiſt the king in reducing him to ſubjection.

14. That goods forfeited to the king ſhould not be protected in churches or church-yards.

15. That all actions and ſuits for debt, due either upon oath or ſolemn promiſe, or otherwiſe contracted, ſhould be tried in the king's court.

16. That the ſons of villains, or copyholders, ſhould not be ordained without the conſent of the lord of the manor.

Such were the famous articles ſo well known under the title of "The Conſtitutions of Clarendon." The biſhops, over-awed by the barons, who were all gained over to the king's party, readily ſigned them; but Becket retracted his promiſe, and for ſome time abſolutely refuſed, till at length by the repeated ſolicitations of the nobility and clergy he was prevailed on to aſſent, and not only ſigned the articles, but likewiſe promiſed "legally with good faith, and without fraud, to obey them."

Having thus far ſucceeded in his deſign, Henry tranſmitted a copy of the articles to the pope in order to have them confirmed by a bull. But the pontiff was ſo far from complying with the wiſhes of the king, that he condemned and annulled them, as being incompatible with the rights of the church.

As ſoon as Becket was informed that the pope had rejected the articles, he expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for having ſigned them, redoubled his auſterities, and refuſed to exerciſe any part of his archiepiſcopal function till he ſhould receive abſolution from the pontiff.

The conduct of Becket ſo irritated the king, that it was generally apprehended by all Becket's friends his ruin was determined. The archbiſhop himſelf was alarmed, and applied to Henry for leave to viſit the pope, in order to confer with him on ſome important affairs relative to the church; but this the king abſolutely refuſed. The next day the prelate repaired to Woodſtock where Henry reſided; but the king would not permit him to enter the palace.

A few days after this Henry ſummoned a council at Northampton where no leſs than four articles of impeachment were preferred againſt the prelate. The firſt was for contumacy, in not having appeared at the king's court in perſon, to anſwer a writ brought againſt him by John, mareſchal of the Exchequer, who had ſued the primate in the archiepiſcopal court, for ſome laws belonging to the manor of Pagham, and, who, thinking the determination illegal, had appealed from thence to the king's court for juſtice. The archbiſhop endeavoured to defend himſelf, but was convicted, and fined 500l.

The ſecond article was, his having embezzled 300l. he had received as conſtable of the caſtles of Eye in Suffolk and Berkhamſtead in Hertfordſhire. In anſwer to this he alledged, that he had laid out a greater ſum in the repairs of royal caſtles; but the king denying this allegation, and demanding immediate judgment, he agreed to refund the money.

The third charge brought againſt him was for 500 marks which he had borrowed from the king. The archbiſhop pleaded that he was unprepared to anſwer to this charge; but the plea was over-ruled, and Becket obliged to give ſecurity for the payment.

The laſt charge was of much greater importance, and of a more complicated nature than either of the other three. He was required to give an account of his adminiſtration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the biſhoprics, abbies and baronies, which had, during that time, been ſubjected to his management. To this charge the primate replied, it could not be expected he was prepared to anſwer a charge of ſo complicated a nature, as he had not received any intimation of it in his ſummons; but promiſed to give the king ſatisfaction, if he would give him time to deliberate on the ſituation of his affairs and conſult with his friends. This requeſt being granted he left the court, and retired to his apartments, where he ſpent the whole night in cloſe conſultation with his friends, ſome of whom adviſed him to reſign his ſee, as the moſt probable means of making his peace with the king: others adviſed him to offer 10,000 marks as a compenſation; while a third party recommended, that he ſhould throw himſelf entirely on the mercy of his ſovereign, without making, or attempting to make, any terms whatever.

The archbiſhop, however, did not think proper to follow the advice of either party; but on the contrary reſolved to repair next day to the court, and, inſtead of giving any account of his ſtewardſhip, or making the leaſt ſubmiſſion, to inſiſt on the privileges of the church. Thinking ſome religious ſolemnity might attract the notice of the people in his favour, he propoſed walking to the court barefooted, dreſſed in his pontifical robes, and to carry in his hand the croſs of Canterbury. His friends, however, diſſuading him from this deſign, he laid aſide his pall and mitre, and wearing his other ſacred veſtments, with the cope above them, the croſs being carried before him proceeded in that manner on horſeback to the king's court. When he came to the outward court he alighted, and taking the croſs into his own hand, proceeded in that manner into the preſence chamber, where he ſet himſelf down, holding the croſs before him. Every perſon preſent was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at his inſolence and folly. The biſhops, in particular, were aſhamed and confounded: they told him his behaviour looked as if he came prepared to ſet the whole kingdom in a flame, and to put his ſovereign at open defiance: they repreſented the ill conſequences of ſuch vain and inſolent behaviour, and endeavoured to perſuade him to deliver the croſs to the biſhop of Hereford; but the haughty prelate would not comply. At length the archbiſhop of York, being no longer able to bear with his inſolence, told him that, notwithſtanding the croſs was in his hand, he would find the king carried much ſharper weapons. "It is true, replied Becket, the king's weapon can kill the body, but mine can deſtroy the ſoul." This anſwer, which ſeemed to threaten the king and court with excommunication, was carried to Henry, then ſitting in an inner chamber, who was ſo provoked at ſuch an imperious menace, that he ſent for the nobles and prelates, to whom he complained

loudly of Becket's intolerable inſolence in entering his court in ſuch a preſumptuous manner. The whole council joined in condemning this inſtance of the prelate's pride; and at the ſame time informed the king that Becket had intimated to them his deſign of appealing to the pope for protection.

Willing to avoid a rupture with the pontiff, though at the ſame time deſirous of puniſhing the inſolence of the prelate, Henry went into the preſence chamber, remonſtrated with Becket on the impropriety of his conduct, and reminded him of his having aſſented to, and ſubſcribed, the articles of Clarendon. Becket told him, the cauſe of God and the church had rendered his conſent to thoſe articles of no force; and that he put himſelf under the protection of the Roman pontiff, the ſupreme head of the church, to whom he appealed againſt the ſentences that either had, or might be pronounced, againſt him, and ſtrictly enjoined his ſuffragans not to join in any enterprize that was contrary to the privileges of the church.

The king and barons were ſo exaſperated at this arrogant behaviour, that a propoſition was made to commit the prelate to priſon; upon which, not chuſing to hear the ſentence denounced, he abruptly left the aſſembly, and retired, with his croſs erect before him, to the monaſtery of St. Andrews.

The next day Becket ſent three biſhops to the king to aſk a ſafe conduct for his departure; but this being denied, he retired privately, in the night, attended only by two ſervants, and fled to the continent. He was received by Lewis king of France, and pope Alexander, who was then at the court of that monarch, with every mark of reſpect. By the munificence of Lewis he lived with the utmoſt magnificence in the monaſtery of Pontigni, and the pope made preparations for iſſuing bulls to revenge his diſgrace.

As ſoon as Henry was informed of Becket's departure from the kingdom, he immediately diſpatched a very reſpectable embaſſy to the pope, to ſolicit the depoſition of the primate, offering, at the ſame time, in caſe his requeſt was granted, to double the revenue of Peter's-pence, and to render it a perpetual tax. But the pope was inflexible: he poſitively refuſed compliance on any terms whatever; upon which the ambaſſadors left his court, and returned to England. Immediately on their arrival Henry ſummoned an aſſembly of the nobles, when it was determined to ſequeſter all the poſſeſſions of the ſee of Canterbury, together with all the revenues of the churches, chapels, and rents of the clergy who adhered to Becket; and all the primate's relations and domeſtics, both clergy and laity, were baniſhed the kingdom.

A. D. 1165. Henry was apprehenſive theſe proceedings might ſo irritate the pope as to be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. He therefore went over to the continent, in order, if poſſible, by a perſonal conference with his holineſs, to prevent an interdict being laid on the kingdom. An interview was accordingly propoſed, and it was agreed that Becket ſhould not be preſent. The archbiſhop was alarmed at this excluſion, being fearful that the pope, on hearing a fair account of the whole proceedings, would withdraw his protection, and abandon him to the vengeance of an enraged monarch. He therefore told his holineſs "he might be impoſed on by the fluent and plauſible ſpeeches of Henry, unleſs himſelf was preſent to interpret their meaning." The pontiff liſtened to this artful ſuggeſtion of the prelate, and inſiſted on the archbiſhop being preſent at the interview. But Henry diſdained to ſubmit to this propoſal, and, without taking leave of the pope, embarked for his own dominions.

A. D. 1166. As it was reaſonable to ſuppoſe the pontiff would exert all his power in favour of Becket, Henry, on his arrival in England, took every precaution he could project to render that power abortive. He prohibited all his ſubjects, under ſevere penalties, from receiving any mandates either from his holineſs or the archbiſhop, and from appealing to their authority in any inſtance whatever. He declared that whoever brought an interdict on the kingdom from the pope or Becket ſhould be deemed guilty of treaſon, and be puniſhed by death if done by a layman; by loſs of ſight if done by a ſecular clergyman; and by amputation of feet if by regular eccleſiaſtics. On the contrary, the pope and archbiſhop did all they could to wreak their vengeance on the king. Becket denounced anathemas againſt all his enemies, and at laſt pronounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all that adhered to the conſtitutions of Clarendon, and abſolved every perſon from the oaths they had taken to obſerve them. Nay, he even went ſo far as to threaten to excommunicate the king, unleſs he repented of what he had done, and had ſuch influence over the pope as to obtain his ratification of the cenſures.

A. D. 1167. While the king and Becket were thus purſuing meaſures of the moſt contentious and dangerous nature, Lewis king of France interpoſed his good offices to bring about an accommodation. Becket declared he was ready to put an end to all diſputes, and to ſubmit to the king, on condition of having all his honours and poſſeſſions reſtored. At length an interview was agreed on, and Becket met the kings of France and England at a village in the neighbourhood of Paris; but the primate was ſo unreaſonable and haughty, that Lewis was perſuaded it would be impoſſible to bring about a reconciliation. Henry, deſirous of pacification, ſaid to Lewis, "There have been many kings of England, and there have been many archbiſhops of Canterbury: let Becket act towards me with the ſame ſubmiſſion which the greateſt of his predeceſſors have paid to the leaſt of mine, and I ſhall be ſatisfied." But Becket refuſed to acquieſce in ſo reaſonable a propoſal. Lewis was, or at leaſt ſeemed to be, diſguſted, and the two kings departed without taking leave of the archbiſhop; but the correſpondence and friendſhip between the monarch of France and the prelate was ſoon after renewed.

After this interview Henry viſited his Norman dominions, where he continued ſome time, during which he gave that duchy, together with the provinces of Maine and Anjou, to his eldeſt ſon Henry; Poictou and Guienne to his ſon Richard, and Britany to his third ſon Geoffrey, who held it as a fief depending upon Normandy, and ſwore fealty to his eldeſt brother. Lewis, as lord paramount of theſe fiefs, confirmed the grants, and the young princes did homage to the French monarch for their reſpective territories.

A. D. 1169. Henry, after having ſecured his Norman dominions in the poſſeſſion of his own family, returned to England, and immediately on his arrival ſummoned a parliament, or great council of the nation, to meet at Windſor. In this aſſembly the kingdom was divided into circuits; and certain earls, knights and clergymen, appointed commiſſioners to make a progreſs through theſe diviſions, in order to take cognizance of all abuſes committed

KING HENRY *the* SECOND *serving the first Dish to the Table of his* SON HENR
after his Coronation by the Bishops of York, Durham, and London!

committed by the ſheriffs, bailiffs, and other inferior officers. This inquiſition produced the moſt ſalutary effects; the ſubject was eaſed of many exactions, various grievances were redreſſed, and peace eſtabliſhed in every part of the kingdom.

A. D. 1170. Henry had, for ſome time, reſolved in his mind to take effectual meaſures for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the crown to his eldeſt ſon; but thought proper to conceal his deſign till the very moment of its execution, leſt the turbulent primate ſhould find means to render the whole abortive. He did not forget the little regard the Engliſh had paid to their oath of fealty in the caſe of his mother, and was determined not to ſubject his own children to the ſame misfortune: he therefore reſolved to have the crown formally placed on the head of his eldeſt ſon Henry, then in the 16th year of his age. He accordingly adjourned the national aſſembly from Windſor to London. No perſon, not even the young prince himſelf, was acquainted with the real intentions of Henry. The aſſembly was, however, remarkably full, as the report was to be made from the commiſſioners who had been appointed to make a progreſs through the different circuits of the kingdom. As ſoon, therefore, as the report was read, Henry acquainted them with the reſolution he had formed relative to the coronation of his ſon, and was pleaſed to find it received with univerſal approbation. The only difficulty conſiſted in finding a prelate who was properly authorized to perform the ceremony. It was generally underſtood to be a prerogative peculiar to the archbiſhop of Canterbury; but that prelate not being in the kingdom, it was agreed that it ſhould be performed by Roger, archbiſhop of York, who had, ſome time before, been inveſted with a legantine authority for Scotland. Accordingly that prelate, aſſiſted by the biſhops of London and Durham, placed the crown upon the head of young Henry, and immediately after the ceremony William, king of Scotland, his brother David, and all the earls and barons of England, did him homage.

The young prince was of an haughty and imperious diſpoſition, and a ſtranger to generoſity and gratitude. His father, deſirous of diſplaying, before ſo great and noble an aſſembly, every mark of paternal love and reſpect for his favourite ſon, ſerved the firſt diſh at his table with his own hands, ſaying, with an endearing ſmile, "You may now boaſt, my ſon, of being as honourably ſerved as any monarch upon earth." But young Henry was too haughty to make a proper return to this diſtinguiſhed condeſcenſion in his royal parent. He turned to the archbiſhop of York, and whiſpered, with a contemptuous ſneer, "That he thought it no degradation for the ſon of a petty count to ſerve the heir of a great king." His father, however, did not hear this ungenerous reflection: he was yet a ſtranger to the natural ingratitude of his ſon.

Soon after the coronation of the young prince, Henry paid a viſit to his foreign dominions, where another effort was made for terminating the differences between the king and the ambitious primate. The pope, indeed, was juſt going to lay an interdict on Henry's dominions, but receiving a moſt humiliating meſſage from that prince, informing him of his wiſhes to bring about a reconciliation with Becket, he laid aſide his intentions. Soon after a conference was held in a meadow between Charton and Maine, where all the differences between the king and archbiſhop were finally adjuſted. It was agreed, that Henry ſhould receive the archbiſhop, his exiled clergy, adherents and relations into his favour: that the prelate ſhould be reſtored to his rights and poſſeſſions in the ſee of Canterbury, and be empowered to hold them in the ſame manner as before the conteſt began; and that ſatisfaction ſhould be made to the ſee of Canterbury, for the violation of its rights in the coronation of the young prince. Thus were matters accommodated between Henry and the archbiſhop, the latter of whom, after taking leave of the king, with the greateſt ſeeming ſatisfaction and reſpect, embarked for England, in order to reinſtate himſelf in the poſſeſſion of Canterbury.

Henry now hoped that Becket, from the great conceſſions he had made to him, would lay aſide all rancour and malice, and apply himſelf to the proper duties of his office, the cultivation of peace, and promoting brotherly love and charity throughout the kingdom. But in this he was greatly deceived. Becket no ſooner took poſſeſſion of his ſee than he iſſued out ſentences of excommunication againſt the biſhops of London and Durham, together with ſeveral of the king's miniſters, officers of the houſhold, juſticiaries, and the moſt conſiderable perſons in the kingdom. At this time Henry was at Bayeaux in France, and being informed of the violent proceedings of Becket, he cried out in the bitterneſs of grief and aſtoniſhment, "What! will none of my ſervants rid me of this ungrateful and imperious prelate." This exclamation produced conſequences little expected by Henry, at the time he ſpoke it. Four barons, or knights of his houſhold, agreed to revenge the cauſe of their maſter, and for that purpoſe privately withdrew from court, and paſſed over to England. As ſoon as Henry was informed of their departure he recollected the exclamation he made relative to Becket, and fearful that it might induce them to take ſome violent meaſures, immediately diſpatched meſſengers after them, to prevent any fatal cataſtrophe. But it was too late. The four conſpirators followed the archbiſhop into the church of Canterbury, and murdered him before the altar of St. Benedict.

Such was the tragical end of Thomas Becket archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate of the moſt imperious and inflexible ſpirit. He fell a victim to his own pride and obſtinacy in a cauſe which he fancied juſt, and in which he was guided by the moſt deſtructive prejudices. Unable to bear the leaſt contradiction, and fond of directing affairs of every kind, he treated all who oppoſed him with a virulence of behaviour, and a ſeverity of vengeance, which was neither ſuitable to the character of a chriſtian biſhop, or a decent member of ſociety. When he had any point to gain he advanced, without ſcruple, the moſt infamous falſehoods, and vouched them as truths under the ſanction of the moſt ſacred oaths. But notwithſtanding this, and his having been publickly condemned as a traitor to his country, yet he was canonized and revered as a martyr about two years after his death. This was done by order of pope Alexander, who alſo by a bull, directed to all the clergy and people of England, appointed the 30th of December to be annually kept as a feſtival in commemoration of his martyrdom.

A. D. 1171. Henry was greatly affected at the death of Becket. He dreaded the reſentment of the pope, and knew his enemies would exert all their influence with him to lay an interdict on his dominions. He therefore diſpatched a ſplendid embaſſy to Rome, to clear him of all ſuſpicion of being

being any ways concerned in the death of Becket, and to avert the thunders of the vatican. Alexander, at firſt, refuſed an audience to Henry's ambaſſadors; but by the proper diſtribution of large ſums among the principal people of his court, the intention of Henry was fully anſwered, and the pope contented himſelf with iſſuing general denunciations againſt the principals and accomplices of Becket's murder. Two cardinals, however, were ſent with legantine powers into Normandy, in order to examine into the king's conduct, and a conference was opened at Avaranches, at which were preſent Henry and his eldeſt ſon, together with all the clergy of Normandy. After long debates the whole affair was ſettled, and all differences terminated between the pontiff and Henry, the latter of whom ſoon after left the continent, and embarked for his own dominions.

A. D. 1172. A ſhort time after Henry's return to England, he determined to put in execution a ſcheme he had ſome years before projected for obtaining the conqueſt of Ireland. Adrian IV. who at that time filled the papal chair, deſirous of augmenting the power and revenues of the holy ſee, encouraged Henry to purſue the plan he had formed, and granted him a bull, with the moſt ample privileges. But the diſturbances that happened between Becket and the king, prevented the latter from carrying his deſign into execution.

But before we proceed any farther, it may not be improper to give the reader ſome account of the Iriſh, the conqueſt of whoſe country was attempted upon the ſlighteſt foundation, and effected with an eaſe that borders almoſt on romance.

At this time the Iriſh were ſo unpoliſhed as to be little better than ſavages: they were even ignorant of agriculture, and deſtitute of laws, of manners, and learning. The iſland was divided into a number of ſmall principalities, each governed by its own prince, but all forming a political confederacy, though they frequently committed great violences againſt each other. They were incapable of making any defence againſt regular forces; and it was no eaſy matter to unite them into one body or nation, and govern them by wholeſome laws. Ferocious by nature, and fond of liberty, they oppoſed every attempt to civilize them; and, like the antient Britons, when attacked by a ſuperior force, fled to their foreſts and mountains for ſafety.

An event now happened which gave Henry a favourable opportunity of claiming his pretended right to Ireland in conſequence of the bull received from pope Adrian. Dermot, one of the petty kings of Ireland, being driven out of his dominions by a neighbouring chief, whoſe wife he had carried off, applied to the Engliſh monarch for aſſiſtance to recover his territories. Henry liſtened to the Iriſh chief, and empowered him to raiſe troops in England. He alſo gave general permiſſion to his ſubjects to aſſiſt the prince in perſon, but declined embarking himſelf in the enterprize. Excited by ambition ſeveral of the Engliſh barons determined to aſſiſt the Iriſh prince, among whom, Richard, earl of Striguel, ſurnamed Strongbow, was the chief. That noblemen poſſeſſed ſeveral large eſtates in Wales, where his tenants were numerous, and the ſituation of his territories very convenient for paſſing over to Ireland. Strongbow undertook to aſſiſt the Iriſh chief on condition of his giving him his daughter in marriage, and leaving him his territories. Accordingly theſe adventurers, at the head of their reſpective forces, landed in Ireland, defeated ſome conſiderable bodies of the wild Iriſh, and, not content with recovering the territories of Dermot, proceeded to the reduction of the whole iſland.

As ſoon as Henry was informed of the great ſucceſs of his barons, he was deſirous of acquiring the honour of being the conqueror of Ireland, and therefore went over in perſon at the head of a powerful army. But the Iriſh were already conquered, and there remained nothing for the king to do but receive the ſubmiſſion of a vanquiſhed people. Moſt of the tributary princes attended his court at Dublin, and ſwore allegiance to him. The clergy, who had laboured to render their country ſubject to England ever ſince Adrian iſſued a bull for that purpoſe, met in general aſſembly at Waterford, where they ſigned their ſubmiſſion, and delivered the inſtruments to Henry, who tranſmitted them to Rome, where they were confirmed by the pontiff.

Having thus taken poſſeſſion of Ireland, Henry returned to England, and flattered himſelf with enjoying a ſeries of eaſe and tranquillity; but he ſoon found himſelf deceived, and his quietude interrupted by the very perſons who ought moſt to have endeavoured to promote it. Henry, his eldeſt ſon, a prince of an haughty and inſolent temper, was weary of bearing the royal title without authority. He had married Margaret, daughter to Lewis king of France, and the ceremony of his coronation had been repeated by the archbiſhop of Rouen, in order that his conſort might be included in the ſolemnity. He had alſo been permitted to pay a viſit to his father-in-law, and continued ſome time at the court of France. Lewis embraced this opportunity of kindling the flames of domeſtic diſcord in the family of Henry. He perſuaded the prince that, in conſequence of the ceremony of coronation, he was entitled to an immediate poſſeſſion of a part of the dominions of his father.

In conſequence of this young Henry, who was naturally of an imperious and aſpiring diſpoſition, came over to England, and, in an abrupt manner, demanded from his father either the kingdom of England, or the duchy of Normandy. Henry was aſtoniſhed at this unexpected requeſt, and began to ſee his hopes of happineſs were built on a chimerical foundation. He endeavoured to convince his ſon of the extravagance of his demand, and painted, in ſtriking colours, the folly of a requeſt, which could only tend to weaken the power of his family, and, ultimately, his own authority. But all his arguments were fruitleſs: the prince diſcovered the higheſt diſcontent, blended with inſolence, at his father's refuſal, and, retiring to France, put himſelf under the protection of Lewis, whoſe deſire of leſſening the power of Henry had given riſe to this domeſtic diſcord.

But the diſobedience of his eldeſt ſon was not the only misfortune that diſturbed the happineſs of Henry. His queen Eleanor had long been jealous of him*, and carried her reſentment ſo far as to en-

* Henry eſpouſed his queen Eleanor, not from an attachment to her perſon, but from motives of ambition. The tenderneſs of conjugal affection had never ſubſiſted between them; and in proportion as her perſonal attractions decayed, ſhe became the object of the king's diſguſt; which was, perhaps, increaſed by his reflections on her infidelity to her former royal

encourage her two younger ſons, Richard and Geoffrey, to follow the example of their brother. They accordingly repaired to the court of France, and inſiſted on being put into actual poſſeſſion of the territories aſſigned them by their father.

A. D. 1173. William, king of Scotland, had long beheld the great power of Henry, and trembled for the conſequences. As ſoon therefore as he heard of the claim made by young Henry, and that he had fled for protection to Lewis, he immediately repaired to the court of France, under pretence of renewing the league that had long continued between the Scottiſh and French nations; but, in reality, to concert proper meaſures for diſtreſſing the Engliſh monarch. Several of the moſt powerful barons, both in England and Normandy, likewiſe joined in the unnatural alliance for ſupporting the unreaſonable claims of an undutiful ſon on the dominions of an indulgent parent.

Henry was now ſurrounded with innumerable difficulties, from which nothing leſs than his amazing abilities could have extricated him. He determined to go over to the continent, and as it was not likely to bring his refractory ſons to obedience by the power of argument, to reduce them and their adherents by the force of arms. But the deſertion of many of his powerful barons gave him reaſon to fear his own ſubjects would deſert him in the day of battle, upon which he determined to have recourſe to foreign mercenaries for aſſiſtance. He accordingly, on his arrival upon the continent, took twenty thouſand Brabanders, all veteran troops, into his pay, and, with the aſſiſtance of theſe and his own abilities, was enabled to withſtand the efforts of his enemies. His magnanimity and military proweſs never ſhone with ſo much luſtre as in this alarming criſis. The thoughts of impending danger animated him with freſh courage. Bleſſed with the moſt aſtoniſhing preſence of mind, and wholly a ſtranger to fear, he viewed, with the utmoſt coolneſs, the many dangers with which he was ſurrounded, and planned the moſt prudent meaſures to render them abortive.

The operations of the confederate princes were begun by Richard, who repaired to Guienne, and excited the greater part of the inhabitants to take up arms againſt his father. Geoffrey fomented a rebellion in Britany, and put himſelf at the head of the inſurgents. Normandy was invaded by the king of France, aſſiſted by the earls of Flanders, Boulogne, and Blois. William, king of Scotland, who had ſome time before left the French court, marched with an army into the northern parts of England. And the earl of Leiceſter landed in Eſſex at the head of a large body of Flemiſh troops, to excite an inſurrection among the Engliſh.

But all the deſigns and endeavours of his foes were rendered abortive. Henry had taken ſuch precautions in providing for the defence of the frontiers of Normandy, that the French monarch, after loſing the greater part of his army, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. Ten thouſand Brabanders, ſent by Henry into Britany, defeated the rebels, and obliged them to return to their duty. Henry advanced at the head of his army againſt the inſurgents in Guienne, retook the places they had ſeized, and obliged them to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to his authority. And, to crown all, while theſe tranſactions were taking place on the continent, the army of Leiceſter was routed at St. Edmundſbury in Suffolk, and above ten thouſand Flemings ſlain on the ſpot.

A. D. 1174. Having reduced the inſurgents on the continent, Henry haſtened to England, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the Scots, who had invaded his dominions, and committed the moſt horrid ravages in various parts of the country. He landed at Southampton, and in order to gain the affections of his people, ſubmitted to an act of humiliation, which all the power of the church could not impoſe upon him. Conſcious of laying under very ſtrong ſuſpicions of being acceſſary to the death of Becket, he determined to remove every ſhadow of ſuch a thought by joining himſelf in the prevailing devotions of the times. He accordingly ſet out for Canterbury, and three miles before his arrival at the place, alighted from his horſe, and walked barefoot to the tomb of the ſaint, proſtrated himſelf before the ſhrine of Becket, continued the whole day in prayer, and watched all night the holy relics. The next morning he aſſembled a chapter of the monks, diſrobed himſelf before them, put ſcourges into their hands, and preſented his bare ſhoulders to the diſcipline and laſhes of theſe eccleſiaſtics. He afterwards made a ſolemn proceſſion to all the altars in the cathedral, and, retiring to the ſhrine of the canonized prelate, made an offering of forty pounds per annum towards the ſupport of a number of lamps kept continually burning before his tomb.

Having performed theſe ceremonies, which gave great ſatisfaction to the multitude, Henry left the cathedral, and proceeded towards London; but he had not gone far, when intelligence arrived that a deciſive victory had been obtained over the Scottiſh army, and that William their king was taken priſoner. This remarkable ſucceſs was immediately attributed by the people to the protection of St. Becket, and the ſame opinion prevailing throughout

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conſort, and the circumſtance of her ſuperiority in point of years. Henry was not addicted to many vices, but it muſt be acknowledged he preſcribed no limits to the indulgence of his paſſion for women; and he conceived that the former libidinous conduct of his queen, and the imperfections that time wrought in her features, afforded ſome countenance and excuſe for the numerous amours in which he engaged. Among the reſt of his miſtreſſes was Fair Roſamond, a lady who is equally celebrated in antient ballads and romances on account of her extraordinary beauty, and the ſingular manner of her death.

Roſamond Clifford, daughter of lord Clifford, was eſteemed by far the moſt beautiful woman of the age in which ſhe lived. Henry, whoſe heart was remarkably ſuſceptible of amorous impreſſions, conceived an ardent paſſion for her, and long loved her with unabating tenderneſs. That ſhe might not be expoſed to the jealous rage of Eleanor, the king concealed her in a labyrynth in Woodſtock-park, where he retired to paſs, in an interchange of tender endearments with his ſolitary beauty, thoſe hours which could be ſpared from the important cares inſeperable from his exalted ſtation. Fabulous hiſtorians have told us that it came at length to the knowledge of the queen; who, being guided by a clew of ſilk, found the retreat of her fair rival, whom ſhe compelled, by holding a dagger to her breaſt, to ſwallow poiſon. But the real truth is, that, after a courſe of time Roſamond ſhook off all connections with Henry, retired to the convent of Godſtow, and ſpent the remainder of her days in penitence.

Eleanor was not leſs obnoxious to Henry on account of her jealouſy than ſhe had been to her former huſband for her gallantries; and to her it was in a great meaſure owing that the diſturbances took place between Henry and his children. After the departure of Geoffrey and Richard, the queen diſguiſed herſelf in man's apparel, with the deſign of effecting her eſcape to France; but being diſcovered ſhe was immediately ſeized, and, by the king's order, committed to cloſe confinement.

out his dominions, greatly contributed towards ſuppreſſing the ſpirit of rebellion.

But many of the reſtleſs barons were ſtill in arms, in conſequence of which Henry marched immediately to chaſtiſe them, and reſtore that peace to his kingdom, which their unnatural rebellion had diſturbed. He firſt inveſted the caſtle of Framlingham, belonging to Hugh Bigod, one of the moſt powerful of the Engliſh mal-contents. But this nobleman was too well acquainted with the diſpoſition of Henry to attempt defending his fortreſs: he therefore opened a negotiation, and obtained pardon on condition of delivering up his caſtles of Framlingham and Bungay. The reſt of the diſcontented barons followed his example, and received their pardons on the like conditions.

During theſe tranſactions in England the French king had laid ſiege to Rouen, in which he was joined by the earl of Flanders. This re-inforcement enabled the French monarch to puſh the ſiege with vigour; and he flattered himſelf with being able to reduce the place before Henry could arrive with an army to oppoſe him. In this, however, he was greatly deceived. The garriſon made a gallant defence, and Henry landed before Lewis could even reduce the outworks. The preſence of the Engliſh monarch ſtruck the enemy with terror: the ſiege was immediately raiſed, and the combined forces fled with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving all their baggage in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh monarch.

Soon after this a conference was propoſed by Lewis for bringing about a general peace. This propoſition was readily approved by Henry's firſt and third ſon, as alſo by the Engliſh monarch himſelf; but the impetuous and reſtleſs Richard, ſon of Henry, was ſtill in arms in Poictou, committing acts of hoſtility on all the inhabitants who favoured the intereſt of his father, and therefore refuſed to come to any accommodation but on his own terms. Exaſperated at his obſtinacy, the younger Henry with the king of France, gave him up to the reſentment of his father, to whom they ſwore not to give any diſturbance, but, on the contrary, to aſſiſt him in reducing his ſtubborn ſon to obedience. Richard depending upon the ſupport of the French king and his brother, was amazed at finding himſelf deſerted by both, and fearing the conſequences if he ſhould perſevere, ſent a meſſenger to his father, ſoliciting his pardon, and promiſing immediately to deſiſt from his rebellious proceedings. In conſequence of this a conference was agreed to be held between Tours and Amboiſe, where all the three ſons made ample ſubmiſſion to their father, who allowed each of them penſions, aſſigned caſtles for their reſidence, and granted pardons to all thoſe who had combined with them in their diſobedience.

Having thus accommodated all differences abroad, Henry returned to England, and compelled the king of Scotland, then his priſoner, to ſign a treaty of peace, in which it was ſtipulated that William ſhould do homage to Henry for his dominions, as ſhould alſo the barons and biſhops of Scotland; and that the forts of Edinburgh, Berwick, Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and Stirling, ſhould be delivered up as ſecurities for the performance of the articles. The Scotch king, being releaſed from confinement, brought up all his barons, prelates and abbots, who, with himſelf, did homage to Henry in the cathedral church of York, and acknowledged him and his ſucceſſors for their ſuperior lord.

A. D. 1176—1178. Henry, having thus rendered abortive all the deſigns of his enemies, applied himſelf, with great diligence, to the purſuit of thoſe meaſures that were moſt likely to procure and eſtabliſh a general tranquillity throughout his kingdom. He eſtabliſhed laws for the ſuppreſſion of murder, robbery, burning of houſes, and counterfeiting the coin; according to which the perpetrators of thoſe offences were to be puniſhed by the amputation of the right-hand, and right-foot. Though the ordeal trial was not entirely aboliſhed, its influence was conſiderably leſſened; and perſons who had been ſubjected to this ſcrutiny, and eſcaped, were liable to a legal inveſtigation of their conduct, and, in caſe of conviction, baniſhed the kingdom.

In order that the laws might be properly executed, Henry divided the kingdom into ſix parts, and appointed judges to make regular circuits, for the purpoſe of trying cauſes, and protecting the inferior claſſes of his ſubjects from the cruelty and oppreſſion of the haughty barons. He likewiſe reſtored the mode of trial by jury, which, through the prevalence of the abſurd and barbarous cuſtoms of deciding conteſts by the ordeal and ſingle combat, had almoſt grown into diſuſe. To ſecure his dominions from the horrors that had been experienced from the formidable oppoſition of the refractory barons to the regal authority, he cauſed moſt of thoſe caſtles, which had been erected and fortified during the late civil diſcords, to be demoliſhed; and eſtabliſhed a regular militia to ſecure his dominions from foreign invaſion. Theſe wiſe regulations produced tranquillity throughout the kingdom; his people were protected, contented and happy.

A. D. 1179. Lewis, the French king, being worn out with age, was deſirous of reſigning his crown to his ſon Philip; but that young prince being taken ill on the day appointed for his coronation, Lewis, contrary to the advice of his council, undertook a pilgrimage for his recovery to the ſhrine of St. Thomas a Becket. Henry, being apprized of his arrival, met the French monarch at Dover, and accompanied him to Canterbury, where they both paid their devotions at the altar of St. Thomas. Lewis offered a maſſy cup of pure gold, beſtowed upon the monks a grant of two hundred gallons of wine annually, and freed them from all duties on ſuch goods as they ſhould, in future, purchaſe in any part of his dominions. After ſtaying four days, Lewis returned home, but in a ſhort time after his arrival was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, of which he died, leaving the crown to his ſon Philip.

No material tranſaction occured from this time till the year 1183, when young Henry (who was then with his queen at the court of France) again unſheathed the ſword of rebellion againſt his father, in which he was protected by the ambitious and aſpiring Philip, king of France. Young Henry committed ſeveral acts of hoſtilities in his father's territories, but was ſtopped in his proceedings by illneſs, being ſeized with a violent fever at Martel, a caſtle in the neighbourhood of Limoges. Finding himſelf in the moſt imminent danger, he diſpatched a meſſenger to his father, intreating the favour of a viſit, that he might die with the ſatisfaction of having obtained the forgiveneſs of a parent he had ſo groſly offended. Henry, fearful of truſting himſelf in the power of thoſe about the perſon of his ſon, refuſed to viſit him; but ſent a ring by one of the pre-

lates as a token of his bleſſing and pardon. The biſhop found young Henry near his end, and received his dying requeſt, that his father would forgive his undutiful behaviour; that he would pay his knights and attendants their ſalaries, and pardon the barons of Guienne, whom he had excited to rebellion. The biſhop promiſed to relate theſe requeſts to his father, and on his return to England, faithfully performed his promiſe; but before an anſwer could be returned, the prince paid the debt of nature, on the 11th of June, in the 28th year of his age, leaving his wife Margaret without iſſue. As ſoon as Henry heard of his ſon's death, he burſt forth into the moſt exceſſive lamentations of grief, and accuſed himſelf of inhumanity for not having given him in perſon that aſſurance of forgiveneſs, which he had only ſent by another hand.

A. D. 1185. In the ſpring of this year Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem, arrived in England, attended by the grand-maſters of the knights-templars and hoſpitallers, on an embaſſy from Baldwin, king of Jeruſalem, to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Henry againſt the infidels in the Holy Land. The patriarch preſented the Engliſh monarch with the keys of the Holy Sepulchre, and thoſe of the Tower of David, in token of their deſire to place the crown of the Holy City on his head. Henry, however, refuſed the offer, but afterwards gave 50,000 marks of ſilver, in order to aſſiſt the Chriſtians againſt the infidels.

A. D. 1186. The tranquillity of the Engliſh monarch was now diſturbed by the conduct of his two ſons Richard and Geoffrey, who again broke into open rebellion againſt their father. Prince Richard, diſguſted at a deſign formed by his father of ſettling Guienne upon John, his youngeſt brother, departed the kingdom, and made preparations for ſeizing by force thoſe dominions which he thought belonged ſolely to himſelf. His brother Geoffrey peremptorily demanded of Henry, that Anjou ſhould be annexed to his duchy of Britany. This demand, however, was abſolutely refuſed, upon which Geoffrey repaired immediately to the court of France, in order to ſolicit aſſiſtance againſt his father: but before Philip could give any poſitive anſwer to his requeſt, Geoffrey, was killed in a tournament at Paris. This accident delivered Henry from the enterprizes of the moſt vicious of his ſons, Geoffrey being a prince in whom pride, diſſimulation and perfidy, were at once united. No principle of honour could bind, no precept of religion could reſtrain, that headlong prince. In ſhort, he practiſed every kind of vice, and, for that reaſon, was diſtinguiſhed by the opprobrious epithet of *The Child of Perdition*.

A. D. 1187. This year Henry received advice that the city of Jeruſalem was taken by the valiant and politic Saladine, ſultan of Egypt, and that Gey de Luſignan (the laſt prince that ſwayed the ſceptre of that kingdom) was in the hands of the infidels. This melancholy intelligence rekindled the ardour and enthuſiaſm of the warriors of Europe, and in particular Henry and Philip, who ſeemed to vie with each other in their readineſs to ſend ſuccours to Paleſtine. They both took the croſs, and both ordered, that ſuch of their ſubjects as did not chuſe to engage in the cruſade, ſhould pay the tenth part of their revenues, and moveable effects, to defray the expence of the armament; and this impoſt was diſtinguiſhed by the name of "Saladine's Tax."

A. D. 1188. But notwithſtanding the ſeeming ſincerity of Philip for directing his attention towards ſupporting the cruſades in Paleſtine, yet his conduct ſoon evinced how much more deſirous he was of enlarging his own dominions. Taking advantage of a quarrel that happened between prince Richard, and Raymond count of Thouloufe, he led an army into Berry, burnt Mount Richard, and took ſeveral towns in Auvergne. This perfidious conduct highly enraged the Engliſh monarch, who went over to Normandy, and put himſelf at the head of a powerful army. His ſon Richard joined him, and the great ſucceſs they met with in their enterprizes ſoon obliged Philip to ſolicit a conference. This was accordingly held, and a treaty of peace being concluded between the contending monarchs, Henry returned with his forces to England.

A. D. 1189. But it was not long before Henry ſufficiently experienced the perfidy of the French monarch. That ambitious prince treacherouſly brought over to his intereſt young Richard, who once more unſheathed the ſword againſt his aged parent. The conjunctive princes ſoon made themſelves maſters of ſeveral capital places belonging to Henry, who, in conſequence thereof, haſtily left England, in order to ſtop their farther depredations.

Henry marched with his troops to the city of Mans, which was ſoon after attacked with ſuch reſolution by the conjunctive forces of Philip and Richard, that Henry was obliged to abandon the place; in conſequence of which he repaired to the caſtle of Chinon, which he ſtrongly fortified, and then retired with his army to Saumur.

After the departure of Henry from Mans, Philip and Richard took poſſeſſion of the place, and marching into Tourain, made themſelves maſters of the city of Tours, from whence they directed their courſe towards Saumur; and it is probable they would have not only reduced that place, but alſo taken Henry priſoner, had not the neutral princes (who could not behold the unnatural alliance between Philip and Richard without regret) interpoſed, and brought about an accommodation. At their inſtigation a treaty was concluded at Cozay, near Tours; by which it was ſtipulated that Henry ſhould pay twenty thouſand marks to Philip: that all his ſubjects both in England and his tranſmarine dominions, ſhould ſwear fealty to Richard: that thoſe barons who had entered into a confederacy with Richard ſhould receive an indemnity for their offences: that his own nobles ſhould engage to compel him to obſerve this treaty; and, in caſe of his violating it, ſhould join Philip and Richard againſt him.

Theſe were terms of the moſt humiliating nature, but Henry's neceſſities compelled him to ſign them; and to complete his misfortunes, on demanding a liſt of the barons who were to receive his pardon, he found at the head of them the name of his ſon John, who had always been his favourite, and in whom he had placed the moſt implicit confidence. This ſhock was too great to be ſupported: Henry broke out into expreſſions of the utmoſt deſpair, curſed the hour of his birth, and beſtowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children a malediction, which he could not be prevailed on to retract. He retired to Chinon in all the anguiſh of a wretched parent, where he died of a broken heart, two days after ſigning the treaty of Cozay, in the 57th year of his age, and 35th of his reign.

The corpſe of this great prince was treated in the like indecent manner as that of the Conqueror of England;

England; for his ſervants, after rifling his wardrobe and treaſures, ſtripped the royal corpſe naked, in which indecent manner it remained till one of the pages, leſs brutal than the reſt, threw over it a ſhort mantle. In this condition it was viſited by his *natural* ſon Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutiful, and who attended the corpſe to the nunnery of Fonteveraud, where it lay in ſtate in the abby church. The next day Richard, who went to view the dead body of his father, and who, notwithſtanding his criminal conduct, was not altogether deſtitute of feeling, was ſtruck with horror and remorſe at the ſight; and, as the people preſent obſerved, at that very inſtant blood ran out of the mouth and noſtrils of the corpſe, he exclaimed that he was his father's murderer, and expreſſed, though too late, a deep ſenſe of that undutiful behaviour, which had ſo greatly contributed to the death of an indulgent parent.

Henry II. was the greateſt prince of his time for wiſdom, virtue, and abilities, and the moſt powerful in extent of dominion of all that had ever filled the throne of England. His character, both in public and private life, is almoſt without a blemiſh; and he ſeems to have poſſeſſed every accompliſhment both of body and mind, which makes a man either eſtimable or amiable. He was of a middle ſtature, ſtrong, and well-proportioned: his countenance was lively and engaging; his converſation affable and pleaſing; his elocution, eaſy, perſuaſive, and always at command. He loved peace, but poſſeſſed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity, and temperate without auſterity. He preſerved an almoſt uninterrupted ſtate of health, and kept himſelf from corpulency, to which he was ſomewhat inclined, by a moderate diet, and frequent exercíſe, of which hunting was his favourite. When the affairs of his kingdom permitted him to enjoy leiſure, he had always recourſe to books, or the converſation of learned and ingenious men. His palace was a kind of academy, and his table a ſchool, where the moſt abſtruſe points of government and learning were debated. His affections, as well as enmities, were warm and durable; and his long experience of the ingratitude and infidelity of men never deſtroyed the natural ſenſibility of his temper, which always diſpoſed him to friendſhip and ſociety. He was wiſe in council, moderate in proſperity, and firm in adverſity. Not ſatisfied with forming good and wholeſome laws, he took care to ſee them executed with the greateſt punctuality: for this purpoſe he made frequent tours through all the different parts of his dominions, inſpecting the behaviour of his officers and magiſtrates, and ſeverely puniſhing thoſe, who were either negligent or unjuſt in the performance of their duty. In ſhort, he was at once the king and father of his people.

This prince ſo far aboliſhed the barbarous and abſurd practice of ſhips being forfeited, which happened to be wrecked on any parts of the coaſt, that if one man or animal was found alive in the ſhip, the veſſel and goods were reſtored to the owners.

He was alſo the firſt prince who levied a tax on the moveables and perſonal eſtates of his ſubjects, nobles as well as commonalty. Their zeal for the holy wars made them ſubmit to this innovation; and a precedent being once ſet, this taxation became, in ſome following reigns, the uſual method of ſupplying the neceſſities of the crown.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Henry II.

A. D.
1156 London Bridge built with wood.
1176 ——— Begun to be built with ſtone by Peter Coleman, a prieſt. The king contributed to the advancement of the work, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury gave 1000 marks. The courſe of the river Thames was, for the time, turned another way, by a trench dug for that purpoſe, beginning at Batterſea, and ending about Rotherhithe. The bridge was about 33 years in building
1177 Glaſs windows firſt uſed in private honſes.
1179 The Jews obtained permiſſion to have a burial-ground near every town where they dwelt. Before this time, they had but one in England, which was at London.
1185 This year there happened a violent earthquake, which threw down many churches in different parts of the kingdom; and on the ſame day there was almoſt a total eclipſe of the ſun.

CHAP. II.

RICHARD I. furnamed Cœur de Lion.

Acceſſion and coronation of Richard I. The Jews in London cruelly treated by the populace. Richard engages in the cruſades, extorts great ſums of money from his ſubjects, and goes over to the continent. Maſſacre of the Jews in different parts of the kingdom. Richard marries the king of Navarre's daughter. Diſturbances in England during the king's abſence. Richard makes himſelf maſter of Cyprus. Quarrels with the king of France. Engages and defeats the Saracens. Concludes a three years truce with Saladine, the chief commander of the Infidels. Quits Paleſtine, is ſhipwrecked, taken priſoner, and ſent in chains to the emperor of Germany. His brother John endeavours to obtain the ſovereignty. Richard is ſet at liberty, and returns to England. Wars with France. Richard impoſes heavy taxes on his ſubjects, which occaſions great diſturbances. Takes the biſhop of Beauvais priſoner, and ſends his coat of mail to the Roman pontiff. Death and character of Richard.

A. D. 1189. RICHARD was moſt feelingly affected at the death of his father, and beheld, with horror, his former baſe and unnatural conduct. He ſaw, in a very different point of light, the ſervices of his pretended friends, who had inſtigated him to draw the ſword of rebellion, and lift his hand againſt the life of the moſt indulgent parent. He therefore diſcharged them from his ſervices, and, inſtead of the rewards they expected, loaded them with reproaches. He deſpiſed the courtiers who had baſely deſerted the intereſt of their maſter, and placed his confidence in thoſe who had ſerved his father with zeal and fidelity.

As Richard was on the continent at the time of his father's death, and no ways apprehenſive of any oppoſition being made to his ſucceſſion, he determined to adjuſt his affairs in that quarter before he embarked for England. In the mean time he diſpatched meſſengers to London, with orders

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Born
at Oxford 1157.

Crowned
September 3. 1189.

Died
April 6. 1199.

for the immediate diſcharge of his mother from confinement on whom he beſtowed the adminiſtration of public affairs during his abſence.

Eleanor exerted herſelf ſo warmly in favour of Richard, that ſhe ſoon ſecured for him the oaths of allegiance from all orders of the ſtate, ſo that nothing was wanting but his preſence to have them properly ratified.

Richard, having ſettled his affairs on the continent, embarked at Barfleur, and ſoon after landed in England, where he was received by the people with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. On his arrival he proceeded to Wincheſter, and there took up his reſidence till the 2d of September, when he repaired to London, and, the following day, was crowned at Weſtminſter, by Baldwin, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The coronation of Richard was celebrated with great magnificence; but it gave riſe to a ſcene of the moſt horrid barbarity. The expeditions to the Holy Land, and the cruelties inflicted on the Chriſtians by the infidels, had filled the minds of the people with a kind of enthuſiaſtic madneſs. Whatever had even the moſt remote connection with this religious warfare was ſufficient to ſet the whole nation in a flame. The Jews had long been a deſpiſed people, and the ſufferings of the Chriſtians at Jeruſalem now raiſed the hatred of the people againſt them to the higheſt pitch. Richard knew this, and therefore prudently iſſued a proclamation, forbidding any of them to appear at Weſtminſter during the ceremony of the coronation. Thoſe deſpiſed people had long endeavoured, by their aſſiduous application to traffic, to ſhake off that contempt in which they had been ſo long held by the public at large. But their riches, inſtead of procuring them favour, excited the avarice, as much as their religion did the fury of the people. Deſirous of obtaining the protection of the new monarch, they collected among themſelves a very conſiderable ſum of money, which they intended preſenting to Richard on the day of his coronation. Several of the moſt eminent among them were accordingly ſelected; and, thinking their buſineſs a ſufficient exemption from the general prohibition, went to the gates of Weſtminſter-hall to tender him their preſent, and compliments of congratulation. The appearance of the Jews, and their diſregard of the royal mandate, awakened in the minds of the people all the fury of reſentment. A tumult immediately took place, and the poor defenceleſs Jews were murdered by the populace. Nor did this ſatisfy their reſentment: they entered the city, maſſacred all the Jews they could find, plundered their houſes, and then laid them in aſhes. The conflagration and carnage continued the whole night, notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the magiſtrates to ſuppreſs the tumult. And thus did ſeveral thouſands of the unfortunate Jews fall ſacrifices to the reſentment of a deluded multitude.

The king was ſo incenſed againſt the authors of this inhuman tragedy, that he ordered ſeveral of the principal leaders of the tumult to be put to death. He likewiſe publiſhed an edict, ſtrictly forbidding any inſult to be offered to the Jews, whom he declared to be equally under his immediate protection with the reſt of his ſubjects.

Richard had, a ſhort time before his acceſſion, taken the croſs from the hands of the archbiſhop of Tours, and, being firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, was now determined to make an expedition to the Holy Land. He was, indeed, more a ſoldier than a devotee; and, to gratify his paſſion for military honours, and gather laurels in the field of Paleſtine, ſcrupled not to ſacrifice at once the intereſt of his crown, and the welfare of his people.

The whole attention of Richard was now engaged in forming ſchemes for raiſing money to defray the expences of the intended expedition. He had already ſeized upon his father's treaſures; and the biſhop of Ely happening to die without a will, Richard confiſcated his eſtate, which was very conſiderable, to his own uſe. He laid the moſt rigorous impoſts on the people, expoſed the crown lands to ſale, and even diſpoſed of the great ſeal of England to William Longchamp, his firſt miniſter.

Theſe unwarrantable proceedings gave great uneaſineſs to Ralph de Glenville, the chief juſticiary, who expoſtulated with Richard on a conduct ſo derogatory to his own dignity, and oppreſſive to his ſubjects. The king replied, "He would ſell the city of London itſelf, if he could find a purchaſer." The upright juſticiary was ſhocked at this anſwer, and remonſtrated more freely with the king on the conſequences that muſt attend ſuch precipitate and unjuſtifiable meaſures. But Richard, who would not ſubmit to admonition, ſo highly reſented the liberty taken by the juſticiary, that he deprived him of his poſt, committed him to priſon, obliged him to pay fifteen thouſand pounds for his liberty, and ſold his poſt of juſticiary to the biſhop of Durham for one thouſand marks. The king of Scotland, purchaſed for ten thouſand marks, his right of ſuperiority over that kingdom, an acquiſition of the greateſt conſequence ever made by his father.

Nor were theſe the only methods taken by Richard for obtaining a ſufficient ſum of money to carry on his intended expedition. He obtained a bull from pope Clement, empowering him to diſcharge from the cruſade all who (having engaged themſelves in the buſineſs) were unable to undertake the expedition, and excuſe others, who were unwilling to undergo the fatigues, on their paying a proportional ſum of money. He inſtituted offices of enquiry into the conduct of the magiſtrates throughout the kingdom; not for reformation, but oppreſſion. The innocent and guilty ſuffered in common, and nothing but paying large ſums into the king's coffers gave ſafety to the one, or indemnity to the other. Thus, by theſe illegal proceedings, did Richard reduce the patrimony of the crown, exhauſt the ſubſtance of his people, and proſtitute the juſtice of his country, merely to procure a temporary ſupply for indulging his religious zeal, and ſatisfying his unbounded vanity.

Richard had got over to his intereſt the principal part of the clergy, ſo that while he was accumulating treaſures to defray the expences of the expedition, they were zealouſly labouring to procure him ſoldiers. The pulpits reſounded with the great merit of ſerving in the holy wars. The confeſſors enjoined no penances but what tended to promote the grand deſign of recovering Paleſtine out of the hands of the infidels, and freeing the Chriſtians in that country from the dreadful burthen laid on them by the declared enemies of the goſpel. In conſequence of this the people were fired with enthuſiaſm, and the army ſoon became exceeding numerous: nor was there any officer or ſoldier who did not furniſh himſelf with common neceſſaries, either from his own property, or from

the assistance of those who were equally zealous as himself, but from some infirmity, unable to engage in the expedition.

Being now sufficiently supplied both with men and money, Richard, (after constituting Longchamp, bishop of Ely, and Pudsey, bishop of Durham, regents of the kingdom during his absence) embarked his forces at Dover on the 11th of December, and landed the same day at Gravelines, where he was met by the earl of Flanders, who attended him to Normandy. After a short stay in that duchy, he marched with his forces to Gue de St. Remi, where he met Philip, king of France, who had engaged to act conjunctively with Richard in the intended expedition. The two kings swore mutually to support each other, and agreed, that in case either of them died during the crusades the other should take upon him the command of his army, and become master of his treasures, in order to carry on the war against the infidels.

A. D. 1190. Richard had hardly departed from his kingdom, when an event took place of a most melancholy nature, and which threatened a total annihilation of the wretched Jews throughout England. Mad with enthusiasm, and exasperated at the cruelties exercised on the Christians in Palestine, the people thought it a meritorious act to extirpate every person who refused to believe the doctrines of the gospel, and therefore resolved to make a general massacre of the Jews throughout the kingdom. Reason and humanity pleaded in vain: the unfortunate Hebrews were destined to destruction. The massacre began at Lynn, where these distressed people were all murdered, and their houses reduced to ashes. A similar fate attended those who resided at Stamford, Norwich, St. Edmunsbury, and Lincoln. But the most tragical scene was at York, where no less than five hundred men, besides women and children, fell sacrifices to the barbarous fury of religious zeal. The despised Jews, dreading the fate of their brethen in other parts of the kingdom, prevailed on the governor to admit them into the castle, hoping, by that means, to avert the storm of popular fury which threatened their destruction. But in this they were fatally mistaken; for the bigotted multitude surrounded the castle, and attacked the works with the utmost fury. The Jews offered to purchase the liberty of retiring at the price of all their riches: but they pleaded in vain; the ear of bigotry was deaf either to the voice of avarice or compassion. Driven to despair, and finding it impossible to defend themselves against such multitudes of enemies, they first murdered their wives and children, and after throwing their dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, set fire to the buildings, and perished in the flames. The regent Longchamp made a strict but fruitless enquiry after the authors of this horrid tumult. The laws wanted power to curb the licentiousness of a bigotted multitude.

While these melancholy transactions were taken place in England, the two kings on the continent (Philip and Richard) divided their armies, and each proceeded with all expedition, towards Palestine, it having been previously agreed between them to meet at Messina. Philip took the rout to Genoa, and Richard that to Marseilles, their respective fleets having received instructions to rendezvous at those ports. Richard waited some days at Marseilles, when his fleet not arriving, he hired twenty gallies, and ten large vessels, on board of which he embarked his forces, and sailed for Messina in Sicily, leaving orders for his fleet to follow him with all expedition. This order was punctually obeyed, and the fleet reached Messina as soon as the vessels that had been hired by Richard, who, on his arrival, found Philip, with his whole navy, ready to join him: but contrary winds, and other accidents occasioned so long a delay, that they were obliged to winter at Messina. This delay proved exceeding injurious to the enterprize, by laying the foundation of those animosities between Philip and Richard, that could never after be removed.

The long stay of the two monarchs at Messina with their powerful armies greatly alarmed Tancred, the king, or rather tyrant, of Sicily. That prince was very sensible his despotic administration had excited the general hatred of his people, and dreaded the consequences of their putting themselves under the protection of either of the two powerful kings. He therefore determined to sow the seeds of animosity between them, and prevent, by their discords, any application taking place that might be made by the Sicilians. Richard had long been affianced to Alice, the sister of Philip; and that princess had been sent, when very young, to the court of England. The consummation of this marriage, which had been delayed on various pretences, had furnished Philip with reason for quarrelling with Henry II. but the matter, at that time, seemed to be forgotten. Tancred revived the contention, by insinuating that his honour was concerned in the marriage of his sister, and that there was room sufficient to suspect the sincerity of Richard. The French monarch, alarmed at the suggestions of Tancred, immediately demanded that Richard should consummate the nuptials; but the English monarch gave sufficient proofs that Alice had violated the contract of marriage, having been with child by his father. Philip was amazed at this intelligence; but thought it more prudent to bury in silence the dishonour of his family, than insist further on the performance of the marriage.

The two kings now made the necessary preparations for reimbarking their forces, and proceeding, with all expedition, to Palestine: but queen Eleanor arriving with the princess of Berangera, daughter to Sanchez, king of Navarre (to whom Richard was soon after married) he determined, on this account, to make a longer stay in Sicily: upon which Philip, being strongly importuned by the Christians of Palestine to come to their assistance, took leave of Richard, who attended him to the seaside, and the two monarchs, at parting, expressed themselves in the highest terms of mutual friendship.

Queen Eleanor now gave her son a faithful account of the state of affairs in England, the principal particulars of which were as follow: Longchamp, (one of the regents) disdaining to have a colleague of equal authority, had thrown the bishop of Durham into prison, and governed the nation by his sole authority with all the tyranny of a despotic monarch. He ordered Geoffrey, the king's natural brother, who had been elected to the see of York, to be arrested; but the archbishop, having received intelligence of his design fled to the monastery of St. Martin, and took sanctuary in the church. The regent's officers paid no regard to the sanctity of the place; they dragged him from the altar in his sacerdotal robes,

robes, and committed him priſoner to the caſtle at Dover.

Theſe tyrannical proceedings excited the univerſal deteſtation of all ranks of people, but not more ſo than the clergy. The biſhop of Lincoln excommunicated all concerned in this ſacrilegious violence, and the ſentence was confirmed in a general convocation held at Reading. The biſhops even threatened the kingdom with an interdict, if Geoffrey was not immediately releaſed. The regent was now ſufficiently alarmed, and therefore, for his own ſafety, thought proper to give orders for the enlargement of the prince. But this did not ſatisfy the clergy, who determined to put a final period to the deſpotic adminiſtration of Longchamp. Accordingly, a general aſſembly of the nobles and prelates was held at Reading, before whom the regent was ſummoned to appear, in order to anſwer for his conduct. He returned for anſwer that he would attend, but, being conſcious his actions would not bear inſpection, fled to London, and ſhut himſelf up in the Tower. He ſoon found it impoſſible to defend that fortreſs any length of time, and therefore ſubmitted to appear before the great council of the nation, who immediately deprived him of his poſts; in conſequence of which, finding himſelf deſerted by thoſe who had baſked in the ſunſhine of his greatneſs, he paſſed over to the continent, in order to apply to the pope for redreſs. After the departure of Longchamp, the great ſeal was given to Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, a perſon of great prudence, modeſty and integrity, who always conſulted his colleagues in the affairs of government, and, by his prudent management, reſtored peace and tranquillity to the nation. But to return to affairs on the continent.

A. D. 1191. Richard ſtaid ſome time at Meſſina after the departure of Philip; but at length embarked his forces on the 10th of April, his whole fleet conſiſting of 150 ſail of large ſhips, and 53 well armed gallies. Queen Eleanor returned to England; but Berangera, and his ſiſter, the queen Dowager of Sicily, attended him on the expedition.

Before Richard could reach the coaſt of Syria, a deadful ſtorm aroſe, which ſeparated his fleet, and three of his largeſt ſhips were ſtranded on the iſland of Cyprus. Iſaac, the emperor, or tyrant of that iſland, though a profeſſor of the Chriſtian religion, was ſo far from aſſiſting theſe diſtreſſed ſoldiers (who were going to Aſia to defend the perſecuted followers of their common maſter) that he uſed them in a very cruel manner, and committed them all to cloſe confinement.

Exaſperated at this ungenerous treatment, Richard, who had taken ſhelter in the harbours of Candia, ſent a meſſenger to the tyrant, demanding that his ſubjects ſhould be ſet at liberty, and their effects reſtored. But Iſaac, inſtead of complying with ſo reaſonable a demand, returned a very inſolent anſwer to Richard. In conſequence of this the Engliſh monarch immediately ſailed to Cyprus landed his forces, and totally routed the tyrant's army. Iſaac, who was humbled by a ſingle ſtroke of adverſity, laid his crown at the feet of Richard, who ſent him in chains to Tripoli in Syria, and the conqueror by the general conſent of the people, was placed on the Cyprian throne.

Richard ſtayed a ſhort time at Cyprus, during which he was married to Berangera, and they were both crowned at Limiſſo, the capital of the iſland. A few days after the performance of theſe ceremonies Richard embarked for Paleſtine, carrying with him the daughter of the Cyprian prince. In this paſſage he took a very large ſhip belonging to Saladine, the chief commander of the infidels. She was laden with proviſions and military ſtores for the garriſon of Acre, together with a reinforcement of 1500 troops.

The Engliſh army landed time enough to ſhare in the glory of taking Acre, which had been ſome time beſieged by the French monarch. Richard was welcomed to the Chriſtian camp by Philip in perſon; and it was determined by the two monarchs to preſs the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. By this conjunctive determination the moſt amazing acts of valour were every day performed, and the beſieged ſoon reduced to the utmoſt extremity. At length, Saladine, finding it impoſſible any longer to ſuccour the city, gave the garriſon leave to ſurrender. Accordingly, articles of capitulation were ſigned, and the city delivered up to the cruſaders, together with 500 Chriſtian captives.

The conjunctive kings, elated with their ſucceſs, reſolved to march with their forces to Jeruſalem, in order, if poſſible, to wreſt that city out of the hands of the infidels. Every neceſſary preparation was made for the armies to march, and the hopes of the cruſaders were raiſed to the higheſt pitch, when an unhappy diſſention aroſe between the two chiefs, and fruſtrated all their pleaſing expectations.

The diſtinguiſhed valour of Richard during the ſiege of Acre, his liberality to the ſoldiers, and the magnificence he diſplayed on every occaſion, procured him the hearts of the cruſaders, and filled the breaſt of Philip with malignant jealouſy. He, however, concealed his paſſion, till a diſpute, which now happened between Guy de Luſignan, and Conrade, marquis of Montſerrat, relative to the crown of Jeruſalem, gave him an opportunity of expreſſing his reſentment. Richard eſpouſed the pretenſions of the former, and Philip thoſe of the latter. During this conteſt, which, in reality, had nothing more than an empty title for its object (the city of Jeruſalem being then in the hands of the infidels) ſeveral ſharp meſſages paſſed between them; and Richard complained that Philip obſtructed the progreſs of the confederate army; adding, that he was ready to ſacrifice every perſonal conſideration to the intereſt of the cauſe he had, at ſuch expence, undertaken to ſupport.

It ſoon, however, appeared that Philip was determined to abandon the enterprize, but, aſhamed to avow his real motives, had recourſe to artifice and deception. He pretended that the climate of Paleſtine did not agree with his conſtitution, and therefore deſired of Richard that he would permit him to return. Richard, after exacting from him the moſt dreadful oath that he would not attempt any thing againſt his dominions, but, on the contrary, protect and defend them to the utmoſt of his power, conſented to his departure, and even furniſhed him with two of his beſt ſhips for carrying him and his retinue to Europe. Philip left the command of his army to the duke of Burgundy: and after giving him ſtrict orders to pay the ſame obedience to the king of England as to himſelf, ſailed to his dominions. Nor was Philip the only perſon who deſerted the enterprize; multitudes followed his example, ſo that the numerous army of the Chriſtians was greatly reduced in number.

After the departure of the French monarch, Richard determined to attempt ſome enterprize

worthy the name of the leader of the Chriſtian armies. He accordingly made a general attack on Saladine's camp; but met with ſo powerful a reſiſtance, that he was obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs. But this rebuff made no change in Richard's reſolutions: that martial ſpirit, which was his ruling paſſion, ſupported him under every misfortune. He determined to march his forces from Acre to Joppa, and fortify all the places that ſhould fall into his hands.

Saladine was no ſtranger to the deſigns of Richard, and therefore poſted himſelf in the way, at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand men, to oppoſe his paſſage. Richard glowed at this opportunity of ſignalizing his courage, fully perſuaded that, if he could defeat the army of Saladine, he ſhould open to himſelf a free paſſage to Jeruſalem, and, perhaps, make himſelf maſter of that city in a ſhort time.

The two armies meeting, they both prepared for a general engagement, which was to decide the fate of thouſands, and, poſſibly, of Paleſtine itſelf. The right wing of the Chriſtian army was commanded by James d'Aveſnes, and the left by the duke of Burgundy, while Richard in perſon led the center, or main body. Saladine had concealed part of his troops on the right behind ſome hills, which covered them from the ſight of the Chriſtians. On this body of reſerve he placed his greateſt hopes of victory; and therefore, without altering his poſition, waited the attack of the enemy, who began the action with their right wing. The Saracens ſupported the ſhock with great reſolution; and, by the ſuperiority of numbers, put that body into great diſorder. Their leader, James d'Aveſnes was ſlain, while endeavouring to rally his broken troops, and lead them once more againſt the infidels. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of the left wing, made a furious attack upon the right of the enemy. The Saracens, for ſome time, ſupported themſelves gallantly till at length Saladine gave orders for a retreat, upon which the duke followed them a conſiderable way from the main body of the army. Saladine perceiving his left wing ſtood firm, and that the duke of Burgundy was ſeparated from the reſt of the allied forces, ordered the body that lay concealed behind the hills to move forward. Theſe troops accordingly deſcended the eminences with ſuch amazing rapidity, that the duke's forces were ſurrounded, and prodigious numbers of them put to the ſword.

Richard no ſooner ſaw the ſituation of the duke than he immediately marched to his aſſiſtance, and fell on the troops of Saladine with ſuch aſtoniſhing impetuoſity, that they were ſoon compelled to give way. The valour of Richard entirely changed the fortune of the day, and Saladine was obliged to reinforce his right wing with part of his troops from the left. This motion, which cauſed ſome diſorder in that part of the Saracens army, gave the right wing of the Chriſtians time to recover themſelves, who fell on the remainder of the left wing of the enemy with ſuch reſolution, that they were obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

In the mean time Richard maintained the battle againſt the right wing with the moſt aſtoniſhing reſolution, in ſpite of the great ſuperiority of the enemy, who now directed their whole force againſt the Engliſh monarch. Richard would, however, have been in the moſt imminent danger, had not his right wing, meeting with no farther oppoſition, advanced to his aſſiſtance. The Saracens, finding themſelves attacked in flank by a freſh body of forces, began to give way; nor was it in the power of Saladine, though he exerted his utmoſt, to rally them. The Chriſtians took advantage of this diſorder, and preſſed the Saracens with ſuch vigour, that they betook themſelves to flight, leaving no leſs than 50,000 infidels dead on the field of battle.

In conſequence of this defeat, the Saracens abandoned the maritime cities of Aſcalon, Cæſarea, and Joppa, after demoliſhing the fortifications. Richard, marched with his victorious troops to Joppa, where he ſtaid ſome time to repair the fortifications, thinking, if, in his future efforts againſt the infidels, he ſhould be compelled to retreat, that would be a ſecure port from whence he might embark his forces for Europe.

During Richard's ſtay at Joppa an event took place which had like to have coſt him his life. He was exceeding fond of hunting, and frequently amuſed himſelf with that diverſion in the neighbourhood, attended only by a few of his moſt intimate friends. As he was one day returning from the chace, with only ſix perſons in his train, being greatly fatigued, he alighted from his horſe, laid himſelf under a tree, and fell aſleep. He was, however, ſoon rouſed by the approach of a ſmall party of Saracen horſe paſſing by the place. Richard immediately got up, mounted his horſe, and, as the Saracens were few in number, purſued them ſome time. The Saracens pretended to fly before him, but artfully drew Richard into an ambuſcade, where he was ſuddenly ſurrounded by a ſquadron of horſe. The king defended himſelf with great bravery for a conſiderable time, without the leaſt thought of retreating, notwithſtanding the prodigious diſparity of numbers. But even the valour of Richard would have been exerted in vain, had not one of his attendants, by a remarkable preſence of mind, ſaved him from impending deſtruction. No leſs than four of his attendants were already ſlain, when William Deſpreaux, a moſt ſincere friend to Richard, cried out, in the Saracen language, "Hold! I am the king of England." The eyes of the Saracens were now directed to Deſpreaux; and thoſe engaged with Richard immediately left him, that they might have a ſhare in ſeizing the perſon whom they imagined to be the Engliſh monarch. This ſtratagem gave Richard the opportunity of eſcaping from the enemy. Deſpreaux did not diſcover himſelf till he was taken before Saladine, when, falling at his feet, he ingenuouſly acknowledged the deception he had uſed for the ſafety of his maſter. Saladine commanded his fidelity, treated him with the greateſt reſpect, and gave him his liberty.

Richard, having finiſhed the fortifications at Joppa, began his march towards Jeruſalem, fully reſolved, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of that city. On his way he met with the army of Saladine, which was drawn up on the plains of Rama, in order to diſpute his paſſage. In conſequence of this another deſperate battle enſued, which was continued, for ſome time, with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length victory declared in favour of Richard, and the Saracens, after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs, were obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

After this victory, Richard, having now no obſtacle in his way, proceeded on his march towards Jeruſalem: but the Knights Templars (who were in the intereſt of Philip of France, and there-

fore envious of the glory which Richard muſt obtain ſhould he make a conqueſt of the Holy City) perſuaded the Engliſh monarch to lay aſide his deſign till the enſuing ſpring, and take up his winter quarters at Aſcalon. Richard who did not ſuſpect the real motive of the knights, followed their advice, marched directly to Aſcalon, and rebuilt the fortifications which had been demoliſhed by the forces of Saladine.

A. D. 1192. Richard had not been long at Aſcalon when the contention, which had, ſome time before, commenced between Guy de Luſignan and the marquis of Conrade, relative to the crown of Jeruſalem, was revived; the conſequence of which was, that the duke of Burgundy refuſed to act any longer in conjunction with the Engliſh, and the French troops retired into places of ſafety, and ſpent their time in luxury and indolence.

Anxious for making himſelf maſter of Jeruſalem (the great object for which the cruſade had been undertaken) Richard put an end to the diſpute by declaring the marquis of Conrade ſovereign of Jeruſalem; but, at the ſame time gave Guy a real, for the loſs of a nominal, dignity, by preſenting him with the crown of Cyprus. The marquis, who was then at Tyre, pleaſed with obtaining the honour he had ſo long deſired, made preparations for joining the Chriſtian army at Aſcalon; but before he could embark with his forces, he was ſtabbed in the ſtreets of that city by two aſſaſſins.

This accident proved a freſh obſtruction to the progreſs of the Chriſtian army; but the widow of the marquis being ſoon after married to Henry count of Champagne, that nobleman was, in her right, declared king of Jeruſalem; and, at his ſolicitation, the French conſented to join the army of Richard, who immediately marched towards the capital of Paleſtine.

When Richard arrived within the neighbourhood of Jeruſalem he fortuuately met with the caravan of the Saracens, which had come from Babylon, and conſiſted of three thouſand camels, and four thouſand mules, loaded with the rich merchandize of the Eaſt, and eſcorted by ten thouſand horſe. The Saracens no ſooner perceived the Chriſtian army than they began to retreat; but Richard, at the head of five thouſand cavalry, attacked them with ſuch fury that they were put to flight, and the whole caravan fell into the hands of the Chriſtians. Richard, who was equally generous and brave, diſtributed the whole booty, which was of prodigious value, among his troops.

Immediately after this ſucceſsful incident, Richard marched with his army to the neighbouring eminences, from the ſummits of which they had a fair proſpect of the celebrated city of Jeruſalem, and the reduction of which was the great object of all their labour and toil. But when Richard thought himſelf ſure of conqueſt, and of putting a glorious period to the expedition, his hopes were rendered abortive by diviſions among the leaders of the confederate army. It was urged, in a council of war, that the ſcarcity, which then prevailed in the neighbouring countries would render it difficult, if not impoſſible, to procure proviſions neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and that therefore it would be imprudent, at leaſt for the preſent, to attempt inveſting the city.

But theſe reaſons were far from being ſatisfactory to Richard, who determined to lay ſiege to the city, which was then very thin of troops, great numbers having been drawn out to reinforce the army of Saladine. The duke of Burgundy, finding it impoſſible to divert Richard from his deſign, and at the ſame time envious of the glory which the Engliſh monarch would acquire by the reduction of Jeruſalem, drew off his forces, and marched directly to Tyre; and his example was followed by the duke of Auſtria, general of the French forces.

Theſe were diſcouraging circumſtances to Richard, whoſe mind was ſo bent on the reduction of Jeruſalem, that he even ſubmitted to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy, and the count of Champagne himſelf, the nominal king of Jeruſalem, undertook the office of ambaſſador. But every attempt was made in vain. Steady to his purpoſe of depriving Richard of the glory of taking the capital of Paleſtine, the duke abſolutely refuſed to join the Chriſtian army. The Engliſh monarch was therefore obliged to abandon the enterprize, and accordingly marched his army to Acre. But he had hardly reached the neighbourhood of that city, when advice was received that Saladine had taken Joppa, and was preſſing the ſiege of the caſtle with ſuch fury, that unleſs a ſpeedy relief arrived, the garriſon muſt be compelled to ſurrender.

In conſequence of this intelligence, Richard (who never abandoned his ſoldiers in diſtreſs) marched with his forces to Joppa, whither he had no ſooner arrived than he fell on the beſiegers with ſuch aſtoniſhing fury, that they immediately gave up the enterprize, threw down their arms, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

But notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, it was impoſſible for Richard (whoſe army was materially weakened by the deſertion of the dukes of Burgundy and Auſtria) to defeat the numerous armies of Saladine, and carry his victories to the gates of Jeruſalem. At the ſame time, the violent enthuſiaſm of the cruſaders in general began to yield to time and fatigue; and they were now more deſirous of viſiting their own country than the capital of Paleſtine. Richard was no ſtranger to their wiſhes, and therefore determined to take the opportunity of coming to an accommodation with Saladine. Accordingly, a three year's truce was concluded between them, by which it was agreed, that Acre, Joppa, and ſome other ſea-port towns in Paleſtine, ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of the Chriſtians, and that all of that religion ſhould have liberty to perform pilgrimages to Jeruſalem unmoleſted.

Saladine continued faithful to his engagements, but did not live to ſee the expiration of the time limited for the truce, being ſuddenly taken off at Damaſcus juſt before that period arrived. He was a prince of the greateſt humanity and moderation; and his death was lamented by the Chriſtians. The laſt action of his life deſerves to be particularly noticed. He ordered that, at his funeral, his ſhirt ſhould be carried on the point of a lance through every ſtreet in Damaſcus, while a crier preceding it, proclaimed, with a loud voice, "This is all that remains of the mighty Saladine, the conqueror of the Eaſt." By his laſt will, he left conſiderable charities to be diſtributed to the poor of every denomination: the Chriſtian, Jew and Mahometan, ſhared equally the bounty of the generous and humane Saladine.

After ſigning the truce with Saladine, Richard, having no farther buſineſs of importance to detain him in Paleſtine, reſolved to haſten, with all expedition, to England. He accordingly embarked

on board a large veſſel bound for the iſle of Corfu, from whence he ſet ſail in order to land on the coaſt of Italy; but was unfortunately ſhipwrecked near Raguſa in the gulph of Venice. He knew the danger of croſſing ſo large an extent of territory with his attendants, and therefore diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a pilgrim, intending to travel through Germany, as the ſafeſt way, to his own dominions. But, unluckily, ſome German officers, who had ſerved under Leopold, duke of Auſtria at the ſiege of Acre, happened to recollect the perſon of the royal pilgrim, and gave their maſter the pleaſing information. Leopold, rejoiced at the thoughts of having the Engliſh monarch in his power, ordered him to be ſeized in the night at a village near Vienna, and ſent him in chains to the emperor.

As ſoon as the captivity of Richard was known in England, a general conſternation took place throughout the kingdom. His brother John (who had long formed a deſign of uſurping the Engliſh throne) conſidered it as a very fortunate event, and determined, if poſſible, to improve it to his own advantage. To effect this he went over to France, and ſolicited the protection of Philip, whom he knew to be an inveterate enemy to his brother. In conſequence of this, queen Eleanor exerted herſelf in the cauſe of Richard, and earneſtly conjured the council to take every precaution to render abortive the ungenerous deſigns of John.

A. D. 1193. The perfidious Philip received John with open arms, and a treaty was concluded between them, by which it was ſtipulated that the latter ſhould deliver up to Philip a great part of Normandy; and that John ſhould receive, in return, the inveſtiture of all the reſt of Richard's tranſmarine dominions. In conſequence of this treaty Philip invaded Normandy at the head of a powerful army, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places, and extended his ravages to the gates of Rouen. But the time of the ſervice of his vaſſals being expired, he concluded a truce with the Engliſh regent, who agreed to pay him twenty thouſand marks to withdraw his army.

During theſe baſe tranſactions, the warlike Richard was ſuffering every kind of inſult and indignity in a German priſon. A warrior, who, at the head of his army, made even the mighty Saladine tremble, was now treated with contempt by the very perſon who ought to have protected him. The unfortunate Richard was at length taken before the diet, and accuſed of ſeveral crimes, which had no exiſtence but in the malignant minds of his enemies. He juſtified himſelf with an eloquence that confounded his perſecutors, and covered them with confuſion, and remonſtrated with them on the cruel treatment he had received in a country that had expreſſed the utmoſt ardour for the cruſade, and by princes who profeſſed the tenets of the goſpel. The princes of the diet were aſhamd of the emperor's conduct, and loudly declared they could not ſuffer the Germanic body to be ſtained with the imputation of violating the laws of nature and nations, by detaining in priſon, without any juſt cauſe, the perſon of a great king, who had ſo nobly ventured his life in the cauſe of Chriſtianity. The emperor was alarmed at this declaration, and offered to ſet Richard at liberty; but demanded 150,000 marks as a ranſom, of which 100,000 were to be paid to him before his releaſement, and hoſtages delivered to the duke of Auſtria, for the payment of the remainder at a future period.

As ſoon as the emperor's demand was made known in England, every method was taken that could be thought for raiſing the money with the utmoſt expedition. Twenty ſhillings were levied on every knight's fee, and the money then in the treaſury applied to purchaſe the liberty of a prince, who had ſo gallantly reduced the power of the infidels. The plate in the churches and monaſteries was melted down: the nobles, biſhops and abbots paid a fourth part of their annual revenues; the parochial clergy a tenth of their tithes; and William, king of Scotland contributed two thouſand marks towards the king's ranſom. The neceſſary ſum being thus raiſed, queen Eleanor, accompanied by Walter, archbiſhop of Rouen, went over to the continent, paid that part of the money then demanded by the emperor, and delivered up the hoſtages to the duke of Auſtria, for the remainder; in conſequence of which Richard was immediately ſet at liberty, in the preſence of the archbiſhops of Mentz and Cologne, and moſt of the German nobility.

A. D. 1194. Richard had not long left the imperial court, when ambaſſadors arrived from Philip of France, offering a large ſum of money to the emperor, if he would confine the Engliſh monarch one year longer. The baſe and perfidious emperor readily catched at the offer, and immediately diſpatched meſſengers to arreſt Richard, and bring him back to the imperial court. But his cruel deſigns were rendered abortive, Richard having embarked at the mouth of the Schelde, and loſt ſight of the German ſhore, before the meſſengers could overtake him.

Philip was aſtoniſhed when he heard that Richard was ſet at liberty; and wrote a letter to prince John in the following terms: "Take care of yourſelf: the devil is broke looſe."

Richard was releaſed from his confinement on the 4th of February, and on the 20th of March following landed at Sandwich, from whence he proceeded to London, amidſt the acclamations of the people, who ſeemed to vie with each other in teſtifying their ſatisfaction at his ſafe return. This endearing behaviour of his ſubjects almoſt baniſhed from the mind of Richard, the thoughts of thoſe indignities he had experienced during his impriſonment: all his alarms, fatigues and ſufferings were buried in oblivion. He was even deſirous of wiping off the ignominy of his captivity, and therefore ordered the ceremony of his coronation to be repeated, which was according performed, a few days after his arrival, at Weſtminſter, the king of Scotland carrying the ſword of ſtate.

Soon after the performance of this ceremony Richard declared his deſign of making a reſumption of all the crown revenues, and annulling all the contracts he had made before his departure to the Holy Land. He alledged, that the purchaſers had already indemnified themſelves with the profits of the eſtates: that neceſſity had compelled him to make the grants: that the money had been ſpent in an expedition favoured both by the clergy and laity; and that therefore it was unjuſt the crown ſhould bear the whole burthen. Theſe reaſons were unneceſſary, not a ſingle perſon diſputing the juſtice of reſumption. All the purchaſers gave up the poſſeſſions they had obtained from the king, and ſeemed to vie with each other who ſhould be firſt to make the required ſurrender.

Richard now called a parliament at Northampton, at which he demanded juſtice againſt his

brother John, and his principal abettor, Hugh, biſhop of Coventry, both of whom were then in France. They were cited to appear within forty days, and anſwer the charges exhibited againſt them. But they both refuſed to obey the ſummons, in conſequence of which John was attainted of high treaſon, and the prelate was ordered to be tried by the biſhops in the king's court.

A. D. 1195. Richard had, ever ſince his arrival in England, reſolved in his own mind, to take the firſt opportunity he could of puniſhing the perfidious Philip, king of France; and the kingdom being now in a perfect ſtate of tranquillity, he determined on carrying his deſign into execution. A monarch leſs paſſionate and haughty than Richard could not have been eaſily prevailed on to pardon the deteſtable conduct of Philip, who, contrary to the moſt ſolemn oaths, and in defiance of all laws, both human and divine, had invaded his territories, and endeavoured to prolong the time of his captivity.

Having raiſed a very powerful army, Richard paſſed over to the continent, and immediately commenced hoſtilities againſt the French monarch. But no great conqueſts were made during the whole campaign. The only action of any conſequence happened at Fretteville, between the French and Engliſh cavalry, when the former were totally routed; and Philip loſt his chartulary, or regiſter of charters, which he always carried with him, containing the ſeveral particulars of his revenues, with a liſt of his vaſſals.

In the courſe of this war prince John, the king's brother (who was deſtitute both of honour and integrity) deſerted the French monarch, as he had before done his brother. Having invited to dinner all the officers of the garriſon of Evreaux, where he commanded, he ordered them to be maſſacred, and then delivered up the place to the king of England, of whom he craved pardon for his offences. Queen Eleanor interceded in his behalf, and with ſuch ſucceſs that Richard forgave his brother for what was paſſed, and again received him into favour. "I forgive him, ſaid Richard, and hope to forget his injuries as eaſily as he will my clemency."

During theſe traſactions the duke of Auſtria was ſeized with a violent fever, in conſequence of having cruſhed his leg by a fall from his horſe at a tournament; and finding his end approaching, was ſtruck with remorſe for his cruel behaviour to Richard. A proper reſtitution was not in his power to make; but he ordered, by his will, that all the Engliſh hoſtages ſhould be ſet at liberty, and his part of the king's ranſon remitted. The duke's ſon refuſed to obey his father's orders, but by the interpoſition of the clergy he was obliged to ſubmit, and they were fully diſcharged.

A. D. 1196. Richard, in order to ſupport his military operations againſt Philip, was obliged to load his Engliſh ſubjects with heavy taxes, which occaſioned a general commotion throughout the kingdom; and the great talents of Hubert, the chief juſticiary, were hardly ſufficient to prevent the general diſcontent from producing the moſt ſerious conſequences. Every day produced ſome freſh diſturbances, which were greatly increaſed by the harangues of one William Fitz-Oſbert, a perſon of mean birth, and ſtill meaner appearance. He was a lawyer by profeſſion, but pretended to be the advocate of the poor; and in order to render himſelf particularly remarkable as to perſon, ſuffered his beard to grow to an enormous length, from which circumſtance he acquired the appellation of Longbeard. He was continually exciting the ſpirit of reſentment in the poor againſt the rich, by the moſt inflammatory ſpeeches; pretending there was a colluſion among the great to eaſe themſelves of the load of public taxes, and throw the whole weight on the ſhoulders of the labouring people, who (he ſaid) were conſidered in no better light than as beaſts of burthen. Theſe inſinuations produced the intended effect: the fury of the people was raiſed to a degree bordering on madneſs; and a tumult enſued in St. Paul's church-yard, where ſeveral perſons loſt their lives, and many others were dangerouſly wounded.

Theſe dangerous commotions greatly alarmed Hubert the juſticiary, who ordered Longbeard to appear before him; but he was ſo far from paying any regard to the ſummons, that he killed the officer who delivered the citation. The more rational part of Longbeard's followers were ſtruck with horror at this inhuman act, and immediately abandoned the pretended advocate for the rights of the people. Longbeard obſerved this deſertion, but continued for ſome days, at the head of his rabble, to commit the moſt horrid barbarities on the citizens.

It was now thought high time for government to interpoſe, in order to prevent an open rebellion. Accordingly, a ſtrong party of ſoldiers were ſent into the city, with ſtrict orders to apprehend the incendiary, dead or alive. This appearance of the ſoldiery ſtruck a terror in the rioters, who retired, with Longbeard at their head, to the church of St. Mary-le-bow, where they ſhut themſelves up, hopeing a general inſurrection would be excited in their favour. But in this they were greatly miſtaken: the citizens ſaw their error, and gave up the wretch who had ſo baſely deceived them. When the ſoldiers came to the church in order to execute their commiſſion, Longbeard refuſed to ſurrender; and being driven from the body of the church by one part of them, who made a forcible entrance, he ran, at the head of his followers, into the ſteeple, from whence they diſcharged a prodigious number of ſtones, and other miſſiles, at the aſſailants. The officer, who commanded the ſoldiers, being unwilling to expoſe their lives to the attacks of a ſet of deſperadoes, ordered a large quantity of wet ſtraw to be carried into the body of the church, and ſet on fire. This had the intended effect, the inſurgents, being compelled to ſurrender, in order to prevent ſuffocation. Longbeard was ſentenced to be drawn at a horſe's tail through the principal ſtreets of the city, and afterwards to be hung in chains: but this ſentence was altered, and he, with nine of his principal accomplices, were hanged at Tyburn.

A. D. 1197. The war on the continent was ſtill carried on with the moſt unremitted animoſity by the two contending monarchs. In the ſpring of this year, Richard marched his army into Auvergne and Berry, where he poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral places; but they were ſoon after retaken by Philip.* In the mean time John, who had been harraſſing

* During theſe tranſactions Richard was informed that his Engliſh ſubjects were in great diſtreſs on account of a famine and mortality, which were equally felt in moſt parts of the kingdom. Soon after receiving this melancholy intelligence he

harraſſing the people of Beauvais, being reinforced by a conſiderable body of Brabanders, advanced to the very gates of the city. Peter de Dreux, biſhop of Beauvais, a prince of the blood royal, diſdaining to be inſulted at the gates of his own capital, ſallied out, at the head of a choſen number of forces, in order to drive the enemy from their poſts. But this attempt proved unſucceſsful, his army being totally defeated, and himſelf taken priſoner.

John knew that Richard mortally hated the biſhop, and therefore ſent him to his brother, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think proper. Richard immediately gave orders that he ſhould be conveyed to a dark dungeon in Rouen, and heavily loaded with chains. A few days after ſeveral of the biſhop's friends interceded with Richard for a mitigation of the prelates ſentence. "You yourſelves (ſaid the king) ſhall be judges of my reaſons for this ſeverity. When I was taken priſoner in Germany, the emperor treated me, at firſt, with good manners and civility; but within a few days arrived the biſhop of Beauvais. Next morning he had his audience of the emperor, and a few hours after I was chained like a ſlave, and more irons heaped upon my limbs than if I had been the baſeeſt of criminals. Can you, therefore, condemn me for treating the biſhop in the ſame manner?" This ſilenced all the advocates of the prelate; but the pope ſoon after demanded his liberty, and claimed him as his ſon, and inſiſted highly on the privileges of the church. The king ſent the coat of mail, which the biſhop had worn in battle, and which was beſmeared with blood, to the pontiff, with a letter, containing theſe words: "This have we found: know then whether it be thy ſon's coat, or not." This laconic epiſtle put a ſtop to any farther interceſſion from his holineſs, who returned for anſwer, "that the coat ſent by the king did not belong to a ſon of the church, but to a ſon of the camp; therefore Richard was at liberty to treat the priſoner as he thought proper." The prelate, being thus abandoned, was obliged to purchaſe his liberty at the price of ten thouſand marks.

A. D. 1198. The French monarch, being now weary of a war which had greatly exhauſted his finances, applied to pope Innocent III. who then filled the papal chair, to employ his good offices in bringing about a peace with Richard. The pope readily complied with his requeſt, and ſent cardinal Peter into France to act as mediator between the contending parties. Accordingly a negotiation was begun, and a conſiderable progreſs made in a treaty for a durable peace, when the whole was rendered abortive by the unexpected death of the Engliſh monarch, the particulars relative to which are as follow:

A. D. 1199. A peaſant ploughing a field in the lordſhip of Vidomar, viſcount of Limoges, found a treaſure, containing, beſides money, ſeveral valuable pieces of antiquity. The peaſant delivered the whole to Vidomar, who ſent a part of it to Richard; but the king, not being ſatisfied, demanded the whole, as ſuperior lord of the ſoil. The viſcount, not readily complying with his demand, Richard, at the head of a company of Brabanders, beſieged him in the caſtle of Chaluz. The garriſon offered to ſurrender; but Richard replied, that ſince Vidomar had given him the trouble of coming himſelf to recover what was properly his own, he would enter the caſtle by force; and hang every man of them on the walls. This declaration rendered the beſieged deſperate, and they reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible.

In the afternoon of the ſame day Richard, accompanied by Marcadee, the leader of the Brabanders, approached the caſtle in order to reconnoitre its ſituation and avenues. But as he was taking a ſurvey of the works one Bertram de Gourdon, (who was on the walls of the caſtle armed with a croſs-bow) took aim at the king, and pierced his ſhoulder with an arrow. Richard immediately clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and returned to his quarters, from whence he ſent a meſſenger to Marcadee, with orders that he ſhould begin the aſſault, and after taking the place, hang up all the garriſon, except the perſon who had given him the wound. Theſe orders were punctually executed; the garriſon were all hanged, and Bertram reſerved a priſoner to ſuffer whatever puniſhment the king might think proper to inflict on him.

The wound which Richard received was not, of itſelf, dangerous; but from the ignorance of the ſurgeon in extracting the head of the arrow, a mortification enſued. In conſequence of this, Richard, ſenſible his life was drawing towards a period, ſent for Gourdon, and, on his approach, ſaid, "Wretch, what injury did I ever do to you, "that you ſhould endeavour to deprive me of my "life?" "What have you done to me, replied "the priſoner: you killed, with your own hands "my father and two brothers; and myſelf you "intended to have hanged. I am now in your "power; take your revenge: I ſhall willingly "ſubmit to the ſevereſt tortures, provided I can "think I have delivered the world from ſo great "a tyrant."

Struck with remorſe at the boldneſs and juſtneſs of this reply, Richard ordered the priſoner to be immediately ſet, at liberty; but Gourdon ſoon after falling into the hands of Marcadee, he ordered him to be flead alive, and afterwards hanged in chains.

The king did not long ſurvive the death of Gourdon, the mortification increaſing ſo faſt as to prevent every attempt to ſtop it fruitleſs. He paid the debt of nature on the 6th of April, in the 42d year of his age, and 10th of his reign.

Richard, a few hours before he expired, made his will, in which he deviſed not only the throne of England, but likewiſe all his other dominions, to his brother John, to whom he had been, for ſome time perfectly reconciled. He left conſiderable ſums of money to be diſpoſed of for the relief of the poor, beſides legacies to the greater part of his domeſtics.

It is ſaid that the archbiſhop of Rouen, preſuming on the privilege which a death-bed then gave to the clergy, viſited Richard a ſhort time before his death, and, in the courſe of converſation,

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he happened to go to a ſmall ſea port town called St. Valeri, where he obſerved a ſhip laden with corn from England. Knowing the diſtreſſes of his people on account of the famine, he determined to make examples of thoſe, who, from views of intereſt, had ſo materially contributed to increaſe them, and accordingly ordered all the people belonging to the veſſel to be immediately hanged at the yard-arm; having done which he put other men on board the ſhip, and ſent her with the corn back to England.

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Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

KING JOHN.

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Oxford Dec^r. 24. 1166. | *Crowned 27 May 1199.* | *Died 18 Oct. 1216.*

tion, adviſed the king (with whom he had had ſeveral ſharp diſputes) to put away his three daughters. "Daughters! replied the king: why "you know I have none." "Yes, ſaid the pre- "late, you have three, Pride, Covetouſneſs and "Luxury." "Then, ſaid Richard, that I may "may diſpoſe of them where I know they will be "cheriſhed, I leave my pride to the Knights Tem- "plars, my covetouſneſs to the Ciſtertians, and "my luxury to the prelates"

Richard excelled all the princes of his age for perſonal bravery and military proweſs; on which account he received the ſurname of *Cœur de Lion*, or Lion's Heart. He was ſo paſſionately fond of military glory, that he never thought any toils, any dangers, any difficulties, too great to attain it. In ſhort, war was to him a paſtime, and danger a ſpur to freſh atchievements.

In his perſon he was ſtrong and well-proportioned: his arms were long; his eyes blue and full of vivacity: his hair was of a yellowiſh colour, his countenance fair and comely, and his mein grand and truly majeſtic.

Few men were poſſeſſed of a greater ſhare of underſtanding, a more ſolid judgment, or more perſuaſive eloquence, than Richard. He had a ready wit, and was maſter of a delicate keen vein of ſatire, the latter of which qualification was evinced in the ſmart repartee he made to the archbiſhop of Rouen, when on his death-bed.

In his private character Richard, like moſt other great men, had a mixture of ſhining qualities and diſtinguiſhed vices. His ingratitude, and want of filial affection, are unpardonable. He was proud, haughty, ambitious, choleric, cruel and vindictive; but at the ſame time he was open, frank, generous and brave, and particularly rewarded thoſe who aſſiſted him in obtaining military honours.

During his reign the people were burthened with ſeveral very heavy taxes, but then it muſt be acknowledged he did not hoard up the money like a covetous miſer, it being chiefly employed in defraying the expences of a war, which (however abſurd it may appear in modern times) was, at that period, conſidered as laudable.

Upon the whole, it muſt be confeſſed, that had Richard lived longer, the natural enemies of this country (the French) would never have been able to extend their territories as they afterwards did; nor would England have been reduced to the miſerable ſtate in which ſhe appeared under the reign of his ſucceſſor.

Richard bore in the ſhield of his coat of arms three lions paſſant guardant; which bearing has been ever ſince continued by the Engliſh monarchs. In his reign alſo coats of arms came to be hereditary in families. Theſe owe their origin to the badges, which knights, and other military perſons, painted, for diſtinction, on their ſhields or banners, in thoſe expeditions into the eaſt, called the Cruſades.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Richard I.

A. D.

1189 The citizens of London obtained the liberty of being governed by two bailiffs or ſheriffs; alſo to have a mayor for their principal governor. The two firſt ſheriffs, or bailiffs, were, Henry Cornhell and Richard Ryner; and the firſt mayor, Henry Fitz-Alwyn, who continued in that office upwards of twenty-five years.

1191 On Midſummer-day the ſun was eclipſed for three hours, and the ſtars were ſeen in the heavens at ten o'clock in the forenoon.

1192 Grain was ſo ſcarce in England, that wheat ſold for 20s. per quarter, a ſum equal to 6l. of the preſent money. This year there raged a violent fever, which laſted five months, and carried off innumerable multitudes of the people.

On Whitſunday there appeared a ſeeming ſun ſo like the real one that the aſtronomers were obliged to view them with their inſtruments in order to diſcover the difference.

1197 About this time lived Robin Hood and Little John, two diſtinguiſhed robbers, who concealed themſelves in retired parts of the country, and lived entirely by plunder. Robin Hood was betrayed in a nunnery at Berkley, and being ſick, deſired to be let blood; but after the orifice was cloſed, he opened it, and ſuffered himſelf to bleed to death.

It was during this reign that the citizens of London firſt divided themſelves into corporations, or, as they are now called, companies.

CHAP. III.

JOHN, ſurnamed LACKLAND.

John is crowned king of England. Divorces his wife, and marries Iſabella, daughter to the count of Angouleſme. Goes over to Normandy in order to quell ſome commotions excited by the earl of Marche. His nephew prince Arthur takes up arms againſt him, but is defeated and taken priſoner. Death of Arthur, and conſequences thereof. Philip, king of France, makes himſelf maſter of John's dominions on the continent. John returns to England, and quarrels with the pope. The kingdom laid under an interdict. John cruelly treats his ſubjects, both clergy and laity. Is excommunicated by the pope. The French king makes preparations for invading England. John reſigns his dominions to the pope, and ſubmits to hold them as tributary to him at the yearly payment of 1000 *marks. Is abſolved, and the pope's interdict taken off his kingdom. John makes an unſucceſsful expedition to France. On his return the Engliſh barons oblige him to ſign a charter of liberties, called* Magna Charta, *and another, intituled,* Charta de Foreſta. *John retires in diſguſt to the Iſle of Wight, and prevails on the pope to condemn and annul the two charters. The king marches at the head of an army againſt the barons, and commits the moſt cruel ravages. The barons invite over Lewis, the dauphin of France, to their aſſiſtance. On his arrival the king retreats to Wincheſter, and Lewis marches to London, where the barons and citizens ſwear fealty to him. Several of the barons grow diſguſted at Lewis's partiality to foreigners, and make private aſſurances of their good intentions to John. The king marches into Lincolnſhire in expectation of being joined by the barons, but is diſappointed by an unforeſeen accident. His death and character.*

A. D. 1199. THE late king had, by his will, left the crown of England to his brother John; but, it was a matter of ſome diſpute whether or not prince Arthur, ſon of his elder brother Geoffrey, had not a prior right. The barons of Normandy ſupported the pretenſions of Arthur, whom they conſidered as their lawful ſovereign. The inhabitants of Anjou, Maine and Touraine, declared openly in his favour: but Conſtantia, the mother of Arthur, fearing the barons would not be

be able to ſupport the title of her ſon againſt the power of John, ſent the prince to Paris, and put him under the protection of Philip.

In the mean time the friends of John in England exerted themſelves with great aſſiduity in his favour. They exacted the oath of fealty to him from the citizens, burghers, corporations and military tenants of the crown; but the prelates and nobility, tenacious of their liberties, retired to their caſtles. In conſequence of this the archbiſhop of Canterbury (who was zealous in the cauſe of John) ſummoned them to an aſſembly at Northampton, when he painted the virtues of John in ſuch conſpicuous colours that they were prevailed on to follow the example of the reſt of the nation, which they accordingly did by taking the oath of fealty to his perſon and government.

Being informed of theſe proceedings, and having ſettled his affairs on the continent, John embarked for England, and landed at Shoreham on the 25th of May, from whence he immediately proceeded to London, where he was received with univerſal joy by the people, and two days after crowned at Weſtminſter by Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury.

As ſoon as John found himſelf fully eſtabliſhed on the throne, he reſolved to paſs over to Normandy, in order to conclude that treaty of peace with Philip, king of France, which had been entered into by his brother Richard. Accordingly, a conference was held between the two monarchs, when the following preliminaries were agreed on as the baſis of a definitive treaty. That Lewis, ſon to Philip ſhould marry Blanch, daughter to Alphonſo, king of Caſtile, and niece to John. That the latter ſhould give up with her the earldom and city of Evreux, together with his claim to all the places poſſeſſed by Philip in Normandy at the time of Richard's death, and a pecuniary compliment of thirty thouſand marks of ſilver. John agreed to theſe articles, and the definitive treaty was ſoon after concluded. Nine barons of the king of France, and the ſame number of the king of England, were appointed guarantees. Theſe ſwore on each ſide, that if their ſovereign violated any article of the treaty they would declare themſelves againſt him, and embrace the cauſe of the injured monarch.

A. D. 1200. During the time this treaty was in agitation, John became a captive to the charms of Iſabella, daughter and heireſs of Aymar, count of Angouleſme, one of the moſt celebrated beauties of the age. John's queen was ſtill alive; and Iſabella was betrothed to Hugh earl of Marche. The nuptials, on account of her tender age, had never been conſummated; but ſhe had been ſome time delivered into the hands of her betrothed huſband. Theſe were difficulties which ſeemed to form an unſurmountable barrier to the wiſhes of the Engliſh monarch; but, in order to obtain his ends, he made no heſitation at violating the laws of his country, and committing an act at once diſgraceful to a king or a ſubject. Under pretence of conſanguinity, he artfully procured a divorce from his wife Alice, and perſuaded Aymar to carry off his daughter, whom he ſoon after married. The pope was highly exaſperated at theſe unjuſtifiable proceedings; but John neither regarded the diſpleaſure of the pontiff, or the reſentment of the earl, whom he had ſo materially injured.

A. D. 1201-2. After ſtaying ſome time on the continent John returned with his new conſort to England, and they were both ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; ſoon after which the king accompanied by his young queen, ſet out on a progreſs through England. In the courſe of his tour he held ſeveral courts, at which great numbers, who had treſpaſſed againſt the foreſt laws, were ſummoned, and rigorouſly puniſhed. The people thought themſelves exempted from the arbitrary foreſt laws introduced by the Normans in conſequence of the charter granted by Henry II. and therefore the king's conduct in puniſhing thoſe who had treſpaſſed againſt thoſe laws produced an univerſal diſcontent throughout the kingdom.

The earl of Marche was no ſtranger to the miſunderſtanding between John and his Engliſh ſubjects; and thinking this a ſeaſonable opportunity for reſenting the unjuſtifiable conduct of John in robbing him of his betrothed wife, formed a confederacy with his brother the count d'Eu, who, with him, aſſiduouſly applied themſelves to excite commotions in Poictou and Normandy.

As ſoon as John was informed of this, he ſummoned an aſſembly of his barons, when great numbers met, who unanimouſly refuſed attending him to Normandy unleſs he would firſt confirm their privileges. But the aſſociation was not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed for them to ſupport their noble reſolution. The threatenings and power of royality engaged the greater part to ſubmit, and John paſſed over into Normandy at the head of an army more than ſufficient to reduce the inſurgents; but he purſued no prudent methods: he advanced claims that gave univerſal diſcontent, and added daily to the public grievances. The barons complained to the king of France, as ſuperior lord; and that prince inſiſted upon John's doing them juſtice. He promiſed to redreſs all the grievances that were founded on juſtice; but as the juriſprudence of the times permitted that cauſes in the lord's court might be decided by ſingle combat, John carried with him a number of perſons whom he retained as champions to fight with his diſappointed barons. His vaſſals, deſpiſed, offended, and reduced to deſpair, once more applied to Philip; he received their appeal, and began to exert his authority, in order to prevent their oppreſſion. John again promiſed to do them juſtice, and again broke his engagements; ſo that his conduct rendered him at once both odious and contemptible.

Young prince Arthur, alarmed at the conſequences that were likely to enſue from the miſconduct of his uncle, determined to ſecure himſelf by forming an alliance with Philip and the diſcontented barons. He accordingly joined the French army, which had already begun hoſtilities. Philip was ſo pleaſed at this that he gave him his daughter in marriage, and promiſed to ſupport him againſt the Engliſh monarch.

A. D. 1203. The ſucceſs of the French forces had been ſo great for ſome time, that John was deſirous of putting an end to all military operations; but Philip was ſo exaſperated, that he openly declared he would not ſheathe the ſword of war, unleſs John would ſubmit to reſign all his tranſmarine dominions to his nephew prince Arthur, whom he conſidered as the lawful and undoubted heir. But John would not ſubmit to ſuch humiliating conditions. He was determined to defend his territories to the laſt extremity; but at the ſame time was deſirous, if poſſible, of coming to an accommodation with Philip, provided the terms could be admitted as reaſonable,

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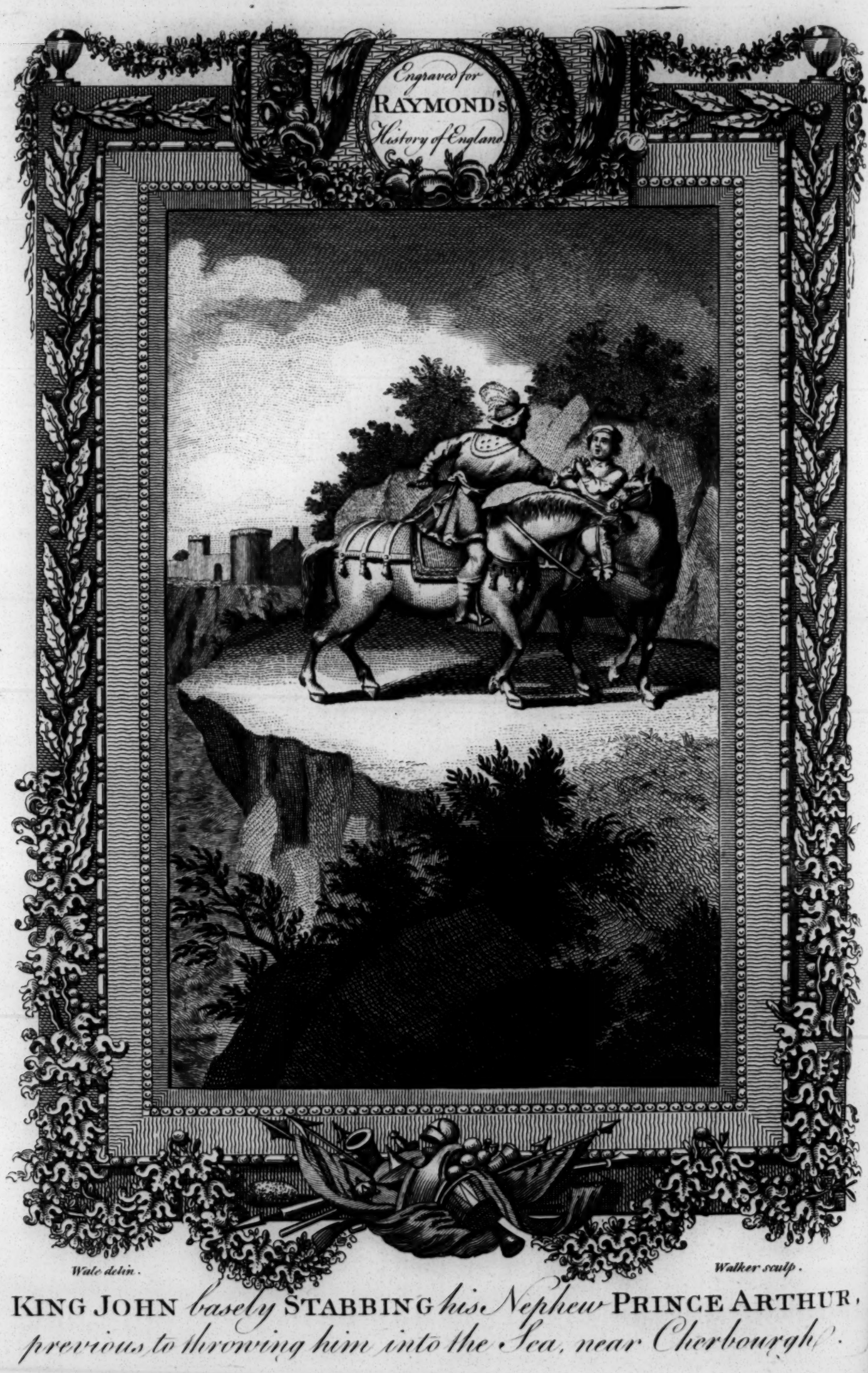

Wale delin. *Walker sculp.*

KING JOHN *basely* STABBING *his Nephew* PRINCE ARTHUR,
previous to throwing him into the Sea, near Cherbourgh.

ſtances of his courage and intrepidity; but he wanted prudence to conduct military expeditions with ſucceſs. He knew queen Eleanor was a ſworn enemy to his intereſt, and was therefore deſirous of ſecuring her perſon. She reſided in the town of Mirabel, the fortifications of which were in a ruinous condition, and the garriſon too few to make any long reſiſtance. Arthur determined to embrace the firſt opportunity of attacking the town, and being placed by Philip at the head of two hundred knights, precipitately led his ſmall body of forces againſt Mirabel. The place was taken at the firſt aſſault, but the queen, with the greater part of the garriſon, retired into the tower, and made a gallant defence. The danger of his mother rouſed John from the couch of indolence: he marched at the head of an army of Engliſh and Brabanders, attacked the camp of Arthur, put his army to flight, and took the young prince, together with the earl of Marche, and moſt of the revolted barons, priſoners. The greater part of the captives were ſent over to England, but Arthur was ſhut up in the caſtle of Falaiſe, and afterwards removed to the citadel of Rouen in Normandy.

John was a ſtranger to the gentle feelings of compaſſion, and poſſeſſed not the virtue of magnanimity. He conſidered young Arthur as a fixed bar to his ambition; and imagined he could never be truly happy till that prince was effectually removed. This he determined to accompliſh with his own hands, and accordingly took Arthur from Rouen to Cherburg, that the infernal deed might be executed with the greater privacy. There, late in the evening, he mounted his horſe, and accompanied only by a few friends, ordered the prince to ride on before. In this manner they went ſome way, when John ordered his attendants to ſtop and wait his return. He then proceeded with young Arthur along the ſea-ſide, till at length they came to an high cliff hanging over the ſea, which John conſidered as a proper place for executing his bloody deſign. He accordingly ſpurred his horſe cloſe to the ſide of that on which Arthur rode, and ſuddenly ſeizing the rein of the bridle, ſtabbed the young prince ſeveral times through the body, while the wretched victim cried in vain for mercy. At length the prince fainting with loſs of blood fell to the ground and expired; upon which the baſe aſſaſſin diſmounted his horſe, and, to finiſh the infernal deed, threw the body over the precipice into the ſea.

As ſoon as the death of Arthur was known (and no one doubted who was the aſſaſſin) the wretched Conſtantia, mother to that unfortunate prince, preſented to the court of peers in France a petition ſigned by all the barons in Britany, requeſting that ſome puniſhment might be inflicted on the inhuman tyrant for the murder of her ſon. In conſequence of this, Philip ordered John to be ſummoned before his court; but when the day of hearing came, inſtead of appearing himſelf, John ſent two deputies, the biſhop of Ely and Hubert de Burgh, to demand a ſafe-conduct for their maſter. "He may come in peace," ſaid the French monarch, with a ſtern and ſevere countenance. "But "may he return in peace?" aſked the biſhop of Ely. "Yes," anſwered Philip, "if the ſentence "of his peers will permit." The deputies clearly perceived the inſidious tendency of this expreſſion, and inſiſted on an explanation, and his granting the ſafe-conduct required. But Philip gave a peremptory denial, and ſwore by all the Saints of France, "That he ſhould return no otherwiſe than accord-"ing to the ſentence of the court." The biſhop then told Philip, "That John was to be conſi-"dered as king of England, as well as duke of "Normandy; and the barons of England would "not permit their king to riſque his life, or, at "leaſt his liberty, at the French court, even "though he ſhould agree to it himſelf." Philip's anſwer to this was both ready and juſt. "If, my "lord," ſaid he, "the duke of Normandy's am-"bition led him to acquire a higher title, ought "I, who am his lord, to loſe his allegiance as my "vaſſal? What is it to me that he has acquired the "crown of England?" The ambaſſadors did not attempt to anſwer Philip; and the court proceeded to paſs ſentence, which was as follows: "That "John, duke of Normandy, not regarding the "oath he had taken to Philip his lord, and being "an homager of the crown of France, had, within "the ſigniory of that crown, murdered his elder "brother's ſon, who was alſo an homager of the "ſame; therefore the ſaid John is declared a trai-"tor; and, as an enemy to the crown of France, "is adjudged to forfeit all his ſigniories which he "held by homage, and re-entry into the ſame is "ordered to be made by force."

Philip made immediate preparations for putting the ſentence of the court in execution: a more favourable event could not have happened for annexing to the crown of France ſo many conſiderable fiefs, which, during ſeveral centuries, had been diſmembered from it. His vaſſals were no ways inclined to oppoſe his deſigns: the inhuman action of John ſilenced all oppoſition, and Philip marched with his forces into Normandy. Nor was the hatred which the inhabitants of that duchy bore to the French of any great conſequence: it formed but a feeble obſtacle to the rapidity of Philip's conqueſts. The count of Alençon, who had been one of John's moſt ſtrenuous advocates, deſerted him, and delivered up all the places under his command to the French monarch, who now divided his army into different bodies, each commanded by an able and experienced officer.

Exaſperated at the deſertion of ſo powerful a man as the count, John determined to retake Alençon, and immediately inveſted the place. Philip ſaw himſelf expoſed to the diſgrace of ſuffering the capital of his new ally to be wreſted from him. Fortunately a tournament was now held at Gatinois, and the fertile genius of Philip furniſhed him with an expedient for obtaining a powerful aſſiſtance. He repaired to the tournament, and pointed out the plains of Alençon, as the proper field for diſplaying their military talents, and inflicting on a baſe parricide the puniſhment due to his crimes. The knights vowed to chaſtiſe the aſſaſſin, and marched immediately to the relief of the beſieged. John fled at their approach; and never more made any attempt to defend his dominions. He even affected to be unconcerned at the ſucceſs of Philip. "Let him go on," ſaid the puſillanimous monarch, "I ſhall retake in one day what has coſt him ſo long a time to acquire."

A. D. 1204. The principal perſon ſincerely attached to John was Richard de Lacy, conſtable of Cheſter, one of the moſt able and courageous generals of his age. This brave and faithful officer defended Chapeau Galliard a whole year with the greateſt firmneſs and magnanimity. The fortreſs was remarkable for its ſtrength, and Philip was obliged to ſubdue it by famine. The intrepid governor, after having repulſed every attack, and

and ſupported, with remarkable patience, all the miſeries of famine, was at laſt ſubdued by a ſudden attack in the night and taken priſoner with his whole garriſon. Philip, who knew how to reſpect valour even in an enemy, treated him with the utmoſt civility, and confined him no farther than within the capital of his dominions.

The French monarch found but little difficulty in poſſeſſing himſelf of the other towns and fortreſſes in Normandy. The inhabitants of Rouen, indeed, at firſt determined to defend the capital; but finding all reſiſtance would be in vain, they gave it up, and Philip took poſſeſſion of the city. The other towns followed the example of the capital, and thus was Normandy, one of the fineſt provinces in the kingdom, re-annexed to the crown of France.

A. D. 1206. The puſillanimous John, finding it needleſs to make any farther efforts in oppoſing Philip returned to England covered with diſgrace. He pretended to impute his ill ſucceſs on the continent to the defects of his Engliſh barons, who refuſed to join his ſtandard. But his conduct which was at once tyrannical and puſillanimous, ſoon convinced the people that the loſſes he had ſuſtained were the natural conſequences of his perſonal cowardice. He was therefore looked upon with contempt; and his barons began to form conſpiracies for reducing within proper limits the exorbitant prerogatives of the crown.

A. D. 1207-9. But the deſigns of the barons were interrupted, for the preſent, by an event which engaged the attention of the whole nation, and ſhook the very pillars of the ſtate. It took place from the imprudence of the monks of Canterbury, and was continued by the perverſeneſs and tyrannical obſtinacy of the king. Theſe monks enjoyed the privilege, on the death of a primate, to name a ſucceſſor; but it was uſual, before they filled an office of ſuch importance, to obtain the king's conſent; and it was alſo generally allowed, that the ſuffragan biſhops had voices in the election.

On the death of Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury (who paid the debt of nature about the cloſe of the preceding year) the junior monks met clandeſtinely in the night, elected Reginald, their ſubprior, to the vacant dignity, and placed him on the archiepiſcopal throne. Knowing this election was not valid, unleſs the pope's conſent could be obtained, they enjoined him ſecrecy, and ſent him immediately to Rome, to be confirmed by Innocent III. the then pontiff. Elated with his elevation, Reginald ſuffered his vanity to get the better of his prudence, and endeavoured not to conceal the intention of his journey; ſo that the ſecret was known in England long before he croſſed the Alps. John was highly exaſperated; the ſenior monks proteſted againſt the election; and the ſuffragan biſhops aſſerted their privilege. The juniors themſelves, aſhamed of their conduct, and diſguſted at the levity of Reginald, were very deſirous of annulling the election. The chapter was accordingly aſſembled, and John de Gray, biſhop of Norwich, choſen primate, without one diſſenting voice. Twelve monks were immediately diſpatched to Rome, to ſollicit his confirmation, where they found Reginald, whom the pope had refuſed to confirm, till he received more ſatisfactory intelligence of the election.

The opportunity now offered which Innocent had ſo long deſired, namely, that of extending his authority over the eccleſiaſtical power in England, and he determined to embrace it. He annulled both elections; and inſiſted, that the monks ſent to his holineſs ſhould elect cardinal Langton into the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury. The monks then repreſented, that they had no authority from their convent to make ſuch election; and that it would not only be contrary to all the laws of equity, but alſo to the canons of the church.

But the pontiff was determined to be obeyed; he liſtened not to the voice of reaſon, and the remonſtrances of the monks were urged in vain. He even threatened them with the terrors of excommunication, if they refuſed to obey his orders, and uſed every menace in his power to terrify them into obedience. One of their number, indeed, had the courage to perſevere in oppoſing the pontiff, but the reſt were intimidated, and elected cardinal Langton to the archiepiſcopal ſee.

The Roman pontiff was not inſenſible that this flagrant uſurpation muſt, of courſe, excite the reſentment of the Engliſh court. He therefore wrote a very mollifying letter to John, and encloſed four gold rings ſet with precious ſtones, the value of which he endeavoured to enhance, by explaining the many myſteries they implied. He deſired him to obſerve, with the moſt ſerious attention, the form, matter, and colour of the rings. "The "form, ſaid he, is round, repreſenting eternity, "which has neither beginning nor end; and "hence you ought to learn your duty of aſpiring "from earthly to heavenly objects, from things "temporal to things eternal. The number Four "being a ſquare, denotes ſteadineſs of mind, which "neither proſperity nor adverſity can ſubvert, "fixed for ever on the ſolid baſis of the four cardinal virtues. The matter, which is gold, the "moſt precious of metals, ſhadows out wiſdom, "the moſt precious of all accompliſhments, and "juſtly preferred by Solomon to riches, power, "and all exterior attainments. The blue colour "of the emerald repreſents Faith; the verdure of "the ſapphire, Hope; the redneſs of the ruby, "Charity; and the ſplendor of the topaz, Good "Works."

This curious explanation, however, was far from producing the effect expected by the pontiff. John was enflamed with the utmoſt rage, and threatened the moſt exemplary vengeance againſt all who had been concerned in the late colluſive election. But when he heard that the monks of Canterbury, dreading the vengeance of the court of Rome, were inclined to ſupport the choice, his paſſion knew no bounds. He immediately diſpatched two reſolute knights, whoſe violent tempers were equal to the ferocity of their manners, to expel the monks from their convent. They performed their orders with the greateſt punctuality, and the fathers were obliged to ſeek their ſafety in a precipitate flight.

The Roman pontiff received advice of their violent proceedings with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, being convinced, in his own mind, that ſhould John perſiſt in his oppoſition he muſt infallibly ſink in the conteſt, and that his own purpoſes would be moſt amply anſwered. But inſtead of following the raſh example of John, he had recourſe to the ſofter arts of perſuaſion. He wrote a very conciliating letter to the king, beſeeching him not to oppoſe the determination of his ſpiritual father, who was continually labouring for his future happineſs; and deſired him to reflect ſeriouſly on the conſequences that had attended a ſimilar oppoſition in his father Henry.

But John, instead of paying any regard to this letter, remained firm to his purpose, and determined, if possible, to attain his ends, though at the expence of his life and kingdom. This being made known to the pope, he commanded the bishops of London, Ely and Worcester, to expostulate with him, and, if he continued to persevere in his disobedience, to threaten the kingdom with an interdict.

These threats, instead of having any effect on John, only exasperated him the more; and he swore, that if the pope presumed to pronounce the sentence, he would put out the eyes, and cut off the noses, of all the Roman clergy in his dominions. In vain were all the persuasions of the bishops to mitigate his fury. He wrote a letter to the pope, telling him, that he looked upon his proceedings as an insult upon royalty: that his own kingdom furnished a sufficient number of clergymen, eminent at once for their learning and piety, without suffering those of a foreign seminary to be intruded upon him: that he was determined to maintain the election of the bishop of Norwich to the utmost extremity: and that if he refused to do him justice in this particular, he would prohibit all commerce between his subjects, and those belonging to the see of Rome.

The pontiff paid not the least regard to these threats from the English monarch. He knew the animosity that subsisted between the king and his people, and therefore, without any hesitation, issued out the dreadful sentence of interdiction against the kingdom.

This was the most fatal stroke that could happen to England. The ruin of the people was involved in the punishment of the king. The exterior parts of religion immediately ceased: the altars were stripped of their ornaments; the images, the crosses, the statues of saints, and all the holy relicks were laid upon the ground. The churches were shut against the laity, and divine service was suppressed. Even sacraments were no longer administered but to dying persons; nor were the dead suffered to be buried in consecrated ground. The severest penances were commanded, and every kind of entertainment strictly prohibited.

But notwithstanding these dreadful calamities, the obstinate John (though solicited by his people with tears and supplications) remained inflexible. He opposed, with the most obstinate resolution, every attempt to remove the scourge, and restore tranquillity to his dominions. He punished, with the utmost rigour, all who submitted to the orders of the pope, whether bishops, monks, or secular clergy. Some of the ecclesiastics, indeed, disregarded the censure of the Roman pontiff. The Cistercian order continued to perform divine service publicly; the bishops of Winchester and Norwich followed their examples, and several of the most eminent divines openly preached against those proceedings, which they called unjust and unwarrantable. An exertion of prudent vigor therefore might have dissipated the tempest: but John listened not to the voice of reason; he followed the dictates of his headstrong passions, which led him to the brink of a precipice that at once threatened the destruction both of him and his kingdom.

A. D. 1210. As John could not wreak his vengeance on the pope, he determined on having the horrid satisfaction of adding to the calamities of his subjects, by persecuting them in a manner that would have disgraced the most ferocious tyrant. The clergy were the particular objects of his fury. He seized upon their temporalities, drove them from their monasteries, and inflicted on them every kind of indignity. But his despotism was not confined to the clergy, the laiety also felt the weight of his oppression. He not only enforced the forest laws, which had always excited troubles and distress, but likewise ordered all the mounds of his forest to be levelled, that his deer might range at large, to the inexpressible distress of the husbandmen. In short, so inconsistent were the measures of this infatuated prince, that even while the crown tottered on his head, he had recourse to the most extraordinary stretch of power to enforce the obedience of his barons. He compelled them to give him hostages for their good behaviour and fidelity. The greater number complied with his demand; but when the king's messengers came to the castle of William de Barouse, a nobleman of great power in the Marches of Wales, his lady replied, "That she would never trust her son to the care of a prince who had embrued his hands in the blood of his own nephew." Barouse, who knew the cruel temper of John, and that the sarcasm of his wife would never be pardoned, fled, with his family, into Ireland. But the place of their retreat was soon known, and John gave a loose to his cruelty. He shut up the lady and her son in prison, where, by his orders, they were starved to death; but Barouse luckily made his escape, and fled to the continent.

A. D. 1211. From these violent and tyrannical proceedings John, had been some time in expectation of receiving the dreadful sentence of excommunication from the pontiff; and was therefore desirous of averting so tremendous an edict. He therefore dispatched the abbot of Beaulieu on an embassy to Rome, to effect, if possible, a reconciliation with the pontiff. Cardinal Langton was immediately ordered to repair to England; but John's proposals not being equal to what the pope demanded, he broke off the conference abruptly, and returned to the continent.

The pope, irritated at the ill success of his legate, immeidately denounced the dreadful sentence of excommunication against John, and absolved all his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. He gave the kingdom of England to Philip of France, a prince who wanted neither power nor inclination to assert his claim. Nay, he even promised him the remission of all his sins, if he succeeded in the reduction of England; and granted the same indulgences on account of this expedition, as had been given to those who went into Asia to recover the Holy Land from the Infidels. The facinating lustre of the English diadem shone bright in the eyes of Philip, who employed his whole time in fitting out a numerous fleet, and in raising and disciplining the finest army ever seen in France.

Though John's subjects had reason to look on him with detestation, yet from the natural enmity they bore the French, and the hatred they had conceived against the pope for his arbitrary proceedings, John was enabled to raise, and keep together, an army of sixty thousand men, at the head of whom he marched towards Dover, to meet the prince, who had tried and condemned him in France, and was then coming to dethrone him in England.

In the mean time the pope was determined once more to try lenitives with John, and accordingly sent over Pandolf, his legate, to whom he gave

private inſtructions how to behave, in caſe John ſhould repent, and deſire to make ample ſatisfaction. The legate, having procured an interview with the king at Dover, repreſented to him all the dangers of his ſituation. "The French fleet, "ſaid he, is ready to ſail; and your troops will "certainly deſert you in the day of battle. The "only reſource, therefore, left is, that of ſub-"mitting yourſelf abſolutely to the protection of "the Holy See."

Theſe remonſtrances had the deſired effect. The puſillanimous John, fearful of the power of Philip, and dreading the deſertion of the barons, readily ſubmitted, and ſubſcribed to all the conditions ſtipulated by Pandolf. Among other articles he promiſed that he would ſubmit himſelf entirely to the will of the pope: that he would acknowledge Langton for primate, and reſtore all the exiled clergy and laity, who had been baniſhed on account of the conteſt; that he would make them full reſtitution for all damages they had received, and immediately conſign eight thouſand pounds in part for that purpoſe; and that every one impriſoned, on account of their adherence to the pope, ſhould be releaſed, and received into grace and favour.

Pandolf, having procured this humiliating treaty from John with ſo much eaſe, thought he might venture to go one ſtep farther; and accordingly propoſed, that he ſhould reſign his kingdom to the pontiff. He perſuaded the king, that there was no other way by which he could ſo effectually diſappoint the French invaſion, as by putting himſelf under the immediate protection of the holy ſee. The wretched and now truly abject John made no ſcruple to comply with every propoſition made by the artful legate. He accordingly (on the 15th of May, A. D. 1213) repaired to the houſe of the Knights Templars at Dover, where he formally reſigned the two kingdoms of England and Ireland to the holy ſee, acknowledged himſelf the vaſſal of the pope, and engaged to pay him an annual tribute of a thouſand marks. It was alſo ſtipulated, that if either he, or any of his ſucceſſors, ſhould ever violate theſe engagements, he or they ſhould forfeit all right to the two crowns.

This diſgraceful treaty was followed by the truly humiliating ceremony of homage. The king, unarmed, and on his knees, appeared before Pandolf, ſeated on a throne, and in that degrading poſture ſwore fealty to the pope. A ſum of money was then put into the legate's hands, as the firſt payment of this tribute; and John himſelf preſented him with the crown and ſceptre. The imperious prieſt, to ſhew his triumph over the fallen monarch, had the inſolence to trample the money under his foot. He, indeed, returned the regalia to the king, but not without declaring, in an audible voice, that he muſt conſider it as a particular favour of the Roman ſee. Nor would he take off the interdict and excommunication, till the exiled clergy had received full ſatisfaction for their loſſes.

The haughty legate having thus amply executed his commiſſion in England, paſſed over to the continent, where he found the powerful armament prepared by Philp ready to put to ſea. He immediately repaired to the king, and informed him, that he was no longer permitted to make a deſcent upon England, now become a fief of the Roman church; and that John was under the protection of the holy ſee.

Philip, at once ſurpriſed and incenſed at this declaration, treated the legate as an impoſtor. He told him, that he had made theſe preparations at an immenſe expence, at the preſſing inſtances of the pope; and therefore, that no contrary orders, nor even the threats of the Vatican, ſhould now deter him from proſecuting his deſign. He immediately ſummoned a general council, wherein he painted the pope's inſidious proceedings in the moſt glaring colours, and deſired their advice with regard to proſecuting the deſign againſt England. They all expreſſed their abhorrence of the pope's duplicity, and the greater part declared for making the intended deſcent. The earl of Flanders not only diſſented from the general opinion, but declared ſtrongly againſt it. He boldly told Philip, that his expedition againſt England was inconſiſtent with juſtice, and the law of nations, as none of his anceſtors ever pretended any claim to that kingdom. Exaſperated at this remonſtrance, Philip ordered the earl to quit his dominions, and immediately turned the armament he had raiſed for an expedition into England, againſt Flanders. But William earl of Saliſbury, at the head of an Engliſh fleet fitted out to guard the channel, fell with ſuch fury on the French tranſports, that one hundred of them were ſunk, and three hundred taken. Philip perceiving that the total deſtruction of his ſhips was inevitable, ſet fire to the reſt, as the only method to prevent their falling into the hands of the Engliſh.

This fatal overthrow blaſted all the ambitious projects of Philip, and at the ſame time greatly exhilirated the ſpirits of the Engliſh monarch. Being aſſured of the pope's aſſiſtance, John reſolved to purſue the advantage he had obtained over Philip, and endeavour to recover his loſt dominions. He accordingly ſummoned all his barons, knights and vaſſals, to attend him at Portſmouth: but the barons ſent him word they could not comply with his ſummons ſo long as he continued under a ſtate of excommunication. To remove this obſtacle, John wrote a very preſſing letter to Langton, beſeeching him to come, with all expedition, and give him abſolution; aſſuring him that he would, to the utmoſt of his power, defend and maintain the church and clergy againſt all their adverſaries: that he would re-eſtabliſh the wholeſome laws of his predeceſſors, particularly thoſe of king Edward; and that he would annul all oppreſſive edicts, and judge every man according to juſtice and equity. The prelate liſtened to John's requeſt, and on the above conditions, gave him abſolution before the principal nobility and clergy, in the cathedral church of Wincheſter; ſoon after which a bull arrived from the pope, empowering Langton to take off the interdict which had ſo long been laid on the kingdom.

A. D. 1214. Having thus removed all obſtacles that impeded the execution of his deſign, John now determined to carry on the war againſt Philip with the utmoſt vigor; but when he came to the teſt, it was evident he wanted both courage and prudence to lead an army againſt ſo powerful an enemy. He, however, went over to the continent at the head of his army, and beſieged a caſtle near Angiers; but the approach of a large body of forces under the command of prince Lewis, excited all his natural timidity. He raiſed the ſiege with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving behind him all his tents, machines and baggage. A few days after, advice arrived, that Philip had defeated, at Bovines, the emperor Otho, who had entered France at the head of one hundred and

and fifty thouſand Germans. This victory eſtabliſhed the reputation of Philip, and put a final period to all John's hopes of a conqueſt: he therefore relinquiſhed every farther attempt, and returned home with diſgrace.

The Engliſh nobility now looked upon their king with the moſt diſtinguiſhed contempt, and renewed their deſigns of curtailing the exorbitant prerogatives of the crown, from which they had been prevented by the great diſturbances that had taken place on account of the diſpute between John and the Roman pontiff.

The charter paſſed by Henry I. renewed by Stephen, and confirmed by Henry II. had flattered the people with liberty, without communicating to them any real advantages. The articles had never been executed on the part of the crown, and the whole was now nearly forgotten. The barons were rouſed from the couch of indolence by the meanneſs, violence, and tyranny of John. Both clergy and laity joined in oppoſing the tyrant of their country; and archbiſhop Langton became the head of a faction. The promiſe the king had made at the time he received abſolution furniſhed the primate with pretences for a revolt. He aſſembled the barons; produced a charter of Henry I. which he had fortunately found in the library of a monaſtery, and exhorted them to join firmly in inſiſting on a renewal and ſolemn confirmation of that contract of privileges.

The barons (pleaſed with the opportunity of ſetting bounds to the royal authority, and of procuring a poſitive declaration of the rights of Engliſhmen) took an oath to adhere firmly to each other: planned meaſures for forcing the king to grant their requeſt, ſhould he be diſpoſed to refuſe it; and agreed to meet at London ſoon after Chriſtmas, to put their deſigns into execution.

A. D. 1215. At the time appointed the barons, headed by archbiſhop Langton, repaired to London, and peremptorily demanded of John a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of Edward the Confeſſor; upon which the king, alarmed at their number, zeal, and apparent unanimity, promiſed to give them a poſitive anſwer at Eaſter.

In the mean time John laboured with the utmoſt aſſiduity, to gain the clergy over to his intereſt, by making them the moſt laviſh conceſſions. But this did not anſwer his purpoſe. They were weary with the deſpotiſm of the Roman court, and, regretting the loſs of thoſe privileges which had been taken from them by the power of the pontiff, openly profeſſed their zeal for the liberty of the people. This encouraged the barons to proceed with alacrity, and they determined either to procure a charter of liberties, or periſh in the glorious attempt.

The time being now near at hand when John was to give a poſitive anſwer to the demands of the barons, he ſent a meſſenger, deſiring to have a ſchedule of the different articles of their pretenſions. The barons (having prepared the articles requeſted) advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford (where the court then reſided) and ſent the ſchedule by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the earl of Pembroke. The king, after reading the articles, flew into the moſt furious paſſion, and ſwore that he would never grant them liberties which muſt reduce a monarch to the character of a ſlave. "Why, ſaid he, did they not alſo demand my crown?"

The primate and earl immediately left the court, and communicated the king's anſwer to the barons, who immediately elected Robert Fitz-Walter their general, under the title of "The Mareſchal of the army of God, and of the Holy Church." Having done this, they began their proceedings by publiſhing a proclamation, inviting the reſt of the nobility to join them in this national cauſe; after which they advanced towards London, and entered the capital without the leaſt oppoſition.

Almoſt all the nobility now joined the ſtandard of the barons, and the puſillanimous king retired to Odiham in Surry, with the poor retinue of only ſeven knights. He made ſeveral attempts to elude the efforts of the barons. He offered to refer the diſpute to the pope, and ſign any charter that ſhould be approved by his holineſs: but this was peremptorily refuſed. He then propoſed to empower eight barons to ſettle the conteſt, four to be choſen by himſelf, and four by the barons. But this offer was rejected in an equal peremptory manner with the former.

Finding all oppoſition would be in vain, and that he was abandoned by his ſubjects, John was obliged to conſent to the demands of his barons. Accordingly, Runnemede (a place between Windſor and Staines) was appointed for holding a conference, where, after a debate which laſted a few days, the king ſigned, on the 19th of June, the celebrated charter known by the name of *Magna Charta*, and, to this day, juſtly conſidered as the great bulwark of Engliſh liberty. At the ſame time the king ſigned another charter called *Charta de Foreſta* or Charter of Foreſts; the ſubſtance of both of which is as follows:

"Magna Charta, or the great charter, confirmed what was lately granted to the clergy, relative to the freedom of elections; allowed perſons to leave the kingdom without ſpecial licence, except in time of war; ordained that no clergyman ſhould be amerced in proportion to his benefice, but according to his lay tenement; ſecured to the lay nobility the cuſtody of vacant abbies and convents, which were under their patronage; aſcertained the reliefs for earldoms, baronies, and knights's fees, which before were arbitrary; decreed that barons ſhould recover the lands of their vaſſals, forfeited for felony, after they ſhould have been a year and a day in the poſſeſſion of the crown; that they ſhould enjoy the wardſhips of their military tenants, who held no other lands of the crown by a different tenure; that a perſon knighted by the king, though a minor, ſhould enjoy the privileges of an adult at law, provided he was a ward of the crown; but ſuch knighthood conferred on a ward of a baron, ſhould not deprive that baron of his wardſhip; that widows ſhould not be forced to marry againſt their inclination, or to pay any fine for their dower; that the wardſhips of minors ſhould not be ſold; that guardians ſhould not take unreaſonable profits from the lands of their wards, or commit waſte, but keep the houſes in good repair, leave the farms well ſtocked, and diſpoſe of their wards in marriage, without diſparagement; that no ſcuttage ſhould be levied in the kingdom without the conſent of the common-council of the realm, except in the caſes of ranſoming the kings perſon, knighting his eldeſt ſon, or marrying his eldeſt daughter; that no freeman

"ſhould

" ſhould be taken, impriſoned, or diſſeized of " his freehold, liberties, or free cuſtoms, but by " the lawful judgment of his peers, or by legal " proceſs; that ſheriffs ſhould not hold county " courts above once a month; that they, as well " as caſtellans, coroners, and kings bailiffs, " ſhould be reſtrained from holding pleas of the " crown; that ſheriffs who had the management " of the crown revenues within their ſeveral " diſtricts, ſhould not raiſe the farms of counties, " hundreds, and tythes according to their plea- " ſure, except in the king's demeſne manors; " that the people ſhould not be unjuſtly proſe- " cuted, and put to canonical purgation, with- " out legal proof, in regard to carriages, pur- " veyance of victuals and other ſervices; that " amerciaments ſhould be proportioned to the " offence, and circumſtances of the offenders, " ſo as not to affect his landed eſtate, or diſable " him from following his vocation, but be rated " by the verdict of twelve creditable men in the " neighbourhood."

" The Charta de Foreſta was intended to pre- " vent the extortion of foreſters; to allow free- " holders to improve their lands and woods within " the limits of the foreſts: to diſforeſt all lands " taken in ſince the coronation of Henry I. ex- " cept the crown demeſnes: to exempt thoſe who " lived without the foreſts, from the trouble of " attending theſe courts, except when ſummoned " for ſome tranſgreſſion: to annul all outlawries " for ſuch tranſgreſſions; and to convert the pe- " nalty for killing veniſon, from a capital puniſh- " ment to a fine, or, in caſe of inſolvency, to a " year's impriſonment."

Such is the ſubſtance of the two famous charters ſigned by king John at Runnemede. But the barons were ſenſible the merely procuring theſe charters was not ſufficient fully to anſwer their ends. They were too well acquainted with the ſanguinary diſpoſition of John, and knew that every precaution in their power would be neceſſary for their ſupport againſt his anger, and to oblige him to obſerve the articles of the two inſtruments of liberty. They therefore inſiſted on his conſenting that twenty-five of their own number ſhould be choſen to ſee the charters duly obſerved. Theſe were to be diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of Conſervators of the Liberties of the people; and four of them were empowered to demand reparation, within forty days, from him or his juſticiary, in caſe of an infringement on any article in either charter; and if ſuch reparation ſhould be neglected, then the committee of four were to give notice of the ſame to the reſt, who, with the council of the nation, were empowered to take up arms, and ſeize his caſtles, lands and poſſeſſions, until ſatisfaction ſhould be obtained.

The puſillanimous king made not the leaſt oppoſition to theſe terms; but ſubmitted with great apparent tranquillity, to every thing propoſed by the barons. He even ſent writs to his ſheriffs, ordering them to oblige every perſon to ſwear obedience to the conſervators, on pain of having all their eſtates ſeized, and their chattels ſold within a fortnight after refuſal.

But notwithſtanding this ſeeming deſire of acting in conformity to the articles of the great charter, John never intended to obſerve that treaty any longer than the neceſſity of the times obliged him. He only bowed beneath the ſtorm that then blew around him; but he determined as ſoon as the threatning blaſt was over, to reſume the power he had loſt.

John was principally encouraged in this deſign by the foreign mercenaries he kept about his perſon. They inſinuated, that it was ſhameful for a king to make any conceſſions to his ſubjects, and that no compact, extorted by the force of rebellion, could be binding. Theſe inſinuations coincided exactly with the king's opinion, and determined him to make one attempt to ſhake off the yoke of compulſion, ſo galling to his mind. He became ſullen and melancholy, ſeparated himſelf from the company of his courtiers, and at laſt retired privately by night, attended only by ſeven of his friends, into the iſle of Wight, where he meditated ſevere vengeance againſt his enemies. He ſolicited the pope to abſolve him from all the engagements he had entered into with his barons; and ſent ſeveral emiſſaries into France, Germany, and Flanders, to engage a number of Brabanders in his ſervice.

The pope, conſidering himſelf as feudal lord of the kingdom, was highly incenſed at the behaviour of the barons; and therefore iſſued a bull, by which the great charter was condemned and annulled, as derogatory to the holy ſee. Both the king and barons were prohibited from paying any regard to the articles contained in it: the oaths which had been adminiſtered were annulled, and the ſentence of excommunication denounced againſt every one who perſevered in maintaining the authority of the charter of liberties.

But the power of the pope, in temporal affairs, had now loſt great part of its force; and Innocent III. had the mortification to find even Langton, whom himſelf had placed on the archiepiſcopal throne of Canterbury, refuſe to promulgate his cenſures. Exaſperated to the higheſt degree at this oppoſition in a prelate he expected would have exerted his utmoſt power to promote the intereſt of the holy ſee, the pope ſuſpended Langton from the exerciſe of his functions. But this did not produce the deſired effect; the clergy, with the primate at their head, as well as the nobility and people, diſcovered a noble ardour for preſerving that liberty and independence, they had with ſo much difficulty obtained.

In the mean time John's emiſſaries on the continent engaged a powerful army in the ſervice of their maſter. They were all veteran troops, and ready to venture their lives in any cauſe to gain independent fortunes; beſides which they were farther encouraged by the promiſes of John, who had engaged to give them all the eſtates of his turbulent barons.

No ſooner was the king aſſured that his foreign troops were embarked, than he immediately threw off the maſk, by recalling all the liberties he had granted to his ſubjects; declaring the great charter null and void, and the barons who had extorted that inſtrument from him, rebels and traitors.

The foreign forces landed at Dover, immediately on which, John, putting himſelf at their head, marched to Northampton, reducing the whole country through which he paſſed to a ſmoaking deſart. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, urged on by a cruel and enraged prince, were let looſe againſt the eſtates and tenants of the barons. Every thing was levelled with the ground; and cruelties, ſuch as would ſhock even ſavages themſelves, were practiſed on the innocent inhabitants.

The greater part of the northern barons, unable to

to reſiſt the force of the mercenaries, and having little reaſon to expect mercy ſhould they fall into the hands of the king, fled with their wives and families and ſolicited the protection of Alexander king of Scotland. John followed them into that kingdom, and in his way burnt ſeveral towns, particularly Haddington and Dunbar: but receiving advice that Alexander had raiſed a numerous army, and was advancing to give him battle, he thought proper to retreat, well knowing that ſhould he be defeated, it would be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

A. D. 1216. John had made himſelf maſter of the principal caſtles in England, and he now determined to lay ſiege to London, the only place of conſequence that held out in ſupport of independence. The barons were alarmed at the king's declaration, and, driven to deſpair, had recourſe to moſt deſperate expedient for their ſafety. They applied to the court of France for protection, and offered to acknowledge Lewis, eldeſt ſon to Philip, as their ſovereign, if he would aſſiſt him with a body of forces againſt their enraged monarch.

The ambitious Philip could not reſiſt ſo advantageous an offer, but he determined to act with caution. He had his ſcruples with reſpect to the fidelity of the Engliſh barons, and the danger of truſting his ſon and heir in the hands of perſons, who might, either from caprice, or neceſſity, make peace with their native ſovereign. He therefore exacted twenty-five hoſtages from the barons as a ſecurity for his ſon's ſafety; and, on their being delivered, ſent over his ſon at the head of a formidable army.

The arrival of Lewis produced very diſagreeable conſequences to the Engliſh monarch. The greater part of his foreign troops (who were chiefly natives of France) immediately deſerted him, declaring they would not fight againſt the heir of their lawful ſovereign John was encamped near Dover when Lewis landed in the Iſle of Thanet; but inſtead of endeavouring to attack the enemy before the French forces could be joined by the barons, he retreated to Wincheſter.

In conſequence of this puſillanimous conduct, Lewis marched to London without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. He entered the city amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people, and the barons and citizens immediately ſwore fealty to him; while the prince, in return, ſolemnly promiſed to reſtore all their eſtates, and confirm the antient privileges of the kingdom.

But though Lewis was maſter of the capital, and at the head of a numerous army, yet he had many difficulties to furmount before he could make himſelf maſter of England. Moſt of the maritime places were in the intereſt of John, who had favoured the ſea-ports with many valuable privileges, and made many excellent regulations with regard to the marine. This was a diſagreeable circumſtance to Lewis, who conſidered his being maſter of ſome convenient harbour as a matter of the laſt importance. Deſtitute of that advantage, his receiving reinforcements from the continent would be rendered very precarious; nor would even his own retreat, in caſe of a reverſe of fortune, be ſecure. He therefore attempted to make himſelf maſter of Dover; but his enterprize was rendered abortive by the great reſolution of the garriſon. In conſequence of this he carried his arms into the inland parts of Kent and Suſſex, which he reduced with great facility; but William de Coldingham, at the head of a thouſand archers, retiring into the wilds and faſtneſſes of that country, ſupported himſelf againſt all the power of the French army.

During theſe tranſactions John was far from being idle. He fortified and furniſhed with proviſions ſeveral ſea-port towns; and flattered himſelf, that, from the interference of the pope (whom he had acquainted with Philip's proceedings) all the ſchemes of that monarch and his ſon would be defeated, and that he ſhould be reſtored to the quiet poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne.

But in this John was miſtaken. The pope, indeed, fulminated the ſentence of excommunication againſt both Philip and Lewis, but the effect fell ſhort of John's expectations. The French biſhops declared the excommunication of Philip void, and Lewis paid little regard to the papal cenſure. He was more deſirous of procuring a proper ſea-port, than of guarding againſt the effects of the pope's ſentence. He therefore once more led his army to Dover, and inveſted that important fortreſs; but Hubert de Burgh, the governor, at the head of his brave forces, made ſuch furious ſallies upon the French army, that Lewis was obliged to remove his camp to a conſiderable diſtance, and turn the ſiege into a blockade.

Lewis was greatly alarmed at this miſcarriage, and his fears were conſiderably increaſed on finding the barons leſs active than he expected. But he was too haughty to conciliate their affections by a familiar deportment, and wanted diſcernment to foreſee the conſequences of his negligence. He did not even endeavour to conceal his diſguſt; but, on the contrary, excluded them from his councils and confidence, and, and, inſtead of reſtoring the nobility to their honours and eſtates, beſtowed all his favours on his own countrymen.

The barons now ſaw their error in calling upon a foreign force for aſſiſtance: the people complained of the oppreſſions exerciſed by their new maſters; and every thing wore the appearance of more complicated diſturbances. At the ſame time a report prevailed, that viſcount Melun, one of Lewis's courtiers, was taken dnagerouſly ill, and, finding his end approaching, ſent for ſome of his friends among the Engliſh barons, informing them that it was Lewis's deſign to extirminate them and their families, and beſtow their eſtates and titles on his foreign favourites. This report, whether true or falſe, acted powerfully on many of the Engliſh barons, and was of infinite prejudice to Lewis. The earl of Saliſbury, and ſeveral others of the principal nobility, determined, if poſſible, to elude the force of the ſtorm which threatened their deſtruction. They accordingly ſent private information to John of their deſigns of joining his army, and uſing their utmoſt efforts to aſſiſt him in oppoſing the invader of their country.

This information greatly enlivened the ſpirits of John, who immediately exerted himſelf in collecting a powerful army, in order to bring on a deciſive battle with Lewis. He marched at the head of theſe to Lynn in Norfolk, and from thence into Lincolnſhire, in order to join thoſe barons who had declared in his favour; but in marching over the waſhes of the latter county at an improper time of the tide, the ſea ruſhed in upon him with ſuch violence and rapidity, that he loſt the greater part of his forces, together with all his treaſure, baggage, and regalia. With ſome difficulty he reached Swineſhead-abbey; but the great fatigues he had undergone, and the conſtant hurry and perturbation of his ſpirits, added to the affliction he

felt at his late irreparable misfortune, threw him into a violent fever. The next day, being unable to ride, he was carried in a litter to the caſtle of Sleaford, and from thence to Newark, where, finding his end approaching, he ordered his will to be drawn up, by which he appointed his ſon Henry, then a child, to ſucceed him on the throne. The ſame night (the 18th of October, A. D. 1216) he paid the debt of nature, in the 50th year of his age and 18th of his reign. His remains were carried to Worceſter according to his own order, and interred, with little funeral pomp, in the cathedral of that city.

The character of this prince, when painted with the pencil of truth, will, perhaps, appear more odious than when drawn even by the pen of envy. He was deeply practiſed in almoſt every vice, and a ſtranger to almoſt every virtue. The murder of his nephew, the infringement of public property, and the violation of private honour and domeſtic peace, have conſigned his memory to perpetual ignomy. Inſolent in proſperity, and raſh in adverſity; puſillanimous in war, and tyrannical in peace, this prince was never beloved by his people; nor could he boaſt of having procured a real friend. But his reign, however inglorious, gave occaſion to thoſe excellent charters which form the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution. His tyranny firſt prompted the barons to aſſert, and his ſloth and indolence enabled them to obtain, thoſe ineſtimable privileges, which are at once the glory and ſecurity of Engliſhmen.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of king John.

A. D.

1199 French wine ſold in England for 20*s.* per tun; after which the people were allowed to ſell red wine for 6*d.* per quart, and white for 8*d.*
Surnames firſt uſed in England.

1202 Aſſize of Bread firſt appointed in London.

1204 The Inquiſition firſt eſtabliſhed.

1205 This year died Peter of Colechurch, who began to build London-bridge with ſtone, and was buried in the chapel under that bridge.
A fiſh, reſembling a man, was taken in Suffolk, and kept alive ſix months.

1207 The firſt annual mayor and common-council of London choſen this year.

1212 On the 10th of July great part of London was burnt: the fire began in Southwark, and having conſumed the church of St. Mary Overy, ſpread to the bridge; and, whilſt great numbers of people ran, ſome to behold, others to quench the flames, the houſes at the other end of the bridge took fire, ſo that the multitude being thus encloſed, many were forced to leap into the Thames, whilſt others, crowding into the boats that came to their relief, were the cauſe of their own deſtruction, the boats and people ſinking together. Near 3000 perſons periſhed by this melancholy accident, ſome by water and others by fire.

BOOK VIII.

From the Acceſſion of Henry III. to the Death of Edward II.

CHAP. I.

HENRY III. ſurnamed of WINCHESTER.

Acceſſion and coronation of Henry III. The earl of Pembroke is conſtituted regent, He warmly oppoſes Lewis the French prince, and at length obliges him to abandon the kingdom. Henry takes upon himſelf the reins of government, and diſavows the charters granted by his predeceſſor. Ill treats Hubert de Burgh, the chief juſticiary. Shews great partiality to foreigners; but, at the inſtigation of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, they are baniſhed the kingdom. Marries Eleanor daughter to the count of Provence, and commits the affairs of government to her uncle the biſhop of Valence. Encourages foreigners, and gains the ill-will of his ſubjects. Goes over to the continent to aſſiſt the count de la Marche, againſt Lewis king of France; but is defeated, and returns to England with diſgrace. The pope's nuncio, by order of his maſter, exacts money from the clergy, and behaves with ſuch oppreſſive inſolence, that he is compelled to leave the kingdom. The Engliſh lay their complaints before the council of Lyons, and the pope grants them redreſs; but ſoon after renews his exactions. Henry countenances the pope's nuncio in oppreſſing his ſubjects. Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, made king of the Romans. The parliament oblige Henry to ratify the great charter granted by king John. The king breaks his engagements; upon which the barons form themſelves into an aſſociation, and oblige him to ſign a ſet of articles, called the Statutes, or Proviſions of Oxford. The barons take the power of government into their own hands. The pope abſolves Henry from his oath relative to the Oxford Proviſions. Wars between the king and barons. The rebellion totally quelled, and tranquillity reſtored to the kingdom. Prince Edward and his brother Edmund engage in the cruſades, and go over to the Holy Land. Edward narrowly eſcapes being aſſaſſinated. Death and character of Henry.

A. D. 1216. AT the time of the late king's death, England was involved in civil diſcord, and confuſion univerſally prevailed throughout the kingdom. Lewis, the French prince, was already in poſſeſſion of the metropolis, and ſupported in his deſigns of making himſelf maſter of England by the whole power of France; while Henry, the heir and eldeſt ſon of John, was young, inexperienced, incapable of holding the reins of government, or judging which of his ſubjects was beſt qualified for that important office.

In this critical ſituation of affairs, the wiſe and gallant earl of Pembroke, then marſhal of England, boldly ſeized the helm of ſtate, with a reſolution, if poſſible, of delivering his country from foreign uſurpation. He well knew that the majority of the barons were diſpoſed to renounce the

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HENRY III

Wale delin. *Walker sculp.*

Born October 1. 1207. | *Crowned* October 28. 1216. | *Died* November 16. 1272.

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intereſt of Lewis, and that the death of John had obviated all pretence for any farther oppoſition. He therefore ſummoned a council of the barons at Glouceſter, at which all who adhered to the royal family attended. As ſoon as the members were ſeated, the earl entered the aſſembly leading young Henry by the hand, and calling out "Behold your king!" This was ſucceeded by a ſhort pauſe, after which the earl addreſſed the aſſembly in words to this effect:

"My dear friends and countrymen,

"Though we expreſſed a juſt reſentment againſt "the father of this prince, becauſe his conduct "was iniquitous, this little child is free from the "imputation of his father's guilt. Puniſhment "can be inflicted with juſtice only on the offender, "and reaſon tells us, that the ſon ſhould not ſuf-"fer for the iniquities of the father. We ought, "therefore, to compaſſionate the caſe of this in-"fant king, and zealouſly unite in driving Lewis, "ſon to the king of France, out of our land. "Thus ſhall we revive the antient glory of our "country, and break the reproachful chains of "ſervile bondage."

This ſpeech produced the wiſhed-for effect. The earl of Cheſter, indeed, ſtated an objection relative to their having called over Lewis; but it was ſoon over-ruled by recapitulating that prince's conduct ſince his arrival in England; and it was generally agreed that his arbitrary and tyrannical behaviour had diſſolved all ties that might have otherwiſe bound thoſe who had invited him to their aſſiſtance. The whole aſſembly, therefore, unanimouſly called out, "Let young Henry be "made king of England."

In conſequence of this general approbation of the barons, the young king was crowned on the 28th of October in the church of St. Peter at Glouceſter. The ceremony was performed by Gualo, the pope's legate, aſſiſted by the biſhops of Wincheſter, Bath and Worceſter. But before the crown was placed on Henry's head, he took the accuſtomed oath; after which it was thought neceſſary that he ſhould ſwear fealty to the pope, and renew that homage to which his father had ſubjected the kingdom. The prelates, earls, barons, and all who were preſent, next ſwore fealty and allegiance to the new king; and the earl of Pembroke was conſtituted his guardian, and regent of the kingdom.

This honourable and important office could not have been conferred on a perſon of greater abilities, or more inviolable honour; and, perhaps, none but himſelf could have healed the wounds of his then bleeding country. The firſt public ſtep he took was, to ſend circular letters, notifying Henry's coronation to all the barons and principal people of the kingdom, promiſing a general amneſty to all who ſhould return to their obedience, and peaceably acknowledge Henry III. for their lawful ſovereign. This prudent meaſure had the deſired effect. Many of the barons, who ſtill adhered to Lewis, reflected, that the cauſe, which induced them to take up arms, no longer exiſted: that oppoſition would be then unnatural rebellion; and that the only method they could purſue with propriety was that of making their peace with their lawful ſovereign. The pope's legate greatly aſſiſted in bringing about this deſirable effect, by iſſuing out the ſentence of excommunication againſt Lewis and his adherents.

In the mean time Lewis was employed in carrying on the ſiege of Dover, having made a vow not to abandon the undertaking till he became maſter of the place. But he knew not the abilities of Hubert de Burgh, the governor, who, by his courage and fidelity, rendered all the deſigns of Lewis abortive. No means had been left untried by that prince to corrupt the integrity of the gallant Hubert. He tempted him with all the honours a ſubject could wiſh to enjoy; but all his offers were rejected with diſdain, Hubert declaring, he would defend the caſtle as long as one of the garriſon was left alive. Lewis, finding his fidelity incorruptible, and that he was equally proof againſt his threats and promiſes, abandoned the enterprize, and returned with his army to London.

A. D. 1217. From the prudent meaſures taken by the Protector, Lewis began to find his intereſt daily decline. Pembroke's grand aim was, to gain leiſure from the tumults of war, in order to give the Engliſh time to reflect. He knew they were naturally averſe to the French, and that if he could inſpire them with a confidence in the government, his maſter's authority would ſoon be eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom. The pope likewiſe exerted all his power in favour of the young king; ſo that Lewis found it neceſſary to paſs over to the continent, not only to procure a freſh ſupply of men and money, but alſo to avert the vengeance of the pope, who had propoſed to excommunicate him in full conſiſtory.

During the abſence of Lewis, the Protector uſed his utmoſt efforts to prevail on the barons to return to their duty. Nor did he labour in vain: many of the moſt powerful among them joined the royal ſtandard, and their examples were followed by ſuch numbers, that all the forces Lewis could raiſe in France were not equal to the deſertion from his army in England during his abſence.

The cinque ports likewiſe declared in favour of Henry, and fitted out a ſquadron of ſhips, with which they attacked Lewis on his return; but after a ſmart engagement he got ſafe with the loſs only of a few ſhips, to Sandwich. He was, however, ſo highly incenſed at this inſtance of diſaffection, that, in revenge, he reduced the town of Sandwich to aſhes; after which he made another unſucceſsful attack on Dover-Caſtle, and then marched with his army to London.

The Protector now thought it high time to commence hoſtilities againſt the invaders of his country. He accordingly detached a body of forces, under the command of the earls of Lincoln and Albemarle, to inveſt Mount Sorrel in Leiceſterſhire, the garriſon having committed the moſt horrid ravages in the neighbourhood of the caſtle. Lewis, knowing the importance of that fortreſs, detached an army of ſix hundred knights, and twenty thouſand infantry, under the command of the count de la Perche, marſhal of France, to raiſe the ſiege. On the approach of this formidable army, the Engliſh who were too weak to venture a battle, retired to Nottingham; and the count, confident of ſucceſs from ſuperiority of numbers, marched to Lincoln, with a reſolution of laying ſiege to that city.

As ſoon as the Protector was informed of the deſigns of the count, he immediately iſſued out ſummonſes to all the king's tenants ordering them, with all expedition, to join the royal army at Newark upon Trent. The pope's legate likewiſe exerciſed his authority to ſuppreſs the deſigns of the enemy. He not only excommunicated Lewis by name, but alſo declared, that all who engaged themſelves

themſelves in favour of Henry, ſhould be entitled to the ſame privileges as thoſe who undertook a cruſade. He himſelf aſſumed the croſs, and the biſhops and barons drew the temporal ſword. This diſtinguiſhed zeal of the clergy was of the utmoſt ſervice to the royal cauſe: the people flocked with the utmoſt alacrity to the ſtandard of the protector, who ſoon found himſelf at the head of a powerful and reſolute army, inflamed with the deſire of being led againſt the invaders of their country.

As ſoon as Lewis was informed of the great increaſe of the Protector's army, he reſolved to make a deciſive aſſault upon the caſtle of Lincoln, the garriſon of which was, by this time, reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs; but he was diſappointed in this deſign by the unexpected arrival of the Engliſh forces. One Fulk de Briant, a ſtrong partizan for the king, found means to enter the caſtle at the head of a choſen body of archers, and made ſeveral ſallies to amuſe the beſiegers; while the royal army vigorouſly fell on the main body, whom they totally routed, and the count of Perche fell among the ſlain.

The news of this defeat greatly alarmed Lewis, who immediately ſhut himſelf up in the capital, and diſpatched a courier to his father for aſſiſtance. Philip, being deſirous of averting the cenſure of the pope from his own kingdom, refuſed to engage openly in defence of his ſon; but permitted Blanche his daughter-in-law, to raiſe a powerful body of troops, and to provide a fleet of ſhips for tranſporting them to England. They accordingly embarked, and ſet ſail, but being met by the Engliſh fleet on the coaſt of Kent, an engagement enſued, when the greater part were taken, and the reſt ſunk.

In conſequence of this ſucceſs the Engliſh repaired from all parts to the royal ſtandard; upon which Lewis, giving up all hopes of ſucceeding in his deſign, and even thinking his own perſon in danger, offered to conclude a peace with the Protector, by which he promiſed to leave the kingdom, on condition of his Engliſh adherents being reſtored to their honours and fortunes. Theſe terms were readily accepted by the Protector, and the articles of the treaty being properly ratified on both ſides, Lewis embarked his forces, and returned to the continent.

Among all the adherents of Lewis, the clergy were the greateſt ſufferers. There was not any thing ſtipulated for them in the treaty: they were left to the mercy of the pope, who ſeized with eagerneſs this favourable opportunity of wreaking his vengeance on them for their diſobedience. Many were depoſed, and others ſuſpended: ſome were baniſhed, and all who eſcaped puniſhment were obliged to purchaſe their pardon by paying large ſums of money to the legate: ſo that his maſter became poſſeſſed of immenſe treaſure. But the pontiff did not live to enjoy theſe riches, being ſuddenly ſnatched off ſoon after the departure of Lewis from England.

A. D. 1218. Being now no longer under diſagreeable apprehenſions from a foreign enemy, the Protector applied himſelf, with great diligence, to ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to promote the good of his country, and reconcile the minds of the people to their legal ſovereign. He procured a new charter of liberties, which, in ſome reſpects, differed from that granted by the late king. The full privilege of elections among the clergy, and the liberty of going out of the kingdom without firſt obtaining the royal covenant, were not confirmed in the charter of Henry, becauſe the ſtate had already experienced the inconveniencies ariſing from them. The obligation by which John had reſtrained himſelf from buying aids and ſcutages, without the conſent of the great council of the nation, was alſo omitted in this inſtrument. The barons perceived that no aids, unleſs they were evidently reaſonable, could be levied upon men who had arms in their hands, and who were able to repel any acts of violence. Nor did the Protector content himſelf with granting anew the privileges that had been enjoyed in the preceding reign; he cauſed writs, in the king's name, to be iſſued to the ſheriffs of the different counties, commanding them to lay open all foreſts, agreeable to the intention of the charter granted for that purpoſe by king John; and, ſome time after, ſent the chief juſticiary of the foreſts on a circuit through the kingdom, to ſee the orders fully executed, and the bounds of the foreſts diſtinctly marked. At the ſame time, orders were given to demoliſh all the new caſtles that had been erected ſince the beginning of the diſputes between the late king and his barons.

A. D. 1219. But while the Protector was thus exerting all his abilities to reſtore happineſs and tranquillity to the kingdom, death put a final period to his labours and his life. The nation ſuffered an irreparable loſs in the death of this great and good man, whoſe valour, integrity and prudence had broke the yoke of foreign ſlavery, and reſtored the liberties of Engliſhmen. He died about the middle of March, and his remains were interred in the church of the Knights Templars (now the Temple church) in London.

The earl of Pembroke was ſucceeded in the important office of regent by William de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter; and Hubert de Burgh, the gallant defender of Dover Caſtle was made chief juſticiary of the kingdom. The counſels of the latter were conformable to his character, namely, that of a great, prudent, and virtuous man. They were for ſome time followed; and had he poſſeſſed the authority of Pembroke, the nation would not have ſo greatly regretted the loſs of that eminent patriot. But his power was not ſufficient to repreſs the licentiouſneſs of the barons, who were too ſtrong to be reſtrained by laws under a minority; and whoſe rapacity induced them to uſurp the demeſnes of the crown, as well as the poſſeſſions of their weaker neighbours. Hence revolts were multiplied; and the government was, for a courſe of time, perpetually employed in reducing inſurrections in various parts of the kingdom.

A. D. 1222. In the beginning of this year a great diſturbance took place in conſequence of a wreſtling match between the citizens of London, and thoſe of Weſtminſter. The conteſt was ſharp and obſtinate on both ſides, but at length the Londoners were victorious. This ſo exaſperated the ſteward of Weſtminſter, that he determined to obtain revenge, and for that purpoſe concerted meaſures of the moſt unjuſt and illegal nature. He propoſed a ſecond trial, which being readily accepted by the Londoners, they came to the field to decide the conteſt; but inſtead of a fair trial, they were attacked by the ſteward and his followers, armed with clubs and other offenſive weapons, and obliged to retreat into the city. Exaſperated at this treatment, the Londoners, headed by one Conſtantine Fitz Arnulph, a bold, factious

factious citizen, repaired to Weſtminſter, where they committed many dreadful outrages, and demoliſhed ſeveral houſes belonging to the abbot and ſteward. Hubert, in order to put a ſtop to ſuch riotous proceedings, ventured to puniſh the leaders, without bringing them to trial. This ſtep, which was a direct infringement of the great charter, excited the clamours of the populace, who, with juſtice, conceived themſelves injured, and demanded a new confirmation of the great charter. In conſequence of this a general council was called, and the demand of the people taken into conſideration. During the debates, one of the council of the regency aſſerted, that no regard ought to be paid to the great charter, becauſe it was extorted by violence. But Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſeverely reprimanded the ſpeaker for his indiſcretion, as his aſſertion had a direct tendency to raiſe a rebellion in the nation; affirming, at the ſame time, that the demand of the people was founded on juſtice; and that the government could not, without the moſt palpable injuſtice, diſpenſe with any article in the charter. His opinion was adopted; and the parliament having granted a ſubſidy, the king iſſued orders for a new charter of confirmation.

No material circumſtance took place in England from this time till the year 1226, when a parliament was convened at Weſtminſter, in order to deliberate on an extraordinary demand made by the court of Rome. Pope Honorius III. the ſucceſſor of Innocent, had ſent over a legate, under pretence of removing a reproach that had been long thrown upon the court of the Vatican. The pontiff obſerved, that the holy ſee having been accuſed of ſelling her favours for money, it was the duty of all good Chriſtians to aſſiſt in removing the cauſe of ſuch a ſcandalous imputation, as what had been collected aroſe from the extreme indigence of the Roman church. He therefore demanded, that two prebends in every cathedral, and two cells in every convent in England ſhould be granted to the church of Rome, by an authentic deed, confirmed by an act of the great council of the nation. But the Engliſh parliament treated this demand with ſuch contempt that no anſwer was returned to Rome. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, however, who was more immediately intereſted in the affair, wrote a letter to his holineſs. the ſubſtance of which was to this effect. "That "when the Roman ſee had procured the required "aſſiſtance from other nations, England would "follow their example; but would never eſtabliſh the precedent."

A. D. 1227. Henry, having now arrived at the age of maturity, ſummoned a parliament ot Oxford, to whom he declared his intention of taking into his own hands the reins of government; but at the ſame time gave them reaſon to imagine that little happineſs could be expected from his adminiſtration. He told them that as the great charter, and that of the foreſts, had been obtained by an act of rebellion, and confirmed in his minority, he could not conſider himſelf as legally bound by any acts or promiſes during his infancy. This unexpected declaration greatly aſtoniſhed the members, who immediately aroſe from their ſeats, and retired in diſguſt.

A ſhort time after this an event happened that evinced the natural diſpoſition of the king, and clearly ſhewed his being more deſirous of ruling by arbitrary power, than gaining the love and affection of his ſubjects. Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, returning from France (where he had ſome time headed an army in Guienne) found one of his manors poſſeſſed by a German officer, who claimed it as a gift from king John. Richard inſiſted, that his pretended right ſhould be determined by his peers, and immediately diſpoſſeſſed the German. But the latter inſtead of having recourſe to the laws of England, poſted to court, and complained to the king of the injuſtice done him by the earl of Cornwall. Henry, without giving himſelf any trouble to examine into the truth of his allegations, ordered him a writ under the royal ſign manual, commanding a reſtitution of the eſtate. Exaſperated at ſuch treatment, the earl refuſed obedience, and repaired to court to defend his property. The king, highly offended at Richard's obſtinacy, told him, he ſhould either reſtore the manor in queſtion within a limited time, or depart the kingdom. This manifeſt exertion of arbitrary power rouſed the paſſions of Richard, who boldly told the king he would appeal to the laws of his country, and that the judgment of his peers only ſhould oblige him either to part with his property, or quit the kingdom.

Henry, well knowing the great power of Richard, and that he was univerſally beloved by the principal people in the kingdom, thought proper to drop the diſpute, and in order to form a reconciliation with his brother, offered to ſettle upon him the dowry of the late queen, and augment his poſſeſſions with the lands of Boulogne. Theſe terms were accepted, and both the cauſe and offence buried in oblivion.

A. D. 1228. This year died Stephen Langton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a prelate who may be juſtly conſidered as one of the reſtorers of Engliſh liberty. About the ſame time died alſo pope Honorius III. who was ſucceeded in the pontificate by Gregory IX.

A. D. 1229. In the beginning of this year Henry demanded ſubſidies from his parliament, in order to carry on a war with Lewis, the young king of France, who had made various depredations in different parts of the continent. The ſubſidies were accordingly granted, and a powerful army ſoon raiſed; but the expedition was fruſtrated by the neglect of the miniſter, who neither iſſued the proper writs to the Cinque Ports, nor took the uſual methods for aſſembling a ſufficient number of tranſports.

But Henry was determined not to be diſappointed in his deſigns, and accordingly, in the ſpring of the following year (A. D. 1230) having collected a powerful army, with a proper number of tranſports, he embarked for the continent, attended by the earl of Britany, who had, ſome time before, paid a viſit to England. The king landed at St. Malo's, where the earl not only paid him homage, but ordered all the fortified places in his poſſeſſion to be delivered up to the Engliſh.

Henry marched with his forces from St. Malo's to Nantz, where he continued ſome time, in a ſtate of inaction. Encouraged by this puſillanimous conduct in the Engliſh monarch, Lewis advanced, at the head of his army, within four leagues of Nantz, and laid ſiege to Ancennes, which the cowardly Henry ſuffered him to take without making one effort for its relief. The French army continued approaching towards Nantz, took ſeveral caſtles in ſight of the Engliſh army, and proceeded within a ſmall diſtance of the gates of the city.

But neither the inſults of the French, nor the entreaties of his friends, could rouſe Henry; and Lewis, ſeeing no likelihood of an action, returned to Paris, in order to form a reconciliation with his diſcontented nobility, at whoſe deſire the Engliſh monarch had invaded his dominions.

After the departure of Lewis, the king drew his troops out of Nantz, and marched into Gaſcony by way of Poictou. Here he received homage from moſt of the principal nobility; and after ſtaying a ſhort time returned to Nantz, from whence he embarked for England, leaving his army under the command of the earls of Cheſter and Albemarle.

Theſe able generals were poſſeſſed of that courage and magnaminity to which Henry was a ſtranger. No ſooner was the king gone than they immediately took the field, and made an irruption into Anjou, where they poſſeſſed themſelves of the caſtle of Gautier, and laid the town in aſhes. They then marched into Normandy, where they took and razed the caſtle of Pontarſu, and burnt the town; but the ſeaſon being too far advanced to make any farther progreſs, they returned loaded with booty to Britany, and there took up their winter quarters.

A. D. 1231. Early in the ſpring the French monarch took the field at the head of a powerful army, and marched towards Britany, with a deſign of making himſelf maſter of that part of the country: but the Engliſh generals defeated his intentions by intercepting all his carriages loaded with proviſions and military ſtores. Lewis, finding he had a powerful and reſolute enemy to contend with, and knowing a reſpite from war was the deſire of the French court, propoſed a truce for three years, which being agreed on and concluded, he marched with his army back to Paris, and the Engliſh generals returned to England.

A. D. 1232. On the 17th of March the king ſummoned a parliament at Weſtminſter, of whom he demanded an aid to enable him to diſcharge the debts contracted by his late expedition to France; but the barons were ſo highly exaſperated at his puſillanimous and tyrannical conduct, that they peremptorily refuſed complying with his requeſt.

Among other acts which procured Henry the hatred of his barons, as well as the clergy at large was, his implicit obedience to the commands of the Roman pontiff. The greater part of the principal benefices in England were poſſeſſed by Italian prieſts; and the prelates and lay patrons were prohibited from preſenting natives till all the foreign clergy were ſufficiently provided for. It is, therefore, little to be wondered that theſe partial and arbitrary proceedings ſhould excite a general clamour throughout the kingdom. It was conſidered as a national inſult, and ſeveral aſſociations were formed for delivering the realm from ſuch ſhameful oppreſſions. The principal leader of the confederates was Robert de Twenge, a knight in the north of England. He had long beheld the tyrannical proceeedings of the king and pontiff with deteſtation, but on being deprived of the patronage of a church, he determined to take ample revenge on the foreign prieſts. He accordingly aſſumed the name of William Witham, and encouraged his followers to ſtrip the houſes of the Italian clergy, and diſpoſe of their effects. They continued this practice for ſome time without oppoſition, and the foreign eccleſiaſtics, not daring to appear, took refuge in the convents. Being informed of theſe violent proceedings, the pope wrote in a very lofty ſtile to Henry, commanding him, under pain of excommunication, to chaſtiſe the inſolence of his ſubjects, and reſtore the Italian clergy to their benefices. The puſillanimous Henry was alarmed at theſe menaces of the pontiff, and dreaded the effects of a papal cenſure. He ordered a ſtrict inquiſition to be made in the principal parts of the kingdom, where thoſe riots had prevailed; and had the mortification to find, that they had been ſupported and encouraged by men of all ranks; even Hubert de Burgh, the chief juſticiary, did not eſcape ſuſpicion. At length, Robert de Twenge, (who ſcorned to diſown an action, which he thought juſtifiable, or let any innocent perſon ſuffer on his account) appeared in the royal preſence, attended by five knights, and boldly declared himſelf the leader of the confederates, who had ſtripped the houſes of the foreign prieſts; alledging, that the injuries he had received were the ſole motives for his proceedings. Pleaſed with this ingenuous confeſſion, the king granted him a free pardon, and procured a reſtitution of his right to the patronage in queſtion.

The voluntary and ingenuous confeſſion of Twenge clearly removed the ſuſpicion that had been entertained of Hubert; but notwithſtanding this, the inconſtancy of Henry furniſhed the enemies of that ſtateſman with an opportunity of procuring his ruin. Excited by the remonſtrances of Peter de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter (who hated Hubert, becauſe he had been active in oppoſing his deſtructive councils) the weak king, inſenſible to all his ſervices, perſecuted him with ſuch fury, that he was obliged to take ſanctuary in a church, and at laſt ſave himſelf by flying to the continent.

A. D. 1233. After the departure of Hubert, the biſhop of Wincheſter, a Poictevin by birth, ſo powerfully ingratiated himſelf in the king's favour, that he was permitted to direct all public affairs at his own diſcretion. In conſequence of this the court was filled with his own countrymen, on whom he conferred every important and advantageous office in the diſpoſal of the crown. Theſe proceedings ſoon produced a general diſcontent throughout the kingdom, which the weak king conſidered only as a confirmation of that rebellious ſpirit the biſhop repreſented to be the characteriſtic of the Engliſh nobility, who, on that account, were denied all acceſs to the king, and treated by the miniſter with the moſt diſtinguiſhed contempt.

It is little to be wondered at that ſuch conduct in the king and his miniſter ſhould increaſe the flame of diſcontent already ſufficiently kindled. But at length the patience of the Engliſh nobility was exhauſted by the inſults and injuries they received from theſe inſolent ſtrangers; in conſequence of which they formed themſelves into a body, and deputed the earl marſhal to lay their grievances before the king. In conformity to their requeſt the earl demanded an audience, which being granted, he informed Henry of the complaints of the people, and beſought him not to continue laviſhing his favours on foreigners, to the great neglect and injury of his natural ſubjects; adding, that if he treated their remonſtrance with neglect, both himſelf and the reſt of the Engliſh nobility ſhould think it their duties to withdraw themſelves from his councils.

The haughty and imperious biſhop of Wincheſter

cheſter, who was preſent at this audience, prevented the king from making any reply, by tyrannically and preſumptuouſly telling the earl, "it was the higheſt degree of inſolence in him, "or any other ſubject, to pretend to dictate to "his majeſty on whom he ought to confer his favours: that both the king and his father had "been ſo ill treated by the Engliſh, that the only "expedient of procuring his own ſafety was that "of truſting to foreigners; and that if their "number in the kingdom was not already ſufficient to reduce his rebellious ſubjects to their "duty, large reinforcements ſhould be procured "from the continent."

Aſtoniſhed at this ſuperlative arrogance, the earl retired without returning any anſwer, and immediately joined the confederacy in order to concert meaſures for checking that deſpotic power, which the king, by the violent counſels of his worthleſs miniſter, ſeemed deſirous of aſſuming. Henry was alarmed at the confederacy of the barons, and the biſhop, to gain time, adviſed him to call a parliament at London. But the barons refuſed to attend, and even threatened to deprive Henry of his crown if the Poictevins were not baniſhed the kingdom. In conſequence of this another parliament was called, when the barons obeyed the ſummons, but they all appeared in armour, and were attended by a prodigious number of followers.

A. D. 1234. Henry now ſaw his danger, and was deſirous of coming to a reconciliation with his enraged barons; but the artful prelate found means to remove his fears, and encouraged him to oppoſe them by bringing over the earls of Cornwall and Cheſter to the royal party. In conſequence of this the eſtates of ſeveral of the confederates were confiſcated, without any trial by their peers, and given to the Poictevins, who were already become ſo odious to the Engliſh.

A. D. 1235. The king and his infamous miniſter continued their violent proceedings for ſome time, till at length Edmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury determined to interpoſe, and, if poſſible, remove the grievances of the people. He accordingly, attended by his ſuffragans, went to the palace, and demanded an audience of the king; which being granted, he deſcribed, in the moſt pethetic manner, the dreadful effects of thoſe ruinous meaſures which he had purſued at the inſtigation of his miniſters. Having ſaid this, he formally accuſed the biſhop of Wincheſter, as the author of thoſe pernicious councils, which had diffuſed a ſpirit of diſcontent throughout the nation; and, after giving a long detail of the grievances of the people, inſiſted that the king ſhould remove from his councils a miniſter ſo odious to all his ſubjects; adding, that if ſo reaſonable a requeſt was refuſed, he would excommunicate both him, and all who oppoſed ſo neceſſary a reformation. This ſpirited remonſtrance, and the threat at the cloſe of it, produced the deſired effect; the biſhop of Wincheſter being immediately removed from all his employments, and the inſolent Poictevins baniſhed the kingdom.

A. D. 1236. The remonſtrance of the archbiſhop of Canterbury had, to all appearance, convinced Henry of his error in preferring foreigners to his Engliſh ſubjects. But this conviction was of ſhort duration. Henry ſoon after married Eleanor, daughter of the count of Provence, and again threw himſelf into the arms of foreigners. William de Savoy, biſhop of Valence, and uncle to the new queen, became his principal favourite, and to him he committed the ſole adminiſtration of all public affairs.

This indiſcreet conduct of the king greatly alarmed the Engliſh nobility, who dreaded a reival of the late times of miniſterial inſolence and oppreſſion, and determined to exert all their power to put ſtop to the career of this foreign minion. They began with preſenting dutiful addreſſes to the king, at the ſame time remonſtrating, with becoming ſpirit, againſt thoſe meaſures, which they apprehended to be deſtructive of the public intereſt, and that union which ſhould always ſubſiſt between an Engliſh king and his ſubjects. But they did not ſucceed in their attempts. Valence ſupported his power, and foreign influence grew every day more prevalent at court. The miniſter, who was offended with the Engliſh barons for their late ſpirited remonſtrances, ſpared no pains to render them ſuſpected by the king, and to remove the moſt active among them from his perſon and government. The ſeals were demanded from the biſhop of Chicheſter, who had filled the high office of chancellor with the moſt unblemiſhed integrity; but the prelate, on receiving the king's meſſage, nobly replied, "That having received the ſeals by order of parliament, he would reſign them by order of that aſſembly only."

A. D. 1237. The wants of Henry's foreign and needy courtiers had now exhauſted his treaſury, and he was obliged to call a parliament in order to obtain a ſupply. The members being aſſembled, they were told, "that the chief reaſon "of their being called together was, to deſire them "to grant an aid, which ſhould be collected and "diſpoſed of, for the neceſſary uſes of the ſtate, "by ſuch perſons as themſelves ſhould think pro"per to commiſſion for that purpoſe." But Henry had ſo often broke his promiſes, that the parliament were no longer to be deceived. They therefore returned for anſwer, "That they had "often granted the king aids, without receiving "any marks of his affection: that ſince his ac"ceſſion to the throne very large ſums had been "exacted from his ſubjects, which were wholly "laviſhed on foreign favourites, to the great im"poveriſhment of the ſtate, and diſgrace of his "own character." In anſwer to this reply, Henry pleaded the expences of his late marriage, which, he ſaid, had principally exhauſted his treaſury; and then promiſed, upon his honour, that if they would grant him only a thirtieth part of their moveables, he would never again injure or oppreſs any baron in his kingdom.

From theſe aſſurances, together with Henry's farther promiſe of obſerving inviolate the articles of the Great Charter, the parliament were induced to comply with his demand. But they ordered the money ariſing from the tax to be depoſited in certain abbies, churches and caſtles, as a fund adapted to the neceſſities of the ſtate; and annexed to the grant for levying it the following condition: "That the king ſhould no longer hearken to the "ſuggeſtions of foreigners, who had already op"preſſed and impoveriſhed the nation, but be go"verned, for the future, by his own natural-born "ſubjects."

But the faithleſs Henry no ſooner obtained the ſupply requeſted, than he immediately returned to his former meaſures, by ſhewing as much fondneſs for foreigners as ever; and, to ſecure himſelf a party ſufficient to oppoſe the power of his barons, made application to the pope for a legate to be ſent

into

into England, under whoſe protection he might ſecurely violate his recent engagements, which neceſſity had compelled him to enter into with his people.

A. D. 1238. The arrival of the legate greatly alarmed the Engliſh, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury warmly expoſtulated with Henry for ſuffering him to come into the kingdom without any apparent neceſſity, and without the knowledge of the parliament and clergy. But Henry, knowing the authority of the pope to be ſuperior to that of the archbiſhop, paid no regard to his remonſtrances. He ſeized the monies that had been depoſited in the curches and convents by the parliament for the ſtate, and ſquandered it, with the utmoſt profuſion, on ſtrangers and favourites. His brother the earl of Cornwall, at the head of the nobility upbraided him for this ſhameful breach of faith and honour; but this had no more effect than the remonſtrances of the archbiſhop: Henry treated them with contempt and ſeemed determined in ſpite of every oppoſition, to continue his illegal and unjuſtifiable proceedings.

A. D. 1239. But though Henry relied entirely on the power of the pope for ſupport againſt the reſentment of his barons and clergy, the inconſiſtence of his conduct was ſo amazing, that he ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the emperor Frederic II. then at open war with the court of Rome. Gregory IX. who then filled the papal chair, was highly offended at what he termed the inſolence of his vaſſal, and ordered the legate to make the moſt ſevere remonſtrances. The puſillanimous monarch was alarmed, and, to avert the cenſure of the vatican, ſuffered the ſentence of excommunication againſt Frederic to be publiſhed in all the churches of England; though that prince had married the princeſs Iſabella, ſiſter to Henry.

A. D. 1240. This year Edmund, archbiſhop of Canterbury, finding it impoſſible to obtain any redreſs from the king for the grievances of the people, left his ſee, and retired to Burgundy, where he ſoon after paid the debt of nature, and was interred in the abby of Pontigny.

About this time alſo died, in a very advanced age. Llewellyn, prince of Wales, leaving his principality to his ſon David.

A. D. 1241. The great encouragement which Henry continued to give to foreigners induced Peter de Savoy, one of the queen's uncles, to pay a viſit to England. On his arrival he received the honour of knighthood in Weſtminſter-abbey, and was ſoon after created earl of Richmond. But Peter, perceiving how diſguſtful his preferment was to the Engliſh nobility, behaved with great moderation, and took all poſſible care to avoid giving them offence. However, through his intereſt his brother Boniface was raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, which had continued vacant ever ſince the departure of the late archbiſhop.

A. D. 1242. The weak, but yet tyrannical Henry, had now, from the ſtrange inconſiſtency of his conduct, entirely loſt the affections of his ſubjects. The barons were juſtly incenſed againſt the rapacious foreigners who waſted the royal treaſure, governed the kingdom, and treated the laws of England with contempt. The parliament, therefore, refuſed to grant their monarch any ſupplies, upon which the tyrannical king had recourſe to the moſt illegal methods for ſupplying his neceſſities. He exacted loans, demanded benevolences, and uſurped the power of diſpenſing with the laws, becauſe the pope ſcrupled not to diſpenſe with the canons of the church whenever the intereſts of the holy ſee required it. Theſe violent proceedings occaſioned univerſal murmurs among the people: the barons formed aſſociations; and the judges were alarmed at the conduct of the king. "Alas! exclaimed one of them on the "bench, in what a corrupt age do we live! The "civil court is vitiated in imitation of the eccle- "ſiaſtical; and the river is poiſoned from that "fountain."

A. D. 1243. Henry was now deſirous of aſſiſting the count de la Marche, who had married his mother Iſabella, againſt Lewis IX. of France. The count had given Henry the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of ſucceſs; telling him that all the old tenants of his family in France would immediately join his ſtandard, together with the king of Arragon, and the count of Thouloufe. Pleaſed with the proſpect of recovering his old dominions on the continent, and wreſting from Lewis the territories which Philip had taken from his father, Henry ſummoned a parliament, in order to procure the ſupplies neceſſary for carrying his arms into France. But he had the mortification to find his requeſt denied, the parliament abſolutely refuſing to grant him any aſſiſtance for carrying on the war. Henry, however, found means to raiſe the neceſſary ſums at exorbitant intereſt, and paſſed over to the continent at the head of a conſiderable body of troops. But he was equally deſtitute of military and civil talents. His army was defeated at Tillebourg; after which he abandoned Poictou, and returned with diſgrace to England.

A. D. 1244. In the beginning of this year arrived one Martin, nuncio from the pope, with orders to demand from the clergy a thouſand marks, in order to aſſiſt him in carrying on the war with the emperor of Germany. Martin was inveſted with more ample powers than had been given to any legate before, and his oppreſſion and inſolence exceeded every thing yet experienced from the court of Rome. Theſe proceedings ſpread an univerſal alarm throughout the kingdom; and the barons reſolved to lay before the general council (then aſſembled at Lyons) the intolerable opreſſions of the holy ſee.

In the mean time Martin purſued ſuch arbitrary and unjuſt methods to extort money from the clergy, that the whole nation was exaſperated to the higheſt degree; and it was reſolved, in an aſſembly of the barons, that if he would not depart the kingdom peaceably, he ſhould be driven from it by force. In conſequence of this reſolution, the barons aſſembled in arms, under pretence of holding a tournament; and choſe Fulk Fitz-Warren to carry their reſolutions to the nuncio. They could not, indeed have fixed upon a more proper perſon, Fulk himſelf having ſuffered ſeverely by papal exactions.

Thus commiſſioned Fulk immediately repaired to the houſe of the nuncio, and being introduced into his preſence, told him, with a ſtern and reſolute air, that he muſt inſtantly prepare for his departure from England. The nuncio, little accuſtomed to ſuch diſreſpectful addreſſes, aſked him by whoſe authority he dared to ſpeak to him in ſo inſolent a manner? "By the authority of a "body of Engliſh knights now in arms," anſwered Fulk, "who ordered me to tell you, that "if either you yourſelf, or any of your follow- "ers, remain in England more than three days,

"every one of you ſhall be cut to pieces. Act "as you pleaſe; but remember it is an Engliſh "knight that delivers you this meſſage." Martin was too well acquainted with the character of the Engliſh to contemn a menace ſo peremptorily delivered. He immediately complained to Henry, and deſired his protection. But the king, who had for ſome time beheld the exactions of the pope with concern, told him his robberies and oppreſſions had raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of reſentment in every part of the kingdom, that he was hardly able to protect himſelf againſt his own ſubjects, who were thoroughly incenſed againſt him for having countenanced his rapacious proceedings.

This reply convinced the nuncio of his dangerous ſituation, and he determined to abandon a kingdom where his life was in the utmoſt danger. He accordingly got a paſſport from Henry, and embarked with all poſſible expedition for the continent; but it was thought neceſſary to ſend a proper guard with him to the ſea-ſide, to protect him from the reſentment of the juſtly incenſed populace.

During theſe tranſactions the Engliſh ambaſſadors arrived at Lyons, and laid their complaints before the council, where the pope himſelf preſided in perſon. They repreſented, that the benefices enjoyed by the Italian clergy in England amounted to ſixty thouſand marks a year, a ſum that exceeded the annual revenue of the crown. They accuſed the pope of frequently cancelling his own acts, by clauſes of *non obſtante* inſerted in his bulls; a clauſe abſolutely deſtructive of all the rights of patrons, and all the liberties of the Engliſh church. They expatiated on the perpetual extortions of the nuncios and legates, and various other oppreſſions to which the Britiſh clergy had been ſo long expoſed. The pope was confounded at theſe allegations, and gave an evaſive anſwer. He feared the power of the council, and was willing to ſooth the Engliſh ambaſſadors. He accordingly promiſed them redreſs, and cauſed two bulls to be iſſued out for that purpoſe. Mention was made in the council of the ſuperior right of ſovereignty, which the late king had granted to the holy ſee. In conſequence of this, the earl of Norfolk inſiſted, that neither that prince, nor any other, had the leaſt right, without the conſent of his barons, to ſubject the kingdom to a foreign ſervitude. This noble oppoſition had a powerful effect, the court of Rome not inſiſting afterwards on this unprofitable claim, which the diſtance of the place, and the national character of the Engliſh, rendered impoſſible to ſupport.

A. D. 1246. But the pontiff was far from diſcharging the promiſes he had made to the Engliſh ambaſſadors; for ſome time after the council of Lyons broke up, he renewed all his exactions. This perfidious conduct exaſperated the Engliſh; and a parliament was ſummoned at London, in order to take into conſideration the moſt proper meaſures for removing the grievances of the people. Accordingly, a ſtate of the hardſhips ſuffered by the nation from papal tyranny was drawn up, and after being ſigned by the king, biſhops, and temporal lords, ſent to the court of Rome, and ſatisfaction demanded from the pontiff. But inſtead of meeting with any redreſs, the ambaſſadors were treated with contempt; in conſequence of which, on their return to England, the king immediately prohibited any farther payment being made to the pontiff. This was a meaſure highly agreeable to his ſubjects: but Henry, wanting firmneſs to ſupport it, ſoon relapſed into his former indolence, and ſuffered the pope to continue his extortions.

A. D. 1248. Henry now gave a freſh inſtance of his unhappy attachment and partiality to foreigners, by propoſing the marriages of ſome young ladies of Provence with ſeveral of his nobility. This propoſition was made at a time when his finances would hardly defray the ordinary expences of his houſhold, ſo that he was obliged to convoke a parliament in order to obtain a ſupply, but the barons were ſo irritated at his perſevering in countenancing foreigners, that they peremptorily refuſed complying with his requeſt.

No circumſtance worthy of notice occured from this time till the year 1251, when Henry was alarmed at the proceedings of Alexander II. king of Scotland, who, though a minor, had made depredations on the Engliſh territories. He therefore advanced into the north at the head of a numerous army; but before he could proceed to hoſtilities, an embaſſy arrived with propoſals for an accommodation. Theſe propoſals were accepted, and a match concluded between princeſs Margaret, eldeſt daughter to Henry, and the young king of Scotland. The next day the marriage ceremony was performed at York in preſence of Henry and the queen-mother of Scotland, attended by many of the principal nobility of both kingdoms. Alexander received a bond from Henry for five thouſand marks as a marriage portion, after which the two kings took a friendly leave of each other, Henry returning to London, and Alexander to his own country.

A. D. 1253. Pope Innocent IV. was one of the moſt implacable pontiffs that ever filled the papal chair. The inveterate hatred he conceived againſt Frederic, emperor of Germany (with whom he had been ſome time at war, and who was now no more) did not ſubſide with the death of that monarch; it devolved on his grandſon Conrade, the lawful heir of the crown of Sicily, but whoſe ſucceſſion was ſet aſide by the perfidious arts of his uncle Mainfroy.

The pope was convinced his own forces were inſufficient to oppoſe Mainfroy, and therefore, in order to gratify his thirſt for revenge, as well as repleniſh his coffers, ſent a nuncio into England, to offer the crown of Sicily to Richard earl of of Cornwall. But that nobleman, though exceeding fond of power, had prudence ſufficient to perceive, that the ſole deſign of the court of Rome was nothing more than the acquiſition of a large ſum of money, and therefore declined the offer. But Henry had not the ſagacity of his brother: he accepted it for his ſecond ſon Edmund, and gave the pope unlimited credit for expending the ſums neceſſary for the reduction of Sicily. Edmund was accordingly treated with the honours of royalty; and no means of extortion or oppreſſion omitted by the pope, in conjunction with Henry, to obtain money from the Engliſh, under pretence of eſtabliſhing prince Edmund on the throne of Sicily.

The papal army began the war with ſome ſucceſs; but Mainfroy, determined to riſk his fate on the event of one deciſive action, boldly advanced againſt the Roman forces. In conſequence of this a deſperate battle enſued, which was ſupported, for ſome time, with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length the pope's army was totally defeated, and himſelf threatened with being

beſieged in his capital. The haughty pontiff could not brook this reverſe of fortune: the violence of his paſſion threw him into a fever, which, in a ſhort time, put a period to his exiſtence. He was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Alexander IV. who purſued the ſame meaſures with his predeceſſor, and undertook to place Edmund on the Sicilian throne.

A. D. 1254. The weak but ambitious Henry had ſubjected himſelf to all the demands of the pontiff in order to graſp this phantom of ſovereignty for his ſon Edmund; but he now found himſelf more embarraſſed than ever. The parliament refuſed to grant the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying this ridiculous project into execution; and the whole weight fell upon the clergy. This was not, however, effected, without a noble ſtruggle from the eccleſiaſtics; for when Ruſtan, the pope's nuncio, aſſembled the prelates, and propoſed their ſigning obligatory notes porportioned to the benefices of each individual, the biſhop of London declared, he would ſooner loſe his head than ſubmit to ſo ſhameful an act of tyranny. He was ſeconded by the biſhop of Worceſter; and the whole aſſembly unanimouſly declared, that the clergy of England would not ſubmit to be enſlaved by the pope. The nuncio complained of this refuſal to Henry, who threatened the biſhop of London with his reſentment; but the prelate, far from being intimidated replied, with a noble intrepidity, "That he knew the king and the pope "were his ſuperiors; but if they deprived him "of his mitre, he would ſupply its place with a "helmet." This generous ſtand in ſupport of the liberties of the Engliſh church, exaſperated the haughty Ruſtan; who finding it would be impoſſible to prevail on them in a body, determined to wreak his vengeance on each in particular. He accordingly commenced proſecutions againſt individuals for pretended faults, and obliged them to make an atonement, by paying very conſiderable ſums. The prelates appealed to the pope; and Alexander, dreading the conſequences of driving the Engliſh clergy to deſpair, ordered his nuncio to deſiſt from his proſecutions.

A. D. 1255. Henry now determined to make another attempt for procuring a ſubſidy from his barons. He accordingly convened the parliament for that purpoſe, when the archbiſhop of Meſſina arrived with letters from the pope, preſſing the nobility, in the moſt earneſt manner, to comply with the requeſt of their ſovereign. But all attempts were in vain: the parliament, after mature deliberation, unanimouſly refuſed to grant the ſubſidy.

In conſequence of this Ruſtan, the pope's nuncio, declared, in an aſſembly of the prelates, that the demands of the pope upon Henry amounted to above one hundred and fifty thouſand marks; and that if the clergy ſtill refuſed to comply with his requeſt, he would immediately make a demand of the whole debt, and lay the kingdom under an interdict till it was paid. The barons knew if this threat was carried into execution, it would expoſe both the church and ſtate to the moſt imminent danger; in conſequence of which they aſſented to ſupply the exorbitant ſum demanded.

During theſe tranſactions the conqueſt of Sicily advanced ſo ſlowly that Henry, finding it would be impoſſible to raiſe the ſums neceſſary to ſatisfy the demands of the pontiff, renounced all pretenſions to the crown of Sicily, and Manifroy preſerved the royal dignity without any farther oppoſition.

A. D. 1257. Though Richard, earl of Cornwall, had wiſely refuſed the offer made by the pope with regard to the crown of Sicily, he was far from being proof againſt ambition. He had amaſſed immenſe riches by his frugality, and was conſidered as the moſt wealthy prince in Europe. The German electors, deſirous of ſharing in the treaſures of this powerful Engliſhman, offered to elect him king of the Romans. Pleaſed with the thoughts of this addition of dignity and power, Richard went over to Germany, attended by a number of the Engliſh nobility, and was ſoon after crowned with great pomp at Aix-la-Chapelle.

A. D. 1258. In the beginning of this year Henry ſummoned a parliament to meet at London, when Harlat (the new nuncio) produced a bull from the pope, enjoining the biſhops to pay the tenths granted to the king by his holineſs, under pain of excommunication. The king ſeconded the demand of the nuncio, and preſſed the members to aſſiſt them with a ſupply. But the barons were far from granting his requeſt: they reproached him with his acts of rapine and injuſtice, and with his hatred of the Engliſh nation, from whom, they ſaid, he ought to bluſh to require any aid or ſubſidies, while he preferred ſtrangers, and made his native ſubjects groan under the moſt dreadful oppreſſions. Four of their brethren were deputed by the biſhops to make warm remonſtrances with regard to his conduct in general, and the uncanonical elections which had been made to vacant dignities in particular. Henry acknowledged their complaints were juſtly founded: but the remonſtrances of the barons were not to be anſwered, and they inſiſted on a ratification of the great charter. It was in vain for the king to make any oppoſition. His brother Richard, whoſe power was very extenſive, was abſent in Germany, and the barons defied all the cenſures of the Vatican. Henry therefore ſubmitted to neceſſity, and the great charter was ratified, Henry ſwearing to obſerve inviolably every article contained in it. But no oaths were binding to Henry: the ſame indolence, the ſame infatuation for foreigners again returned, and the articles of the charter were violated whenever the intereſt of the court, or the ambition of his minions, rendered it neceſſary.

A. D. 1259. The barons were ſo incenſed at the baſe and perfidious conduct of the king, that they formed themſelves into an aſſociation; and a parliament being called at Oxford, they came to the aſſembly, attended by their military tenants, properly armed, and headed by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, who had ſome time before married the king's ſiſter, and was made governor of Guienne.

The appearance of the barons with their military attendants greatly alarmed Henry, who, on entering the aſſembly, aſked, with ſome emotion, whether he was their priſoner? The earl marſhal replied, he was not; but that it was the determined reſolution of the whole aſſembly to baniſh his foreign favourites from the kingdom, and redreſs the grievances of the nation. The earl added, that if he would agree to theſe reaſonable demands, and give authority for that purpoſe to perſons of character and capacity, they would grant the ſupplies neceſſary for giving weight and dignity to the crown.

Henry now perceived it would be in vain to oppoſe the power of the barons, and therefore

agreed to submit to any regulations they ſhould think fit to propoſe. In conſequence of this the barons conſtituted a council of twenty-four, whom they inveſted with an unlimited authority for reforming the ſtate, and Simon Montfort was elected preſident. Henry took a ſolemn oath before the whole aſſembly that he would maintain and ſupport whatever ordinances they ſhould iſſue for that ſalutary purpoſe. The plan of government had been digeſted at a previous meeting of the principal barons; ſo that a ſet of regulations were immediately produced, the ſubſtance of which was to the following effect:

1. That the king ſhould confirm the great charter, which he had ſo often ſworn to obſerve, and ſo often violated.

2. The important office of chief juſticiary ſhould be beſtowed upon a perſon of talents and integrity, who ſhould adminiſter juſtice to the poor and the rich without favor or partiality.

3. That the chancellor, treaſurer, judges, and other public miniſters, ſhould be annually choſen by the council of twenty-four.

4. That the cuſtody of the king's caſtles ſhould be committed to the care of that council, who ſhould entruſt them to ſuch perſons as were well affected to the ſtate.

5. That any perſon, of what degree or order ſoever, who ſhould oppoſe, directly or indirectly, what ſhould be decreed by the council of twenty-four, ſhould be puniſhed with death.

6. That three ſeſſions of parliament ſhould be regularly held every year, to enact ſuch laws as ſhould, from time to time, be found neceſſary for the good of the people.

Theſe articles (diſtinguiſhed by the title of "The Statutes or Proviſions of Oxford") were unanimouſly approved of by the parliament, and confirmed by the king, who ſolemnly ſwore ſtrictly to obſerve, and cauſe them to be obſerved, to the utmoſt of his power.

Having ſigned theſe articles, Henry made not the leaſt doubt but the parliament would grant him a large ſubſidy. He was, however greatly miſtaken; for the conſideration of the ſupplies was poſtponed, and ſome of his principal foreign favourites (who were conſidered as the chief authors of the public calamities) were baniſhed the kingdom. Nor was this all: even the officers of the houſhold were removed, and their places filled with perſons in the intereſt of the council. At the ſame time they obliged every individual in the kingdom to take an oath to obey their mandates, telling them, it was "for "the greater glory of God, the honour of the "church, the ſervice of the king, and the ad-"vantage of the kingdom."

Thus did the barons take into their own hands the government of the nation; and the king ſoon perceived he was no more than a mere cypher in the adminiſtration. The council, however, were under diſagreeable apprehenſions from the great credit and power of the king's brother, Richard king of the Romans, whom they knew was now about paying a viſit to England. They therefore diſpatched the biſhop of Worceſter to the continent, to inform him that he would not be permitted to land in England unleſs he firſt promiſed to take an oath to obſerve the ſtatutes of Oxford. Incenſed at their inſolence, and exaſperated at the degrading treatment of his brother, Richard ſwore he would never take the oath they wanted to impoſe upon him; and that he would viſit England when, and as often as he pleaſed, without ſubmitting to give them any reaſons for his actions. But being ſoon after informed, that the barons had taken ſuch precautions, by marching troops to the ſea-coaſts, and fitting out a powerful fleet, that it would be impoſſible for him to land in England without their conſent, he thought it more prudent to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times, than engage in a fruitleſs oppoſition. and therefore took the oath required; upon which the barons gave him permiſſion to come to England.

A. D. 1260. The barons continued to direct the affairs of government, for ſome time, with tolerable ſatisfaction to the people, till at length it was perceived that the meaſures they took were more calculated to promote their own intereſt than that of the ſtate. In conſequence of this a general murmur took place, and the knights of the ſhire implored the aſſiſtance of prince Edward to undertake the defence of the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the people. The prince accordingly ſent a meſſage to the barons, inſiſting on their finiſhing, without delay, the reformation they had undertaken; otherwiſe he ſhould think himſelf obliged to exert all his power to procure redreſs for an injured people.

The barons were alarmed at this ſpirited remonſtrance, and a new code of laws was publiſhed: but it ſoon appeared that the whole was nothing more than the common laws of England, with ſome trifling alterations. So glaring an impoſition exaſperated the people; and the animoſities which now broke out between the barons themſelves, gave them hopes that the tyranny of the nobles would ſoon have an end. The earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, the two moſt powerful barons in the whole confederacy, became profeſſed enemies to each other. Theſe diviſions greatly weakened the ſtrength of the barons; and Leiceſter retired into France, under pretence of being no longer able to act with ſuch an adminiſtration.

Leiceſter, however, had views little ſuſpected by the barons at the time of his relinquiſhing the adminiſtration. He was in hopes of increaſing the power of his party by gaining over the French monarch to his intereſt. But in this he was greatly miſtaken. The throne of France was then filled by Lewis IX. (generally called St. Lewis) a prince who delighted not in the diſtreſſes of other nations; but was deſirous of healing, rather than increaſing the wounds which the Engliſh conſtitution had received. He was endowed with all the piety of an anchorite, as well as the virtues of a king. His liberality was not in the leaſt inconſiſtent with the wiſeſt œconomy. He knew how to reconcile a profound policy with an exact juſtice. He was prudent and firm in council, intrepid but cool in war, and as compaſſionate as if he had always been unhappy. From a prince of this character England had nothing to fear; he deſired not to uſurp the territories of his neighbours, and was ſo far from taking advantage of the troubles of England, that he laboured to eſtabliſh peace and harmony among the contending parties, whoſe diviſions threatened the kingdom with deſtruction. He even entertained a doubt with regard to the juſtice of the ſentence paſſed againſt John in the court of peers in France; and had formed a deſign of reſtoring to Henry all the provinces that had been wreſted from his father.

A. D. 1261. The quarrel between two ſuch powerful noblemen as the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter gave Henry great hopes that his misfortunes

beſieged in his capital. The haughty pontiff could not brook this reverſe of fortune: the violence of his paſſion threw him into a fever, which, in a ſhort time, put a period to his exiſtence. He was ſucceeded in the papal chair by Alexander IV. who purſued the ſame meaſures with his predeceſſor, and undertook to place Edmund on the Sicilian throne.

A. D. 1254. The weak but ambitious Henry had ſubjected himſelf to all the demands of the pontiff in order to graſp this phantom of ſovereignty for his ſon Edmund; but he now found himſelf more embarraſſed than ever. The parliament refuſed to grant the neceſſary ſupplies for carrying this ridiculous project into execution; and the whole weight fell upon the clergy. This was not, however, effected, without a noble ſtruggle from the eccleſiaſtics; for when Ruſtan, the pope's nuncio, aſſembled the prelates, and propoſed their ſigning obligatory notes porportioned to the benefices of each individual, the biſhop of London declared, he would ſooner loſe his head than ſubmit to ſo ſhameful an act of tyranny. He was ſeconded by the biſhop of Worceſter; and the whole aſſembly unanimouſly declared, that the clergy of England would not ſubmit to be enſlaved by the pope. The nuncio complained of this refuſal to Henry, who threatened the biſhop of London with his reſentment; but the prelate, far from being intimidated replied, with a noble intrepidity, "That he knew the king and the pope "were his ſuperiors; but if they deprived him "of his mitre, he would ſupply its place with a "helmet." This generous ſtand in ſupport of the liberties of the Engliſh church, exaſperated the haughty Ruſtan; who finding it would be impoſſible to prevail on them in a body, determined to wreak his vengeance on each in particular. He accordingly commenced proſecutions againſt individuals for pretended faults, and obliged them to make an atonement, by paying very conſiderable ſums. The prelates appealed to the pope; and Alexander, dreading the conſequences of driving the Engliſh clergy to deſpair, ordered his nuncio to deſiſt from his proſecutions.

A. D. 1255. Henry now determined to make another attempt for procuring a ſubſidy from his barons. He accordingly convened the parliament for that purpoſe, when the archbiſhop of Meſſina arrived with letters from the pope, preſſing the nobility, in the moſt earneſt manner, to comply with the requeſt of their ſovereign. But all attempts were in vain: the parliament, after mature deliberation, unanimouſly refuſed to grant the ſubſidy.

In conſequence of this Ruſtan, the pope's nuncio, declared, in an aſſembly of the prelates, that the demands of the pope upon Henry amounted to above one hundred and fifty thouſand marks; and that if the clergy ſtill refuſed to comply with his requeſt, he would immediately make a demand of the whole debt, and lay the kingdom under an interdict till it was paid. The barons knew if this threat was carried into execution, it would expoſe both the church and ſtate to the moſt imminent danger; in conſequence of which they aſſented to ſupply the exorbitant ſum demanded.

During theſe tranſactions the conqueſt of Sicily advanced ſo ſlowly that Henry, finding it would be impoſſible to raiſe the ſums neceſſary to ſatisfy the demands of the pontiff, renounced all pretenſions to the crown of Sicily, and Manifroy preſerved the royal dignity without any farther oppoſition.

A. D. 1257. Though Richard, earl of Cornwall, had wiſely refuſed the offer made by the pope with regard to the crown of Sicily, he was far from being proof againſt ambition. He had amaſſed immenſe riches by his frugality, and was conſidered as the moſt wealthy prince in Europe. The German electors, deſirous of ſharing in the treaſures of this powerful Engliſhman, offered to elect him king of the Romans. Pleaſed with the thoughts of this addition of dignity and power, Richard went over to Germany, attended by a number of the Engliſh nobility, and was ſoon after crowned with great pomp at Aix-la-Chapelle.

A. D. 1258. In the beginning of this year Henry ſummoned a parliament to meet at London, when Harlat (the new nuncio) produced a bull from the pope, enjoining the biſhops to pay the tenths granted to the king by his holineſs, under pain of excommunication. The king ſeconded the demand of the nuncio, and preſſed the members to aſſiſt them with a ſupply. But the barons were far from granting his requeſt: they reproached him with his acts of rapine and injuſtice, and with his hatred of the Engliſh nation, from whom, they ſaid, he ought to bluſh to require any aid or ſubſidies, while he preferred ſtrangers, and made his native ſubjects groan under the moſt dreadful oppreſſions. Four of their brethren were deputed by the biſhops to make warm remonſtrances with regard to his conduct in general, and the uncanonical elections which had been made to vacant dignities in particular. Henry acknowledged their complaints were juſtly founded: but the remonſtrances of the barons were not to be anſwered, and they inſiſted on a ratification of the great charter. It was in vain for the king to make any oppoſition. His brother Richard, whoſe power was very extenſive, was abſent in Germany, and the barons defied all the cenſures of the Vatican. Henry therefore ſubmitted to neceſſity, and the great charter was ratified, Henry ſwearing to obſerve inviolably every article contained in it. But no oaths were binding to Henry: the ſame indolence, the ſame infatuation for foreigners again returned, and the articles of the charter were violated whenever the intereſt of the court, or the ambition of his minions, rendered it neceſſary.

A. D. 1259. The barons were ſo incenſed at the baſe and perfidious conduct of the king, that they formed themſelves into an aſſociation; and a parliament being called at Oxford, they came to the aſſembly, attended by their military tenants, properly armed, and headed by Simon de Montfort, earl of Leiceſter, who had ſome time before married the king's ſiſter, and was made governor of Guienne.

The appearance of the barons with their military attendants greatly alarmed Henry, who, on entering the aſſembly, aſked, with ſome emotion, whether he was their priſoner? The earl marſhal replied, he was not; but that it was the determined reſolution of the whole aſſembly to baniſh his foreign favourites from the kingdom, and redreſs the grievances of the nation. The earl added, that if he would agree to theſe reaſonable demands, and give authority for that purpoſe to perſons of character and capacity, they would grant the ſupplies neceſſary for giving weight and dignity to the crown.

Henry now perceived it would be in vain to oppoſe the power of the barons, and therefore agreed

agreed to ſubmit to any regulations they ſhould think fit to propoſe. In conſequence of this the barons conſtituted a council of twenty-four, whom they inveſted with an unlimited authority for reforming the ſtate, and Simon Montfort was elected preſident. Henry took a ſolemn oath before the whole aſſembly that he would maintain and ſupport whatever ordinances they ſhould iſſue for that ſalutary purpoſe. The plan of government had been digeſted at a previous meeting of the principal barons; ſo that a ſet of regulations were immediately produced, the ſubſtance of which was to the following effect:

1. That the king ſhould confirm the great charter, which he had ſo often ſworn to obſerve, and ſo often violated.

2. The important office of chief juſticiary ſhould be beſtowed upon a perſon of talents and integrity, who ſhould adminiſter juſtice to the poor and the rich without favor or partiality.

3. That the chancellor, treaſurer, judges, and other public miniſters, ſhould be annually choſen by the council of twenty-four.

4. That the cuſtody of the king's caſtles ſhould be committed to the care of that council, who ſhould entruſt them to ſuch perſons as were well affected to the ſtate.

5. That any perſon, of what degree or order ſoever, who ſhould oppoſe, directly or indirectly, what ſhould be decreed by the council of twenty-four, ſhould be puniſhed with death.

6. That three ſeſſions of parliament ſhould be regularly held every year, to enact ſuch laws as ſhould, from time to time, be found neceſſary for the good of the people.

Theſe articles (diſtinguiſhed by the title of "The Statutes or Proviſions of Oxford") were unanimouſly approved of by the parliament, and confirmed by the king, who ſolemnly ſwore ſtrictly to obſerve, and cauſe them to be obſerved, to the utmoſt of his power.

Having ſigned theſe articles, Henry made not the leaſt doubt but the parliament would grant him a large ſubſidy. He was, however greatly miſtaken; for the conſideration of the ſupplies was poſtponed, and ſome of his principal foreign favourites (who were conſidered as the chief authors of the public calamities) were baniſhed the kingdom. Nor was this all: even the officers of the houſhold were removed, and their places filled with perſons in the intereſt of the council. At the ſame time they obliged every individual in the kingdom to take an oath to obey their mandates, telling them, it was "for "the greater glory of God, the honour of the "church, the ſervice of the king, and the ad-"vantage of the kingdom."

Thus did the barons take into their own hands the government of the nation; and the king ſoon perceived he was no more than a mere cypher in the adminiſtration. The council, however, were under diſagreeable apprehenſions from the great credit and power of the king's brother, Richard king of the Romans, whom they knew was now about paying a viſit to England. They therefore diſpatched the biſhop of Worceſter to the continent, to inform him that he would not be permitted to land in England unleſs he firſt promiſed to take an oath to obſerve the ſtatutes of Oxford. Incenſed at their inſolence, and exaſperated at the degrading treatment of his brother, Richard ſwore he would never take the oath they wanted to impoſe upon him; and that he would viſit England when, and as often as he pleaſed, without ſubmitting to give them any reaſons for his actions. But being ſoon after informed, that the barons had taken ſuch precautions, by marching troops to the ſea-coaſts, and fitting out a powerful fleet, that it would be impoſſible for him to land in England without their conſent, he thought it more prudent to ſubmit to the neceſſity of the times, than engage in a fruitleſs oppoſition. and therefore took the oath required; upon which the barons gave him permiſſion to come to England.

A. D. 1260. The barons continued to direct the affairs of government, for ſome time, with tolerable ſatisfaction to the people, till at length it was perceived that the meaſures they took were more calculated to promote their own intereſt than that of the ſtate. In conſequence of this a general murmur took place, and the knights of the ſhire implored the aſſiſtance of prince Edward to undertake the defence of the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the people. The prince accordingly ſent a meſſage to the barons, inſiſting on their finiſhing, without delay, the reformation they had undertaken; otherwiſe he ſhould think himſelf obliged to exert all his power to procure redreſs for an injured people.

The barons were alarmed at this ſpirited remonſtrance, and a new code of laws was publiſhed: but it ſoon appeared that the whole was nothing more than the common laws of England, with ſome trifling alterations. So glaring an impoſition exaſperated the people; and the animoſities which now broke out between the barons themſelves, gave them hopes that the tyranny of the nobles would ſoon have an end. The earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, the two moſt powerful barons in the whole confederacy, became profeſſed enemies to each other. Theſe diviſions greatly weakened the ſtrength of the barons; and Leiceſter retired into France, under pretence of being no longer able to act with ſuch an adminiſtration.

Leiceſter, however, had views little ſuſpected by the barons at the time of his relinquiſhing the adminiſtration. He was in hopes of increaſing the power of his party by gaining over the French monarch to his intereſt. But in this he was greatly miſtaken. The throne of France was then filled by Lewis IX. (generally called St. Lewis) a prince who delighted not in the diſtreſſes of other nations; but was deſirous of healing, rather than increaſing the wounds which the Engliſh conſtitution had received. He was endowed with all the piety of an anchorite, as well as the virtues of a king. His liberality was not in the leaſt inconſiſtent with the wiſeſt œconomy. He knew how to reconcile a profound policy with an exact juſtice. He was prudent and firm in council, intrepid but cool in war, and as compaſſionate as if he had always been unhappy. From a prince of this character England had nothing to fear; he deſired not to uſurp the territories of his neighbours, and was ſo far from taking advantage of the troubles of England, that he laboured to eſtabliſh peace and harmony among the contending parties, whoſe diviſions threatened the kingdom with deſtruction. He even entertained a doubt with regard to the juſtice of the ſentence paſſed againſt John in the court of peers in France; and had formed a deſign of reſtoring to Henry all the provinces that had been wreſted from his father.

A. D. 1261. The quarrel between two ſuch powerful noblemen as the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter gave Henry great hopes that his misfortunes

fortunes were drawing to a close; and, perceiving that the diſpoſitions of his people had taken a turn in his favour, he determined to make one effort for recovering his authority. To effect this he applied to the pope, requeſting that he might be abſolved from the oath he had taken with regard to the Oxford Proviſions. The pope readily complied with his requeſt, in conſequence of which Henry determined to declare publickly the reſolutions he had formed, and for that purpoſe ſummoned a parliment to be held at London.

The aſſembly being met, Henry boldly told them, "That as they had not, on their parts, perſormed their promiſes, with regard to paying his debts, and augmenting his revenues, when he ſigned the Proviſions of Oxford, he did not think himſelf obliged to keep the oath he had taken on that occaſion: that he was determined no longer to remain in the hands of a faction who had treated him more like a ſlave than their king, but he would immediately free himſelf from ſuch inglorious fetters, and aſſert the dignity of his own prerogative."

After having made this bold and unexpected declaration, the king, without giving the members time to make any reply, immediately quitted the aſſembly, repaired to the tower, and ſeized all the money in the mint. He likewiſe publiſhed a proclamation for removing the ſheriffs and other officers appointed by the council of twenty-four, and acted with ſuch vigour as ſeemed to be the effect of a fixed reſolution to ſupport his own independence. He informed his ſubjects that he had reſumed the reins of government, and would inviolably obſerve the two charters, notwithſtanding any falſe reports to the contrary. He then nominated a chancellor, chief juſticiary, and officers of his houſhold, in the room of thoſe who had been appointed by the council.

A. D. 1262. The reſolute conduct of the king irritated the barons, who having raiſed a conſiderable army under the command of the earl of Leiceſter, determined to purſue their claims to the government by force of arms. In conſequence of this, prince Edward, who had hitherto ſcrupled to break the oath he had taken to ſubmit to the council, reſolved to undertake the cauſe of his father, and, if poſſible, again eſtabliſh him in the ſovereignty. He was ſoon at the head of a powerful army, and joined by ſeveral of the barons, who thought they could not, as true Engliſhmen, continue any longer with Leiceſter and his party.

The two armies were in ſight of each other, and a deciſive battle was ſoon expected, when ſeveral of the moſt prudent perſons interpoſed their good offices to prevent the effuſion of human blood. But it ſoon appeared that the claims of the contending parties were not to be adjuſted; in conſequence of which it was agreed to refer the deciſion to St. Lewis, in whoſe wiſdom and equity both parties placed an equal confidence; and the reference was confirmed by the oaths of the king, the prince and the barons.

In conſequence of this determination meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to the continent; and both parties waited with anxious expectations for their return. Lewis accepted the office of arbitrator, and having heard, with the utmoſt attention, the whole matter fairly debated, together with the allegations of both parties in an aſſembly of the ſtates at Amiens, delivered the following award: "That the ſtatutes of Oxford with all the proceedings that followed in conſequence of thoſe acts, ſhould be annulled: That the king ſhould enjoy all the rights and prerogatives, which were inveſted in the crown, before thoſe ſtatutes were enacted: That all the caſtles which they king had ceded to the barons as a ſecurity for the performance of his promiſe, ſhould be reſtored; and that he ſhould enjoy the privilege of appointing his great officers of ſtate and government, equally from foreigners or natives." The barons were highly exaſperated at an award ſo contrary to what they expected; the conſequence of which was, that the negotiation was entirely broke off, and each party made preparations for deciding the conteſt by the ſword.

The royal army was divided into three bodies, one of which was commanded by the king in perſon, the ſecond by Richard king of the Romans, and the third by prince Edward. The earl of Leiceſter, being reinforced by a body of fifteen thouſand Londoners, marched immediately to Lewes, (where the royal army was encamped) with a full reſolution of hazarding a deciſive engagement. The battle was begun by prince Edward, who charged the van of the rebel army with ſuch impetuoſity, that the troops gave way, and a dreadful carnage enſued. He then fell upon the Londoners, routed them with great ſlaughter, and purſued them near four miles with the utmoſt fury. The abſence of the prince afforded Leiceſter an opportunity of changing the fortune of the day. He attacked the ſecond body of the king's forces, cut the greateſt part to pieces, and took the king of the Romans priſoner. The third body, commanded by Henry in perſon, made ſo noble a ſtand, that it was not broke till the evening; but the king's horſe being killed under him, and himſelf ſlightly wounded, he retired to the priory of Lewes with part of his followers, while others took refuge in the caſtle.

When young Edward returned from purſuing the Londoners, he was ſurprized to ſee the field of battle covered with dead bodies; and ſeveral of his principal followers were ſo intimidated, that they fled, with ſeven hundred of their beſt troops, to Pevenſey, and from thence paſſed over to France. The prince, however, who was a ſtranger to fear, thought only of retrieving the misfortune, and therefore immediately attacked the barons; but night coming on prevented a freſh engagement. Anxious for the fate of his father, the prince ſought for him both about the town and caſtle without effect; but at length underſtood he was in the priory, which was then attacked by a conſiderable body of the rebel army. The royaliſts, however, made a noble defence, and the earl of Leiceſter's forces were at length obliged to abandon the enterprize.

Prince Edward, having ſtill the advantage of ſome excellent officers about his perſon, determined to try the fortune of another battle. Leiceſter had loſt near half his army, and was therefore deſirous of avoiding a freſh battle with a body of reſolute troops more experienced than his own. He knew a defeat muſt be fatal, and that no mercy could be expected ſhould he fall into the hands of the enraged monarch. Under pretence, therefore, of preventing the farther effuſion of human blood, he ſent mediators next morning to the prince, to propoſe a ceſſation of arms, offering to ſubmit his demands to ſuch arbitrators as the king ſhould approve; but, at the ſame time, inſiſted, that prince Edward, and young Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould be delivered as hoſtages for the king's

Wale delin. Richardson sculp.

EDWARD *Prince of Wales* SON *of* HENRY III. *killing the* SARACEN ASSASSIN,
who had wounded him with a Poison'd Dagger in Palestine.

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king's performance of the conditions. This demand was abſolutely rejected by the king as inſolent and unreaſonable; it concealed, under the maſk of a deſire of peace, a treacherous deſign of making himſelf abſolute maſter of the kingdom.

Thus diſappointed, the earl, fearful of another engagement, had recourſe to menaces, and threatened to ſtrike off the heads of the king of the Romans, together with thoſe of all the priſoners of note in his hands, if the prince made any attack on his army. Edward, knowing the natural reſolution of Leiceſter, and fearful he might carry his threats into execution, was deſirous of coming to an accommodation, which being made known to the earl, he drew up the following articles:

"1. That prince Edward, and Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners, as pledges in the place of king Henry and Richard king of the Romans.

2. That all other priſoners on both ſides ſhould be releaſed; and

3. That, in order to ſettle the terms of agreement, application ſhould be made to the king of France, who ſhould name ſix Frenchmen, namely, three prelates, and three barons. Theſe ſix to chuſe two others of their own countrymen; and theſe two to chuſe one Engliſhman, who, in conjunction with themſelves, were to be inveſted by both parties with full powers to make what regulations they thought proper for the ſettlement of the kingdom."

Theſe articles were ſigned by Henry, prince Edward, and all the chiefs of both parties; after which the king ſent orders for all the priſoners taken by his forces to be ſet at liberty. But the artful and ambitious earl never intended to perform his part of the agreement. After ſending the prince and young Henry to Dover Caſtle, he refuſed ſetting his priſoners at liberty, retained Richard in cuſtody, and ſhut up the king in the priory of Lewes.

A. D. 1263. Leiceſter now took the whole power of the government into his own hands. He diſpoſed of offices at his own pleaſure, and had recourſe to every method he could project for raiſing money to ſtrengthen his party. He ſummoned a parliament of his own partizans, in which aſſembly it was enacted, that every act of royal power ſhould be exerciſed by nine perſons, who were to be choſen and removed by the ſuperior authority of three others; namely, himſelf, the earl of Glouceſter, and the biſhop of Chicheſter.

By this eſtabliſhment the ſceptre was, in reality put into Leiceſter's hands, as he had the entire direction of the biſhop of Chicheſter, and conſequently commanded all the reſolutions of the council of three. But it was not likely that ſuch a plan of government could be of any long continuance. The queen who had been ſome time in France, hearing of the tyrannical proceedings of Leiceſter, raiſed a conſiderable army to oppoſe him; and Lewis himſelf, who beheld with deteſtation, the perjuries of the earl, favoured her enterprize. The ambitious Leiceſter was alarmed at receiving intelligence of the queen's intentions, and diſpatched a number of troops to guard the coaſt, and prevent her forces landing. The troops were embarked, and ſet ſail for England, but the winds were ſo contrary, and the ſea ſo tempeſtuous, that they were all diſperſed, and the whole deſigns of the queen rendered abortive.

The Roman pontiff, who ſtill favoured Henry, and was highly exaſperated at the behaviour of the barons, ſent cardinal Guido to England as legate, with orders to pronounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt the earls of Leiceſter, Glouceſter and Norfolk, by name, and all others in general who joined in the oppreſſion and captivity of their ſovereign. But Leiceſter took effectual methods to prevent the conſequences of the papal cenſures. On the arrival of the legate, knowing his buſineſs, he threatened him with immediate death ſhould he dare to pronounce the ſentence; in conſequence of which the legate was ſo intimidated that he immediately quitted England, and returned to the continent.

A. D. 1265. The conduct of the earl of Leiceſter was now become ſo tyrannical and arbitrary, that he was generally deſpiſed by the people, and even the earl of Glouceſter, who had remonſtrated with him on the impropriety of his behaviour, but without effect, deſerted his cauſe. The nobles, who were ſtill in the intereſt of Henry, put themſelves under the protection of Glouceſter. The people complained loudly of the ſhameful breach of the convention made at Lewes; and demanded that prince Edward, and the other priſoners, ſhould be ſet at liberty, in conformity to the articles of that treaty.

The imperious and tyrannical Leiceſter now found it would be impoſſible to divert the gathering ſtorm, without having recourſe to ſome artifice to deceive the Engliſh. He accordingly ordered a parliament to meet at London, but fixed that aſſembly on a more republican baſis than any that had ever been ſummoned ſince the foundation of the Engliſh monarchy. Beſides many barons and eccleſiaſtics, who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered the ſheriffs to return two knights from every ſhire, and the ſame number of deputies from every borough. The meeting of this aſſembly, which happened on the twentieth of January (A. D. 1266.) is generally eſteemed the epocha of the houſe of Commons in England. It is indeed, certain that this is the firſt time any mention is made of repreſentatives being ſent by the boroughs to parliament.

In this aſſembly, which was exceeding numerous, the gallant prince Edward, who had languiſhed in priſon ever ſince the fatal battle of Lewes, was declared free and at full liberty, after ſtipulating to deliver up all the caſtles poſſeſſed by the barons in the intereſt of the royal party, and neither to depart the kingdom during three years, nor introduce any foreign troops. But Leiceſter never intended to ſet the prince at liberty; he was ſtrictly guarded by the emiſſaries of that nobleman, and continued only a priſoner at large.

The barons now ſaw there were no hopes of reſtoring tranquillity to the nation. The tyranny of Leiceſter was more dreaded than that of Henry had been formerly. The earl of Glouceſter perceived his own danger; for every thing that oppoſed the deſpotiſm of Leiceſter was ſacrificed at the altar of his ambition. Glouceſter therefore retired for ſafety to his eſtates on the borders of Wales; and Leiceſter followed him to Hereford at the head of an army, carrying with him both the king and the prince.

While the earl of Leiceſter was at Hereford, Glouceſter found means to open a negotiation with

young Edward, and a plan was formed for the prince's eſcape. A horſe of extraordinary ſwiftneſs was procured by Glouceſter, and conveyed to Edward by means of a truſty ſervant, and Edward Mortimer, at the head of a ſmall party, waited in a wood not far from Leiceſter's camp, in order to receive the prince, and convey him to a place of ſafety. Every thing being thus prepared, the prince, pretending to take the air with ſome of Leiceſter's retinue, made matches between their horſes, and rode ſeveral of them himſelf; till at length having ſufficiently tired and blown their horſes, he mounted the ſteed ſent him by Glouceſter, effected his eſcape, and fled to Mortimer.

The people were no ſooner informed of the prince's eſcape, then they flocked to his ſtandard from all parts, ſo that Edward ſoon found himſelf at the head of a powerful army. He immediately took the field, and in order to prevent Leiceſter from retreating back to the capital, broke down all the bridges on the Severn.

Leiceſter, being informed of the proceedings of prince Edward, began to think himſelf in great danger, and therefore diſpatched an expreſs to his ſon, deſiring him to haſten from London with an army to his relief. But Edward was too vigilant, and too well informed of young Montfort's motions to ſuffer him to join his father. Knowing he had advanced at the head of his forces to Kenilworth, the prince marched to meet him, and a ſmart battle enſued, which terminated in favour of Edward, the greater part of the rebel army being cut to pieces, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

In the mean time the earl of Leiceſter with his forces, took the opportunity of croſſing the Severn in boats; and being entirely ignorant of his ſon's misfortune, advanced to Eveſham, expecting every hour to be joined by the forces from London.

After the defeat of young Montfort, the prince divided his army into three bodies, one of which advanced along the road to Kenilworth, carrying before them the banners that had been taken from young Montfort's army; while himſelf, at the head of the ſecond diviſion, made a circuit, in order to attack Leiceſter's army in another quarter. This ſtratagem, for ſome time, deceived Leiceſter; he took the firſt diviſion for his friends; but perceiving his miſtake, and obſerving the excellent diſpoſition of Edward's troops, exclaimed, "They have learned from me their military order." The greater part of the army of Leiceſter made but a feeble reſiſtance; the Welſh, who formed the van, unable to ſupport the furious attack of Edward, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, while Glouceſter at the head of another diviſion, charged the main body with equal fury. Leiceſter, however, maintained the battle with amazing intrepidity, till his horſe being killed under him, he demanded quarter, which was refuſed, and he, with his ſon Henry, fell among the ſlain. The troops, finding themſelves deprived of their leaders, were ſo diſpirited, that they made no farther reſiſtance, but immediately threw down their arms, and ſubmitted to the conquerors.

After this victory the gallant prince Edward eaſily ſubdued the remains of the rebel party; and the far greater part of the caſtles garriſoned by the rebels readily ſubmitted, and opened their gates to the king. Adam Gourdon, a courageous baron, maintained himſelf for ſome time in the foreſt of Hampſhire, and committed depredations in that neighbourhood. Edward led a body of forces againſt him, and attacked the camp of the rebels with the utmoſt fury. The valiant leaders met, and a ſingle combat enſued between them. The victory was long doubtful; but at laſt ended in favour of Edward, Gourdon being wounded, thrown from his horſe and taken priſoner. But Edward knew how to eſtimate valour, even in an enemy: he procured his pardon, granted him his friendſhip, and Gourdon ſerved him faithfully the remainder of his life.

A. D. 1268. The rebellion being now totally ſuppreſſed, and tranquillity reſtored to the kingdom, Henry ſummoned a parliament, at which was preſent the pope's legate, who informed the aſſembly that the pontiff had reſolved to publiſh a cruſade in every ſtate that profeſſed the Chriſtian religion; and exhorting the Engliſh to ſupport an enterprize calculated to promote the honour and glory of the church.

In conſequence of this declaration from the legate, Prince Edward, his brother Edmund, and their couſin Henry, received the croſs from the hands of the legate; and their examples were followed by the earls of Glouceſter, Warrenne and Pembroke, together with many others of the principal nobility in the kingdom.

A. D. 1270. While prince Edward was making the neceſſary preparations for his expedition to the Holy Land, Lewis the French king (who had alſo engaged in the cruſade, and ſtrongly ſolicited Edward to haſten his departure from England) embarked his forces, and landed near the ruins of Carthage, with a deſign of reducing the city of Tunis. Edward reached the camp of Lewis, but had the misfortune to find that great prince, a ſhort time before, had paid the debt of nature, from the intemperance of the climate, and the great fatigues he had undergone. He was ſucceeded on the throne of France by Philip, ſurnamed the Hardy, a prince who poſſeſſed great merit, though much inferior to that of his father.

But the death of Lewis did not intimidate Edward, who continued his courſe to Paleſtine, where he ſignalized himſelf by the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour. He revived the honour of the Engliſh name in thoſe parts, and ſtruck the Saracens with ſuch terror, that they had recourſe to the infamous deſign of taking him off by aſſaſſination. The villain employed to execute this inhuman deſign, was admitted ſeveral times into the prince's preſence, under pretence of negotiating a treaty between Edward and the governor of Joppa. One day, finding the prince alone ſitting on a couch unarmed, he approached him, and offering him ſome letters, took the opportunity of drawing a concealed dagger, which he endeavoured to ſheathe in the prince's breaſt; but Edward fortunately warded off the blow. He received, indeed, a conſiderable wound in the arm, but that misfortune did not prevent him from ſeizing the villain, and, having wreſted the dagger from his hand, plunged it into his heart. The wound was however dangerous, being made with a poiſoned inſtrument, and the prince's life was in the moſt imminent danger; but by the great ſkill and care of an Engliſh ſurgeon, a cure was happily effected in a very ſhort time.

A. D. 1271. The abſence of prince Edward was attended with thoſe pernicious conſequences which had been dreaded from the time of his departure from England. The king was now grown old and infirm, and the barons, not having a proper perſon to controul them, oppreſſed the com-

mon people with impunity, and gave ſhelter to bands of robbers, whom they employed to commit ravages on the eſtates of their neighbours. The populace of London likewiſe returned to their uſual licentiouſneſs; and Henry, unable to ſupport the weight of government, ſent a meſſenger to his ſon, requeſting his immediate return to aſſiſt him in ſwaying that ſceptre which was ready to fall from his enfeebled hands.

A. D. 1272. The cares and fears of Henry were now greatly increaſed by the death of his brother Richard, king of the Romans, who paid the debt of nature at Berkhamſtead on the ſecond of April. He was ſucceeded, as earl of Cornwall, by his ſon Edmund, who married Margaret, ſiſter to the earl of Glouceſter.

Soon after the death of Richard, the king ſummoned a general council at Northampton, whither he went himſelf, though at that time in a very weak ſtate of health. The cauſe of this meeting was, to enquire into the particulars of a riot that had happened at Norwich, between the inhabitants of that city and the monks, in which the cathedral with the monaſtery adjoining, was reduced to aſhes. After a full inveſtigation of the affair, it appeared that the citizens were the aggreſſors, in conſequence of which they were fined 3000 marks, and ſeveral of the moſt active among the rioters were ſentenced to be hanged.

The king was ſo irritated at theſe violent and outrageous proceedings, that he determined to ſee the ſentence which had been paſſed on the rioters put into execution. He accordingly went from Northampton to Norwich, and, after ſtaying twelve days in that city, came to St. Edmundſbury in his way to London, where he was ſeized with a diſorder that ſoon put an end to his life. His diſtemper increaſing daily, he was removed, by eaſy journies, to Weſtminſter, when, finding his end approaching, he ſent for the earl of Glouceſter, and exacted from him an oath, that he would preſerve the peace of the kingdom, and, to the utmoſt of his power, maintain the intereſt of his ſon Edward. He then ſent for ſome of the principal nobility, of whom he took a ſolemn farewell, and ſoon after expired, on the 16th of November, in the 65th year of his age, and 57th of his reign. His remains were, by his own deſire, interred near the ſhrine of Edward the Confeſſor, in the abbey-church of Weſtminſter, where his tomb (with his ſtatue in braſs) is ſtill to be ſeen.

The character of this prince is ſo fully diſplayed from the hiſtory of his life, that it is almoſt needleſs to deſcend to particulars. His genius was narrow, his temper capricious, his principles arbitary, and his meaſures oppreſſive; which, together with his attachment to foreigners, were the real cauſes of the troubles that diſturbed his reign, and proved deſtructive to the tranquillity of his ſubjects. He evinced two principles that are undeniable demonſtrations of meanneſs of ſoul: the former was a moſt preſumptive arrogance in proſperity, and the latter a moſt abject deſpondence in adverſity. But with all theſe vices and foibles, he had ſome virtues; he was noted for his piety and devotion, and his regular attendance on public worſhip. He was alſo an affectionate huſband, and an indulgent parent.

Henry left iſſue two ſons, namely, Edward, who ſucceeded him, and Edmund earl of Lancaſter. He had alſo two daughters, Margaret queen of Scotland, and Beatrix, ducheſs of Britany. Beſides theſe he had five other children, all of whom died in their infancy.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Henry III.

A. D.

1219 On the 17th of May the king was crowned a ſecond time at Weſtminſter.
This year the bones of St. Thomas-a-Becket at Canterbury were enſhrined with gold, ſet round with precious ſtones,

1220 The old abbey of St. Peter's Weſtminſter pulled down, and the preſent one begun to be erected, the king himſelf laying the firſt ſtone.

1225 A decree was this year made, by which the concubines of prieſts were denied chriſtian burial, and thoſe prieſts who kept concubines, if known, were to do penance.

1126 In the month of February this year happened a dreadful tempeſt of thunder, lightning and rain, which threw down ſeveral churches, and did other very conſiderable damage.

1232 The Rolls Chapel in Chancery-lane built for converted Jews.

1233 In the beginning of this year there happened a violent earthquake in England, which did great damage, and was ſucceeded by a dearth.

1236 The method of conveying water into the city of London by means of pipes firſt invented.

1242 This year happened a total eclipſe of the ſun.
Aldermen firſt elected in London.

1246 Tiles for covering houſes firſt uſed in England.

1248 On the 14th of February there happened a dreadful earthquake, which threw down many houſes in different parts, and did other conſiderable damage.

1249 The town of Newcaſtle deſtroyed by fire, and ſeveral churches and houſes thrown down in Somerſetſhire by an earthquake.

1250 A ſmart ſhock of an earthquake felt at St. Alban's.

1251 The citizens of London purchaſed for 500 marks the privilege of having their mayor ſworn in before the barons of the exchequer.

1253 Fine linen firſt made in England.

1255 All perſons who had fifteen pounds a year were obliged to be knighted, or pay a fine to be excuſed.
Tapeſtry firſt introduced in England by Eleanor wife of prince Edward.

1265 Burgeſſes and knights of the ſhires firſt ſummoned to parliament.

1268 This year the two companies of Goldſmiths and Taylors fought, and ſeveral were killed on both ſides. The ſheriffs appeaſed the tumult, and thirteen of the moſt mutinous were hanged.

1269 The bones of Edward the Confeſſor enſhrined with gold

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

EDWARD I*. furnamed LONGSHANKS.

Acceſſion and coronation of Edward I. He marches againſt the Welch, and makes a treaty of peace with Llewellyn their prince. The Jews ſeverely puniſhed for adulterating the coin of the kingdom. Edward again marches againſt the Welſh, and totally reduces their country. Goes over to the continent, and, on his return, puniſhes the judges for having acted corruptly during his abſence. The Jews plundered of their property, and baniſhed the kingdom. Death of Queen Eleanor. The ſucceſſion to the throne of Scotland being diſputed, reference is made to Edward, who declares in favour of Baliol, a deſcendant of William. Baliol, having a complaint exhibited againſt him by the earl of Fife, is obliged to plead his own cauſe at Weſtminſter. Edward marches againſt the Scots, and obtains a complete victory; upon which Baliol reſigns his crown to Edward, who ſends him priſoner to the Tower. Quarrel between the king and clergy. Edward goes over to the continent to recover Guienne, which had been taken from him by Philip king of France. The two kings come to an accommodation, and Edward marries the ſiſter of Philip. Inſurrection in Scotland. Battle of Falkirk, and reduction of the Scots. Robert Bruce claims the ſovereignty of Scotland, and is crowned king. Edward ſends a body of forces againſt him, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, who obtains a complete victory, and Bruce is obliged to ſave himſelf by flight. The king marches with an army into Scotland, takes lady Mary Bruce, ſiſter to the fugitive king, priſoner, whom he orders to be ſhut up in a wooden cage, and publicly expoſed on the walls of Roxburgh caſtle. Bruce again takes up arms, and defeats the Engliſh forces commanded by the earl of Pembroke. Death and character of Edward.

A. D. 1272. ON the death of Henry III. the crown of England devolved on his elder ſon Edward, who, at the time of his father's demiſe, was diſplaying his natural courage and military proweſs in the fields of Paleſtine. The abſence of Edward at ſo critical a time might have been productive of diſagreeable conſequences had not the general eſteem due to his uncommon merits in ſome degree ſupplied the place of his preſence. Immediately after the deceaſe of Henry the council of ſtate proclaimed him king, and the nobility and principal people of the kingdom ſwore fealty to his perſon and government.

While Edward was in Paleſtine he obtained ſeveral ſignal victories over the Saracens; but finding his forces too few in number to make a complete conqueſt over ſuch numerous armies, he liſtened to offers of peace made by the ſultan of Babylon, with whom he concluded a truce for ten years, ten months, and ten days. Having ſigned this treaty, he embarked his forces, and paſſed over to Sicily, where he received advice of the death of his father, and ſoon after that of his eldeſt ſon, who died at Acre in Paleſtine. Edward expreſſed much leſs grief for the loſs of the latter than the former; upon which the king of Sicily appearing aſtoniſhed, he told him "the loſs of a ſon might be repaired, but that of a father was irreparable."

A. D. 1273. After ſtaying a ſhort time at the Sicilian court, Edward took his leave, and ſet out for England. In his way he paſſed through Chalons, where he was invited, by the prince of that province to a tournament. Edward, who was ever ambitious of glory, and happy in having the opportunity of ſignalizing his courage and addreſs in arms, readily accepted the invitation: but the honour he acquired excited envy, and what was intended only to give proof of military ſkill, had like to have been productive of the moſt fatal conſequences. The French knights, finding themſelves foiled in every attempt, made a furious attack upon the Engliſh: but fortune ſtill favoured Edward: the French were repulſed and the Engliſh obtained the palm of victory. This, however, was not determined without a conſiderable effuſion of blood, from whence ſome hiſtorians have called it "The petty Battle of Chalons."

As Edward was ſufficiently ſatisfied in his mind that the peace of England was firmly eſtabliſhed, he reſolved, before his departure from the continent, to ſettle his affairs in that quarter in ſuch a manner as to prevent being diſturbed when he ſhould take upon him the government of his Engliſh dominions. To effect this he repaired to the court of France, and was received by Philip with every mark of politeneſs and reſpect; after which he did homage to that prince for the territories he poſſeſſed in France. From Paris Edward repaired to Guienne, and put an end to the troubles which had, for ſome time, diſturbed the peace of that province. He continued much longer here than he intended, in compliance with the earneſt requeſt of pope Gregory IX. who, having ſummoned a general council to meet at Lyons, was apprehenſive that Edward's return to England might prevent the attendance of many of the biſhops of that kingdom.

A. D. 1274. Edward, having ſettled his affairs on the continent, embarked for England, and landed at Dover on the 2d of Auguſt, from whence he proceeded to London, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. On the 19th of the ſame month he was crowned at Weſtminſter by Robert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in the preſence of Alexander III. king of Scotland, the duke of Britany, and all the principal nobility of the kingdom.

Being thus fully eſtabliſhed on the throne, Edward directed his attention to the purſuit of thoſe meaſures which were moſt likely to produce honour to himſelf as a king, and happineſs to his people as ſubjects. He made the great charter the rule

* There were three kings of the ſame name before William the Conqueror; but it has been cuſtomary to count only from the conqueſt. This prince was ſurnamed Longſhanks, which additional epithet he obtained from the remarkable diſproportion of his legs to the other parts of his body.

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England*

Born
June 16. 1239.

Crowned
August 19. 1274.

Died
July 7. 1307.

rule of his conduct, and obliged the barons to obſerve it with regard to their vaſſals. The licentiouſneſs of the nobles had long been the ſource of various calamities, both with reſpect to the crown and people. Edward, therefore, took care to curtail their power, and, without invading their real privileges, made them obedient to the laws of their country.

A. D. 1275. The kingdom had, for ſome time, been greatly infeſted with robbers, who defied the power of the civil magiſtrates. To remedy this evil, Edward appointed commiſſioners to make regular circuits through different parts of the kingdom, in order to take cognizance of crimes, and puniſh offenders. But theſe itinerant diſpenſers of juſtice executed their commiſſion with the moſt unjuſtifiable ſeverity, making no proper diſtinction between the innocent and the guilty. This ſpread an univerſal terror among the people, which being made known to the king he immediately recalled the commiſſioners, chaſtiſed them for their conduct, and diſmiſſed them from their employment.

A. D. 1276. The firſt military expedition in which Edward engaged after his acceſſion to the throne was againſt Llewellyn, prince of Wales, who had been cloſely connected with the Montfort family, and now refuſed to repair to the court of Edward, and do him homage. This ſo exaſperated Edward that he determined, at all events to reduce his haughty vaſſal to obedience. Llewellyn was no ſtranger to the great power and abilities of Edward, and therefore thought it adviſeable, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf, to form a binding alliance with the remains of the Montfort family. He accordingly demanded Eleanor, daughter to the late earl of Leiceſter (who was at the court of France) in marriage. Philip readily complied with his requeſt, and Eleanor embarked for Wales, under the care of her brother Aumeri; but the veſſel being taken at ſea, the betrothed princeſs was ſent to the court of Edward, where ſhe was detained as a priſoner of ſtate; and her brother committed to Corf-Caſtle. Deputies ſoon after arrived from Llewellyn, offering to ranſom the princeſs, whom he aſſerted to be detained againſt the law of nations. But Edward refuſed to ſet Eleanor at liberty, unleſs Llewellyn would engage to make good the devaſtations that had been committed on the borders of England, and reſtore all the caſtles he had taken during the wars in the late reign. Llewellyn refuſed the conditions, in conſequence of which both parties made preparations for determining the diſpute by the ſword.

Early in the ſpring of the enſuing year Edward marched at the head of his army into Wales; and Llewellyn, perceiving it would be madneſs to meet the Engliſh in the open field, retreated to his woods and inacceſſable mountains, in order to harraſs the Engliſh troops. But Edward was not to be ſurprized: he cut a capacious road for his forces through a track of woods extending from the marches on the borders of Cheſhire to Caernarvonſhire, by which means his forces penetrated with eaſe into the heart of the country. Llewellyn retreated to Snowden, the uſual place of refuge when attacked by the Engliſh: but their faſtneſſes now were of very little conſequence. Edward ſeized all the paſſes, and prevented any proviſions from being carried to Llewellyn's army. Famine ſoon reduced the Welch prince to ſue for peace, and a treaty was concluded at Aberconway, on the following conditions; "That Llewellyn ſhould pay fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, as a ſatisfaction for damages; that he ſhould quit for ever a track of land containing the whole country between Cheſter and the river Conway; and that he ſhould repair to the court of Edward and perform his homage." Edward, however, thought proper to remit the payment of the fifty thouſand pounds, and brought Llewellyn with him to London, where he did homage and ſwore fealty in the preſence of a great number of the prelates and nobility of England. The ceremony being over, Edward delivered up Eleanor, and the ceremony of the nuptials between that lady and the Welſh prince was celebrated with great magnificence, in the preſence of Edward, and many of the principal nobility of the kingdom.

A. D. 1278. This year there happened a circumſtance which ſhewed the ſeverity of Edwards's diſpoſition, and at the ſame time diſplayed the common prejudices of the times. Among other diſorders that had, for ſome time, prevailed in the kingdom, no one was more univerſally complained of than the adulteration of the coin, which had produced ſuch injurious effects, that foreign commerce was almoſt ruined. The Jews were ſuſpected of being the authors of this deſtructive practice, and little proof was neceſſary to convict them of the offence. Edward himſelf was ſtrongly prepoſſed againſt thoſe people, and, with an ill-judged zeal for chriſtianity (naturally augmented by an expedition to Paleſtine) determined to puniſh them with the utmoſt ſeverity. Accordingly, no leſs than 280 Jews were hanged in one day at London, beſides great numbers, who ſuffered in different parts of the kingdom. Many of the moſt wealthy were ruined by the confiſcation of their houſes and property; and though Edward ordered one half of the money which was raiſed in this cruel manner to be ſet apart for thoſe who would renounce their religion, very few accepted the offer: they could not think of embracing a religion, which they conſidered as the ſource of thoſe barbarities that had been exerciſed on them by its profeſſors.

No material circumſtances occurred from this period till the year 1281, when freſh diſturbances took place between Llewellyn, prince of Wales, and the king. The former ſtrictly obſerved the conditions made in the late treaty with the Engliſh monarch, but the officers of Edward had committed ſo many acts of violence and oppreſſion on the Welſh, that they applied to their prince for protection. Llewellyn made repeated remonſtrances to Edward; but without effect. In conſequence of this the Welſh, exaſperated at ſuch unjuſt treatment, determined either to obtain relief by force of arms, or periſh in the glorious attempt.

David, brother to Llewellyn, had long ſerved the crown of England with the utmoſt fidelity; but being juſtly exaſperated at the oppreſſions of his countrymen, joined his brother, offering to head the army, and venture his life in defence of thoſe liberties of which they had been ſo unjuſtly deprived by the tyrannical Engliſh. This offer was joyfully accepted, and the two brothers ſoon found themſelves at the head of a conſiderable army; the iſſue of which was that they made themſelves maſters of ſeveral ſtrong caſtles, and ſeverely retaliated that ſeverity on the Engliſh which had been ſo cruelly exerciſed on their countrymen.

As ſoon as Edward was informed of theſe proceedings he determined to march into Wales, at the head of a powerful army, and lay the whole

country waſte with fire and ſword. In the mean time the archbiſhop of Canterbury, deſirous of preventing the effuſion of human blood, exerted all his intereſt to bring about an accommodation, and made ſeveral equitable propoſals at the requeſt of Llewellyn and his brother, for ſheathing the ſword of deſtruction, and preventing the horrid devaſtation that muſt enſue, if the bloody ſtandard of war ſhould be carried into the country of thoſe diſtreſſed and injured people. But all his labours were in vain. Edward was determined to put a final period to the government of Wales, and exterminate all the remains of its ancient independence.

A. D. 1282. This reſolution being taken, Edward, in the beginning of the ſpring, marched into Wales at the head of his forces, which he had no ſooner entered than Llewellyn and his brother retired to their faſtneſſes in Snowden, where they waited for the opportunity of falling on the Engliſh when embarraſſed among the woods. But this ſcheme inſtead of anſwering their expectations turned out to their diſadvantage; for Edward, who had learned experience from his former expedition, ſecured all the avenues through which it was poſſible for them to eſcape, and threw a bridge of boats over the river Menay, oppoſite to Bangor. Before the work was entirely compleated three hundred men at arms, under the command of lord Latimer and Lucas de Thany, a Gaſcon, paſſed the river to amuſe the enemy, while the main body of the army croſſed the bridge. The Welſh, who were well acquainted with the nature of the river, and knew the water would ſoon ſwell and cut off their retreat, did not for ſome time offer to moleſt the Engliſh in their paſſage; but when about fifteen hundred were landed, they ruſhed down from the mountains with the moſt horrid ſhrieks, and fell upon the Engliſh with ſuch fury and reſolution, that they were immediately routed, and the greater part put to the ſword. Fluſhed with ſucceſs at this conqueſt, the Welſh began to think themſelves invincible, more eſpecially as they had been told by their bards that the period was arrived for the accompliſhment of the prophecy of the great Merlin, who had foretold, that one of the race of Llewellyn ſhould ride through the ſtreets of London with a crown on his head. But this ridiculous notion (though well adapted to the ignorance and ſuperſtition of the times) proved deſtructive to the Welſh.

The Welſh now divided themſelves into two bodies, one of which was to continue in Snowden under the direction of David, while the other, under Llewellyn, was to march againſt the main body of the Engliſh. This reſolution being taken, the prince advanced into Radnorſhire; but being unexpectedly met by a detachment of the Engliſh, his army was totally defeated, and himſelf killed by the hand of one Adam de Frampton, who cut off his head, and carried it to Edward, then encamped at Conway.* Thus fell the famous Llewellyn, a prince deſcended from one of the moſt antient royal families in Europe, and with him expired the ſmall remains of Welſh independence.

The Welſh were no ſooner informed that their prince was dead than a general conſternation prevailed throughout the whole army. They made no farther efforts to ſupport the falling ſtate of their country, the greater part throwing down their arms, and ſubmitting themſelves to the Engliſh. David retired to the woods and faſtneſſes of the mountains, where he continued ſome time in the greateſt diſtreſs; but was at laſt ſeized by his own countrymen in one of his retreats, and conveyed a priſoner to Edward, who ordered him to be ſent in chains to Shrewſbury. The captivity of David put an end to all oppoſition: the Welſh nobility immediately delivered up their caſtles, and the whole country ſubmitted to the conqueror.

A. D. 1283. Edward now ſummoned a parliament to meet at Shrewſbury, in order to determine the fate of the captive David. The iſſue of this trial was, that the unfortunate prince, inſtead of being conſidered as the defender of the liberties of his country, was condemned as a traitor to be hanged and quartered; a ſentence which was executed with many circumſtances of diſtinguiſhed cruelty.

But the death of David was not the only act of cruelty that took place at this time: the bards, or Welſh poets, were alſo devoted to deſtruction. Edward well knew that nothing had a more powerful influence to keep alive the ideas of military valour, and antient glory among the people than the traditional poetry of the bards, more eſpecially when aſſiſted by the power of muſic, and jollity of feſtivals. He therefore got together all the Welſh poets, and, from a policy equally cruel and unjuſt, ordered them all to be put to death.

After taking theſe unjuſtifiable meaſures, Edward, in order farther to ſecure his new conqueſt, built two caſtles, one at Aberconway, and another at Caernarvon; and having ſettled the civil government of Wales, it was ever after annexed to the crown of England.

A. D. 1284. In the beginning of this year queen Eleanor was delivered of a prince at Caernarvon (afterwards Edward II.) on whom the king immediately beſtowed the inveſtiture of that principality; and ſince which time the principality of Wales has given title to the eldeſt ſons of the kings of England.

Having ſettled all affairs to his ſatisfaction in Wales, Edward, about the middle of December, went to Briſtol, where he kept his Chriſtmas, and held a parliament. He ſtaid in that city till the middle of February following, when he repaired to London, from whence he had now been abſent near three years.

A. D. 1285. Edward now directed his attention towards removing many abuſes which had been practiſed in London during his abſence. George Brockſley the then mayor, was turned out of his office for having taken bribes from the bakers, to connive at their ſelling bread ſhort of weight: beſides which he took away the charter of the city, and put in another mayor by his own authority. At the ſame time licence was given to merchant-ſtrangers to rent houſes and keep ſhops; whereas before they were only importers of goods, and the Engliſh with whom they lodged, acted as brokers to ſell the goods for them.

A. D.

* Edward immediately ſent the head of Llewellyn to London, where it was conveyed through the ſtreets upon the point of a lance in a cart, crowned with a ſilver circle, in contempt of Merlin's prophecy. It was afterwards placed on a pillory in Cheapſide, from whence it was conveyed to the Tower of London, crowned by way of deriſion, with a wreath of ivy, and, by order of the king, fixed on the point of a high ſtaff erected for the purpoſe on the top of that fortreſs.

A. D. 1286. These abuses being removed, and tranquillity firmly established throughout the kingdom, Edward passed over to the continent, in order to mediate a peace between Alphonso, king of Arragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately succeeded his father, Philip the Hardy, in the crown of France. He continued there near three years; and during the greater part of the time was employed in this intricate negotiation, which was at last happily terminated by the labours of the English monarch, whose power was dreaded, and whose abilities were revered in most parts of Europe.

A D. 1290. While Edward was on the continent great disorders had taken place in England, owing to the mal-practices of the judges. In consequence of this the king, on his return, determined to examine very strictly into their conduct, and, for that purpose, summoned a parliament to meet at London. Before this assembly the judges were tried, when only two (viz. John de Martingham and Elias de Bokingham, both clergymen) were found innocent. The proofs brought against the rest were so clear that they made no defence, in consequence of which they were all removed from their office, and heavily fined.

Among other acts passed during the sitting of this parliament, was one for banishing all the Jews, who had rendered themselves odious to the nation by their usury and extortion. They were ordered to depart the kingdom before the first of November on pain of death, and all their wealth, except such sums as were necessary to defray the expence of their voyage, confiscated to the king's use. But many were not suffered to escape even with so small a pittance of their fortune; some being murdered by the seamen in their passage; while others, after being plundered of what little they possessed, were inhumanely left destitute on some inhospitable shore.

This year Edward sustained a considerable loss in the death of his beloved queen Eleanor, the fond partner in all his dangers and distress in Palestine. She paid the debt of nature at Holmsby in Lincolnshire, on the 29th of November, leaving the king overwhelmed with the most poignant grief. Her remains were carried to Westminster, and interred in the abbey with great funeral pomp; and at every place where her body rested in the way to London (and where solemn dirges were sung for the repose of her soul) Edward caused grand crosses, on which her arms were engraven, to be erected to her memory. The most perfect of these now remaining is that at Waltham, which though greatly injured by time, is exceeding noble, and gives a sufficient idea of the taste of architecture at the time it was erected.

Soon after the death of Queen Eleanor, an event happened which attracted the attention of the whole kingdom, and was productive of circumstances that particularly distinguished the remainder of Edward's reign. Alexander III. king of Scotland, had been unfortunately killed by a fall from his horse in the year 1286, leaving no male issue. Margaret, daughter to Eric king of Norway, and grand-daughter to Alexander, was the only lineal descendant from the royal family of Scotland. This princess, then an infant, and known by the name of The Maid of Norway, was recognized successor by the states of Scotland. Edward, who was great-uncle to the Norwegian princess, now flattered himself that an opportunity offered for uniting the two kingdoms; and accordingly proposed a marriage between his son, the prince of Wales, and the Maid of Norway. The friendship which had for some time prevailed between the two nations greatly facilitated this project, so favourable to the grandeur and welfare of both kingdoms. The estates of Scotland were pleased with the offers of Edward, and the marriage articles were drawn up, agreed to, and ratified. In consequence of this the bishop of Durham was appointed queen's lieutenant in Scotland, and two of the Scottish commissioners (the earl of Warrenne and the dean of York) embarked for Norway, to settle every thing relative to the marriage: but in their return with the young princess, they were unfortunately overtaken by a storm, and driven into one of the Orkney Islands, where she died in the month of October, A. D. 1290. Thus were all the hopes formed on this coalition suddenly destroyed, and Scotland involved in all those calamities that consequently attend a disputed succession.

A. D. 1291. The principal competitors for the Scottish crown were Robert Bruce and John Baliol, both descended in the female line from the brother of that William who had been taken prisoner by Henry II. The Scots were, at this time, little qualified to discuss the claims of these two competitors; in consequence of which the Scottish parliament resolved to refer the dispute to the king of England, who had already shewn himself an able and impartial arbitrator in several contentions between different princes of Europe, and who was sufficiently powerful to compel the unsuccessful claimant to submit to his decision.

Edward was highly pleased at being appointed arbitrator to the dispute between the two contending parties for the crown of Scotland, as it furnished him with an opportunity of attempting to effect a project he had long formed, namely, of establishing a right of superiority over that kingdom. He sought with the utmost diligence for proofs of his intended claim in all the antient histories; but the only circumstance that was substantial, and which had the least appearance of plausibility, was the homage paid by William to Henry II. though Richard I. had renounced his homage.

Furnished with this proof, Edward advanced to Norham, a town on the northern banks of the Tweed, at the head of a powerful army to give weight to the unexpected claim he intended to make. On his arrival, he invited the parliament of Scotland, and the competitors for the crown, to his camp; where the chief justiciary told the assembly, "that the king had taken the greatest "pain to collect proofs from all the antient re- "cords and chronicles, to determine this impor- "tant truth, namely, that the kings of Scotland "had been dependent on the English monarchs "from time immemorial, and had accordingly "done them homage, except when they had ta- "ken advantage of the intestine commotions of "the nation, or the reign of some weak prince, to "withdraw their allegiance. The king was there- "fore intitled to decide this dispute, not in virtue "of the reference made to him, but in the quali- "ty of liege lord of the kingdom."

The whole assembly were astonished at this unexpected declaration: but it was in vain to make any resistance. They therefore begged to have some time allowed them to give in their answer, as many of the prelates and nobility of Scotland were absent, whose advice was necessary in a point of such importance. Edward consented to indulge them with three weeks for this purpose; and issued

ſafe conducts for all the nobility of Scotland to repair to Norham on the day appointed for giving in their anſwer. No objection being made by the barons to Edward's claim, the king addreſſed himſelf to the two competitors, requiring their acknowledgment of his ſuperiority. Bruce was the firſt to acknowledge it; while Baliol, afraid of giving offence to the Scottiſh nation, conſented with ſome reluctance.

Edward, having thus far obtained his ends, demanded that the principal caſtles in Scotland ſhould be immediately put into his poſſeſſion; telling them it would be in vain for him to pronounce any determination between the contending parties for the crown, without having it in his power to enforce it. This demand was complied with; and Edward after naming commiſſioners to enquire into the claims of the competitors, and promiſing to make his deciſion the enſuing year, returned to England.

A. D. 1292. The moſt celebrated lawyers and learned men in Europe were now conſulted on the important queſtion relative to the perſon who ſhould ſucceed to the Scottiſh throne. After long debates and ſeveral adjournments, they unanimouſly gave their anſwer in favour of Baliol; in conſequence of which Edward pronounced him the proper claimant to the Scottiſh throne, and he was immediately put in put in poſſeſſion of that kingdom. All the Engliſh garriſons were withdrawn, and Baliol did homage and ſwore fealty to Edward at Norham. After this Baliol ſet out to take poſſeſſion of his new dignity, and, in the middle of December was crowned at Scone with the uſual formalities, and all the nobility of Scotland ſwore allegiance to him. After the ceremony was over Baliol went to Newcaſtle upon Tyne, where he repeated his homage to Edward as ſuperior lord of his kingdom.

A. D. 1294. In this year an event happened which fully convinced the Scots of that ſtate of vaſſalage into which they had fallen by the policy and artifices of the Engliſh monarch. A burgher of Berwick, complaining of an injury he had received from ſome Engliſh commiſſioners ſent into Scotland, Edward ordered the cauſe to be tried in England by his judges. The council of Scotland, conſidering this order as a breach of promiſe in Edward, who had aſſured them that any offences committed in their kingdom ſhould be cognizable only to their own courts, ſent a remonſtrance to the Engliſh monarch. But, inſtead of receiving that ſatisfaction they expected, Edward told them, "the "cauſe ſhould be tried in England, as it did not "belong to vaſſals to puniſh thoſe who repreſented "the perſon of their ſovereign."

This authoritative and peremptory anſwer was exceeding diſagreeable to the Scots; but they were much more mortified at the indignity ſoon after ſhewn to their new king, who was obliged to appear perſonally before Edward, in his court at Weſtminſter, to anſwer a complaint exhibited againſt him by the earl of Fife, for ſeizing certain eſtates with which he had been inveſted by Edward's particular order. At this trial Baliol was obliged to relinquiſhed the ſeat of honour before filled by the kings of Scotland in the Engliſh courts, and to plead his own cauſe at the bar as a common defendant. This compulſive ſubmiſſion was highly diſagreeable to Baliol, who, notwithſtanding his natural ſupineneſs of his temper, determined, if poſſible, to ſhake off ſo ignominious a dependence. He therefore left the court of London without taking leave, after which Edward ſeized all the eſtates he poſſeſſed in England.

A. D. 1295. The deſigns of Edward in treating Baliol with ſuch indignity, was to engage him in rebellion, that he might have a pretence for making an entire conqueſt of Scotland. Nor was it long before an opportunity offered for accompliſhing his wiſhes. Baliol, irritated at the treatment he had received from Edward, ſecretly concluded a treaty of alliance with Philip the Fair, then king of France, which being made known to Edward, he ſummoned Baliol to perform the duty of a vaſſal, and cited him to appear before the Engliſh parliament. But Baliol refuſed the citation, and having procured a diſpenſation from his oath of fealty, he renounced his homage and bid defiance to the Engliſh monarch.

Exaſperated at the conduct of Baliol, Edward immediately raiſed an army of 30,000 foot, and 4000 horſe, at the head of whom he marched to the northward, in order to chaſtiſe the Scottiſh monarch for his diſobedience and preſumption. The Scots army was more numerous than the Engliſh, being compoſed of 40,000 infantry, and 500 horſe; but they wanted both diſcipline and experience, and, what was ſtill of more conſequence, diſſentions prevailed among the leaders. From theſe alarming appearances ſeveral of the Scottiſh nobility (among whom were Robert Bruce and his ſon, the earls of Marche and Angus) prognoſticated the ruin of their country, and made their ſubmiſſion to Edward.

The Engliſh army paſſed the Tweed at Coldſteam without oppoſition: ſoon after which Berwick was taken by aſſault, and about ſeven thouſand of the garriſon put to the ſword. The earl of Warrenne was then diſpatched at the head of 10,000 men, to beſiege the caſtle of Dunbar, defended by the flower of the Scottiſh army. Baliol, knowing the importance of this fortreſs, determined to venture a battle for its relief; and Warrenne, being informed of his intention, marched to meet him. The Scots, being badly armed and diſciplined, could not ſupport the furious charge of the Engliſh: they were, in a ſhort time, routed with great ſlaughter, no leſs than 20,000 being left dead on the field of battle. The next day the caſtle ſurrendered to Edward, who then joined his army, and purſued his conqueſts without any farther oppoſition from Baliol's forces. The caſtles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Sterling ſubmitted after a feeble reſiſtance; and all the ſouthern parts of the kingdom were ſoon ſubdued by the Engliſh.

The puſillanimous Baliol, finding himſelf unable to reſiſt the great power of Edward, reſolved to make his ſubmiſſion. He accordingly appeared before the king at Brechin (a town about 40 miles from Edinburgh) mounted on a very ſorry ſteed, holding a white rod in his left hand, and his ſword in the right, the latter of which he preſented, in the moſt humiliating manner, to the Engliſh monarch. The next day (July 10, A. D. 1296) his ſubmiſſion was drawn up in form, as alſo an inſtrument, by which he reſigned his kingdom to Edward, to be diſpoſed of according to his pleaſure; and which inſtrument was not only ſigned by himſelf, but alſo the principal barons of Scotland.

After making this mean ſubmiſſion, and formally reſigning his crown into the hands of the conqueror, Baliol was ſent priſoner to the tower of London, and two years after ſubmitted to a voluntary baniſh-

baniſhment to France, where, without making any attempts for the recovery of his throne, he died in a private ſtation.

Having thus ſubdued Scotland, Edward, in order to ſecure his acquiſition, ordered the ſtates to aſſemble at Berwick, where the principal noblemen and governors of caſtles ſwore fealty to him, and delivered up all their fortreſſes into his hands. The great ſeal of Scotland was now broken, and another, with the Engliſh arms, made in its ſtead, which was delivered to the care of Walter de Agmondeſham. At the ſame time the king appointed Hugh de Creſſingham treaſurer, W. de Ormeſby juſticiary, and John, earl of Warrenne, guardian of the Scottiſh realm: and that he might not leave theſe vanquiſhed people the leaſt particle of the liberty they had hitherto enjoyed, Edward ordered the crown and ſceptre of Scotland, with all the reſt of the regalia, to be carried to England; as alſo the famous marble ſtone, on which the kings of Scotland had, for many ages, been ſeated, when they received inauguration.*

Having adjuſted all affairs to his ſatisfaction in Scotland, Edward returned with his army to London; and ſoon after ſummoned a parliament from whom he requeſted a ſupply for enabling him to wreſt Guienne out of the hands of Philip of France, who had perfidiouſly made himſelf maſter of that province. The barons and burgeſſes very readily complied with his requeſt, but he met with a ſtrong oppoſition from the clergy. The archbiſhop of Canterbury had procured a bull from pope Boniface VIII. (who had lately ſucceeded Celeſtine in the papal chair) prohibiting the princes of Chriſtendom, under the penalty of excommunication, from levying, without his conſent, any tax on the clergy; and reſtraining, under the ſame penalty, all eccleſiaſtics from ſubmitting to ſuch impoſitions.

Being unacquainted with the meaſures taken by the archbiſhop, Edward was aſtoniſhed at the clergy refuſing their aſſiſtance towards the ſupply, but his aſtoniſhment was greatly increaſed on their publiſhing the pope's bull as a reaſon for their conduct. Edward, however, not chuſing to purſue haſty and raſh meaſures, adjourned the parliament to the 14th of January, hoping that a little reflection would render the clergy more conformable to his demands.

A. D. 1297. The parliament re-aſſembled on the day appointed, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the moſt dignified eccleſiaſtics of the kingdom, attended. Edward renewed his demand, but inſtead of his requeſt being complied with, the archbiſhop, in the name of the whole body, told him, "That the clergy owed obedience to two ſovereigns, namely, their ſpiritual and temporal; but their duty bound them to a much ſtricter attachment to the former than the latter." Irritated at this ſpeech, Edward told them, "that as they refuſed to aſſiſt the civil power, it was unreaſonable for them to expect any protection from the laws;" and with this anſwer they were diſmiſſed.

Edward now reſolved ſeverely to puniſh the clergy for their refractorineſs and diſobedience. He accordingly iſſued out orders to all his judges, to receive no cauſe brought before them by any eccleſiaſtic; but to hear and decide all cauſes in which they were defendants. He likewiſe locked up all their granaries and barns, and prohibited any rents being paid them by their tenants.

Theſe proceedings greatly alarmed the clergy in general, ſeveral of whom complied with the king's requeſt, and received the royal protection; but the archbiſhop of Canterbury grew more obſtinate from perſecution. He ordered the pope's bull to be publiſhed in all the churches of his dioceſe, and convened a ſynod of his ſuffragans at St. Paul's cathedral. But Edward, aware of his deſign, iſſued out a writ, prohibiting him, under pain of impriſonment, from denouncing any eccleſiaſtical cenſure either againſt himſelf, his miniſters, or his ſubjects.

The violent proceedings of the king produced the moſt fatal conſequences to the clergy. Their houſes and convents might, indeed, have afforded them ſafe retreats, but they were in want of ſubſiſtence; and whenever they ventured abroad, were robbed and abuſed by every ruffian. The people, who had hitherto beheld them with a kind of religious awe, now looked upon them with contempt, and laughed at their ſufferings. The archbiſhop himſelf was robbed of his equipage and furniture, and at laſt reduced to board himſelf with a ſingle ſervant, in the houſe of a poor clergyman. This ſituation was not to be endured: experience convinced them, that a deprivation of the advantages of citizens was the greateſt calamity; and they accordingly became ſolicitous to ſatisfy both the king and the ſtate. But in order to avoid an open diſobedience to the poſitive injunctions of Boniface, inſtead of granting the king a fifth of their moveables, they agreed to depoſit an equivalent ſum of money in ſome church or convent; from whence he might draw it at his own diſcretion.

Thus was this violent conteſt between the king and his clergy happily terminated. But the ſupplies obtained were far from ſufficient to anſwer the deſigns formed by Edward of taking ample vengeance on Philip for his perfidy; in conſequence of which (ſo bent was he to execute his deſign) that he had recourſe to meaſures very oppreſſive to his people. He impoſed a tax of 40s. on every ſack of wool exported; ſeized cattle and other commodities for the ſupply of his army; and required the attendance of every proprietor of land poſſeſſed of twenty pounds a year, even though he was not a tenant of the crown.

Theſe unjuſtifiable proceedings occaſioned a general murmur throughout the kingdom, and was injurious to the intended expedition of Edward. The forces he had raiſed were now aſſembled on the ſea coaſt ready for embarkation, under the command of Humphrey, earl of Hereford, the conſtable, and Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, the mareſchal of England. Theſe two noblemen (who had countenanced the complaints of the people) now

* The Scots paid the higheſt veneration to this ſtone, which they conſidered as the true palladium of their power. They, therefore, conſidered the loſs of it as an indubitable proof of the utter extinction of their monarchy, agreeable to a Latin diſtich engraven on it, the tranſlation of which runs thus:

Or fate's deceiv'd, and Heav'n decrees in vain,
Or where they find this ſtone, the Scots ſhall reign.

This ſtone, which was incloſed in a wooden chair, had been placed at Scone by Kenneth II. as a monument of the victory which he obtained over the Picts near the monaſtery of that place. It was firſt brought out of Spain into Ireland by Simon Breccus; from Ireland into Argyle, and from thence to Scone, from which place Edward cauſed it to be conveyed to Weſtminſter, where it ſtill remains.

now took the opportunity of ſhewing their reſentment at the arbitrary meaſures purſued by the king. They affirmed that their offices obliged them only to attend his perſon in the wars, and therefore refuſed to lead the army he had directed. A violent altercation enſued; and the king, turning himſelf to the conſtable, exclaimed, "By God, Sir earl, you ſhall either go, or hang." "By God, Sir king," replied the conſtable, "I will neither go nor hang." Having ſaid this he immediately left the army, together with the mareſchal, and about thirty others of the moſt principal barons.

The conduct of theſe noblemen convinced Edward of the improper meaſures he had purſued for obtaining his ends; in conſequence of which he endeavoured, by purſuing conciliative methods, to regain the affections of his people. He careſſed his nobility, reconciled himſelf to the clergy, and made a public apology for his conduct, which he told them had ariſen from the urgent neceſſities of the ſtate.

But the barons, in general, were far from being ſatisfied with this condeſcenſion in the king, who had no ſooner landed on the continent with his forces, than the conſtable and mareſchal ſent meſſengers to him, inſiſting on an authentic confirmation both of the Great Charter, and the charter of Foreſts. Edward was very deſirous of putting it off till his return; but the parliament (which had been aſſembled at London by his order) joining with the two earls, and the charters being ſent over, he confirmed them in the preſence of all the prelates and nobility that accompanied him in his expedition.

A. D. 1298. The earl of Flanders had joined in league with Edward againſt Philip; but he woefully experienced the power and reſentment of that monarch, who had already taken Liſle, St. Omer's, Courtray and Ypres, and many more of the principal places in his dominions were threatened with the ſame fate. But the arrival of Edward, at the head of a powerful army put a ſtop to the farther conqueſts of Philip. Inſtead of attempting to come to action, the two kings concluded a truce for two years; and agreed to ſubmit their differences to the arbitration of pope Boniface. The ſentence given by the pontiff was entirely in favour of Edward and his ally, as he not only commanded a reſtitution of Guienne, but alſo the places which had been taken from the earl of Flanders. Philip (who had formed an alliance with Baliol previous to his being defeated by the Engliſh monarch) was deſirous of including him and the Scots in the treaty; but this was abſolutely refuſed by Edward. At length the two monarchs adjuſted their differences by abandoning their reſpective allies, Edward detaching himſelf from the earl of Flanders, and Philip from the Scots. The ſentence of Boniface was, however, regarded, and the treaty cemented by contracts of a double marriage; that of Edward himſelf with Margaret, the ſiſter of Philip; and that of the prince of Wales with Iſabella, the daughter of that monarch.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent the Scots made an attempt to recover their antient liberties, to which they were induced by the ſevere treatment of thoſe whom Edward had appointed to the government of that kingdom. Warrenne, earl of Surry (to whom the chief authority had been delegated) was, indeed, a man of prudence, virtue, and abilities; but his ill ſtate of health obliged him to return to England. At his departure, the reins of government were intruſted to William de Ormeſby, chief juſticiary, and Creſſingham, the treaſurer. The former was diſtinguiſhed by the rigour and ſeverity of his temper, and the latter by his avarice. Inſtead, therefore, of making uſe of moderate and lenient meaſures, they treated the Scots as a conquered people, and made them feelingly ſenſible of the ſervitude into which they were fallen. This exaſperated the whole nation, and they determined either to ſhake off the yoke or periſh in the attempt.

The Scots were encouraged in their deſign by one William Wallace, a perſon of good fortune, and deſcended from a noble family, who, ſeeing the diſtreſſes of his countrymen, engaged to undertake the recovery of their liberty, or periſh in the attempt. He was of a gigantic ſtature, had prodigious ſtrength, and was poſſeſſed both of courage and diſintereſted magnanimity. This hero had retired to the woods to avoid the vengeance of the government, and put himſelf at the head of a ſmall body of men, who, like himſelf, had fled from the tyranny of the Engliſh. With theſe partizans (who had equal courage with himſelf) he planned his enterprizes with ſo much prudence, that he was always ſucceſsful, and the fame of his exploits ſoon increaſed the number of his followers.

Wallace now determined to make an attack upon the governors, and accordingly advanced, at the head of his followers, towards Scone, where they then reſided. But Ormeſby and Creſſingham, being informed of their deſigns, and dreading the conſequences, fled to England, and were followed by all the principal officers who had been appointed as aſſiſtants in the government of Scotland.

The departure of the Engliſh governors greatly elated the Scots, who immediately flew to arms, and repaired in prodigious numbers to the ſtandard of Wallace; and ſome of the principal barons (among whom was Sir William Douglas) openly countenanced his party.

Theſe proceedings greatly alarmed the earl of Surry, who, at the head of a conſiderable army, marched againſt the Scottiſh forces, and came up with them at Irvine, before they were ſufficiently formed. On the appearance of the Engliſh, the Scottiſh nobility, thinking it would be in vain to oppoſe them, made their ſubmiſſion, and obtained a pardon. This, however, did not intimidate Wallace, who retired with his forces, and took poſt on a hill in the neighbourhood of Stirling. The earl of Surry continued his march, and diſcovered the enemy on the oppoſite bank of the Forth; but, at the ſame time, perceived the danger of attacking them in this advantageous ſituation, eſpecially as the bridge over the Forth was ſo narrow, as hardly to admit two men a-breaſt. Sir Richard Lundy, a Scotſman of birth and family, but a firm adherent to the Engliſh, deſired a party of five hundred horſe, and a proportional body of foot, might be put under his command; promiſing to paſs the river at a ford a few miles above, and to fall on the rear of the enemy, in order to divert their attention while the main body of the army paſſed the bridge. This prudent deſign was, however, rendered abortive by the impatience of Creſſingham, who being irritated both by perſonal and national animoſity againſt the Scots, urged the general to attack them immediately; exclaiming loudly againſt all delays, as expenſive, and diſhonourable to the king.

The earl of Surry conſidering theſe reflections as

as cenſures upon his own conduct, ordered the army to paſs the bridge immediately. But he paid dearly for his raſhneſs. Wallace let as many of them paſs as he was confident he could conquer; and then attacked them with ſuch fury, that they were all cut to pieces or puſhed into the river, where they periſhed. Near five thouſand men fell in the action, and among the reſt Creſſingham himſelf, who being found among the ſlain, the Scots flayed his dead body, and made ſaddles and girths of his ſkin. The remainder of the Engliſh army were ſo diſpirited at the deſtruction of their countrymen, whom they could not aſſiſt, that the earl of Surry thought it adviſeable not to make any farther attemps againſt the enemy; and accordingly returned, with the remains of his army, to London.

Elated with this ſucceſs, the Scots flocked from all parts of the kingdom to join the ſtandard of Wallace, who was immediately declared regent of the kingdom, Baliol being then an exile in France. He immediately led his forces towards the borders of England, where he was ſure of finding ſubſiſtence, the diſorders of war, added to unfavourable ſeaſons, having occaſioned a famine in Scotland. The caſtles of Berwick and Roxburgh made but a feeble reſiſtance, and opened the Scots a free paſſage into Northumberland. Wallace firſt led his victorious troops againſt Carliſle; but not being able to take that city, he ravaged the country as far as Durham, and then returned loaded with ſpoils and honours.

During theſe tranſactions in the north Edward returned from the continent, and determined to puniſh the Scots for their diſobedience during his abſence. But as a neceſſary and prudent ſtep, previous to the carrying his deſign into execution, he thought it adviſeable, by conceſſions and promiſes, to gain the general affection of his ſubjects. For this purpoſe he aſſembled a parliament at York, and ordered the two charters, together with the additional ſtatutes in favour of public liberty, to be read and publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the common people. This was accordingly performed with great formality; and the biſhop of Carliſle ſolemnly denounced the ſentence of excommunication againſt all violators of theſe charters. The king likewiſe returned to the citizens of London the privilege of chuſing their own chief magiſtrates, which had been taken from them in the latter part of the reign of the late king.

A. D. 1299. Edward ſoon found the good effects of theſe popular proceedings. The people flocked to his ſtandard from all quarters, and in a ſhort time he found himſelf at the head of an army abundantly ſufficient to repel the inſurgents, and reduce them to ſubjection. On the other hand, that union, which alone can render an army powerful, was wanting among the Scots, and diviſions and envy took place. The noblemen deſcended from the royal family of Scotland, inſtead of looking upon the patriotic virtues of Wallace with admiration, and joining in the ſervice of their country, threw the moſt ungenerous reflections upon his conduct, and even charged him with having formed a deſign of ſeizing the crown. Wallace ſaw the fatal conſequences that muſt attend theſe diviſions, and generouſly reſigned his authority, retaining only the command of a body of men who refuſed to follow any other leader. The liberty of his country, not a deſire of power, had called him from his retreat, and he willingly ſacrificed the latter to preſerve the former.

On the reſignation of Wallace, the command of the army was given to the ſteward of Scotland, and Cummin of Badenock, both eminent for their birth and fortune. Theſe two generals marched at the head of their forces to Falkirk, where they determined to wait the attack of the Engliſh. They drew up their army in three bodies, the front of which were compoſed of pikemen, and the intervals filled with archers. But, dreading the great ſuperiority of the Engliſh cavalry, they endeavoured to ſecure their front with paliſadoes tied together with ropes.

In the mean time Edward had marched, at the head of his forces, into the enemy's country, and coming within ſight of the Scottiſh army, determined to finiſh the war by one deciſive action. He accordingly divided his army into three bodies, conformable to that of the enemy, and led them to the charge. The attack was begun by the Engliſh archers, who poured a dreadful ſhower of arrows upon the enemy. The Scottiſh bowmen, unable to ſupport the fury of the Engliſh, were driven from the field of battle with great ſlaughter. The Engliſh archers purſued their advantage; and pouring in their arrows among the pikemen, threw them into diſorder, which was improved by the cavalry, and a general rout enſued, attended with the moſt dreadful carnage. Some hiſtorians tell us that no leſs than fifty or ſixty thouſand periſhed, while others have reduced the number to twenty thouſand. But however this be, it is certain the Scots never ſuffered a greater loſs, nor ever experienced a defeat more pregnant with deſtructive conſequences.

The only general among the Scots that kept his troops together was Wallace, who retiring behind the Carron, marched leiſurely along the banks of that ſmall river, which protected him from the enemy. Robert Bruce (who was with Edward) appeared on the oppoſite bank, and requeſted a ſhort conference. He began with reproaching Wallace for taking up arms againſt Edward, one of the moſt powerful princes, and the beſt general of the age: at the ſame time inſinuating, that Wallace himſelf had formed a deſign of ſeizing the crown. Wallace warmly diſclaimed every ambitious intention; declaring, that the miſeries of his country alone rouſed him to arms. Adding, that he had neither any right to expect, nor any inclination to ſeize the ſcepter of Scotland. "To you," added he, "your country owes her afflictions. You left her overwhelmed with miſeries, and I undertook the cauſe you ſo baſely betrayed; a cauſe I mean to ſupport while I have ſtrength to weild a ſword; nor ſhall I envy you a life of eaſe and pleaſure in the court of a foreign tyrant. You may, my lord, have, indeed, a juſt title to the crown, and might wear it with honor to yourſelf, and advantage to your country; but you ſeem to prefer the chains of ſervitude to freedom, and the ſmiles of deſpotiſm to the calls of honor."

Struck with the noble ſentiments of Wallace, Bruce repented having joined Edward. He ſaw his own conduct in a very different point of view, and determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity of joining thoſe patriotic chiefs, who had ſo nobly ſupported the cauſe of their country. Bruce now returned to the Engliſh army, which was ſoon after diſbanded; and Wallace at the head of the poor remains of his forces, retired into the northern parts of the kingdom.

A. D. 1300. Unable to face the Engliſh, and deſirous, if poſſible, of ſupporting the liberties of

of their country, the Scots implored in vain the protection of Philip, that monarch having, in the late treaty with Edward, abandoned them to the fury of the conqueror. Thus diſappointed they made application to pope Boniface, which produced a contention between his holineſs and Edward relative to the ſuperior right of ſovereignty over the Scottiſh dominions. This diſpute laſted two years, and the claims of each were attended with equal abſurdities. At length Edward ſummoned a parliament at Lincoln in order to give a final anſwer to his holineſs. After ſome debates a letter was written to the pope, in the name of the barons of England, in which it was obſerved, that the right of ſovereignty over Scotland had always been annexed to the crown of England, and that Scotland had never depended, with reſpect to temporals, on the ſee of Rome: that the parliament would never ſuffer the king to put his right in litigation, or ſend ambaſſadors to Rome on that ſubject, though himſelf might be diſpoſed to pay ſuch a compliment to his holineſs; and therefore they deſired he would deſiſt from all attempts to infringe on the prerogatives of the kingdom. This letter which was ſigned by no leſs than one hundred and five barons, had ſuch an effect with the pope that he not only relinquiſhed his claim, but even ordered the clergy of England to give a tenth of their revenues for three years to Edward for carrying on the Scottiſh war, on condition of his receiving a part of the money himſelf.

A. D. 1303. Though the Scottiſh forces had met with ſo dreadful a defeat at the battle of Falkirk, yet they were far from being totally ſubdued. The remains of that army were joined by freſh forces in the mountainous parts of the kingdom, and they again attacked the territories of the Engliſh. An army of ten thouſand men was likewiſe formed under Cummin (appointed regent on the reſignation of Wallace) who advanced as far as Biggar, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh.

In conſequence of theſe proceedings, John de Segrave (whom Edward had left guardian of Scotland) aſſembled all the Engliſh forces in that kingdom to oppoſe the Scots; but perceiving it would be difficult to procure the neceſſary quantity of proviſions for their ſubſiſtence in a body, he ſeparated them into three diviſions: the firſt of which was commanded by himſelf in perſon, the ſecond by his brother, and the third by Sir Robert Neville.

Cummin, knowing of this diſpoſition, determined to take advantage of it, and advanced under covert of the night, to attack Segrave's diviſion, which lay at Roſlin, about ſixteen miles from the Scottiſh camp. As ſoon as the dawn appeared, the Engliſh diſcovered Cummin's army marching to attack them, but it was too late to make the neceſſary preparations againſt them; the Scots fell on before they could form themſelves in order of battle and obtained an eaſy victory: a few only eſcaped, by flying to their ſecond diviſion, whom they informed at once of their misfortune, and the approach of the enemy. The brother of Segrave immediately drew up his men, led them on to revenge the deaths of their countrymen, and a bloody battle enſued. The Scots, elated with ſucceſs, charged with the utmoſt fury; while the Engliſh, fired with reſentment, made a noble reſiſtance. The battle continued for ſome time doubtful, but at laſt terminated in favour of the Scots, and the Engliſh were obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs.

By this time the third diviſion, under the command of Sir Robert Neville, appeared; and the Scots, already exhauſted with fatigue, and their ranks conſiderably thinned by the two former actions, would willingly have declined the engagement. They pleaded the exceſſive labours they had already undergone; pointed to their wounds, and deſired to retire while it was yet in their power. But Cummin, who knew a retreat was now impoſſible, reminded them of the cauſe for which they were fighting, the tyranny of the Engliſh, the glory of their anceſtors, and the diſgrace of ſlavery. His arguments prevailed, and having furniſhed the followers of his camp with the arms of the vanquiſhed, they mounted the horſes they had taken, ſtood the ſhock of a third engagement, and with the utmoſt difficulty obtained the victory. This event, however, was not wholly inglorious to Neville: he reſcued Segrave, who had been taken priſoner in the firſt engagement, and retreated in excellent order. After this victory, the Scots made themſelves maſters of Stirling caſtle, and appointed one Oliphant (an officer celebrated both for his courage and military abilities) commander of that fortreſs.

A. D. 1304. The ſucceſs of the Scots now ſufficiently alarmed Edward, who determined ſeverely to revenge the diſgrace of his forces, and for that purpoſe appointed Roxburgh as the place of rendezvous for his army. Every precaution was taken to enſure the ſucceſs of this expedition, and to prevent any want of proviſions, a numerous fleet was fitted out with orders to ſail along the coaſt, and attend the march of the army with proper ſupplies.

The Engliſh forces being aſſembled at Roxburgh, Edward advanced into the heart of Scotland, at the head of an army that would have rendered all oppoſition in the open field, a mere ſpecies of madneſs: ſo that the Scots had no other reſource than to fly for ſafety to the woods and faſtneſſes of their country. The only oppoſition Edward met with was from two or three caſtles; but all the reſt opened their gates on the firſt ſummons. In this ſucceſsful manner he led his army from one extremity of Scotland to the other: his vigilance preſerved his troops from ſurpriſe, and his fleet ſupplied them with plenty of proviſions. Even the intrepid Wallace, though he followed the Engliſh armies, found few opportunities for diſplaying his valour. The conduct of Edward, rendered all oppoſition abortive, and he ſoon made a total ſubduction of the whole country.

A. D. 1305. The conqueſt of Scotland being now compleatly obtained, Edward directed his attention towards ſettling the government; and, in order to render the Scots more ſubmiſſive, conferred on ſeveral of the nobility particular marks of his favour. Ten perſons, two from each order of biſhops, abbots, earls and barons, and two for the community of the gentry, were choſen as deputies to the parliament ſummoned to meet at London, in order to ſettle the adminiſtration in a manner at once both permanent and advantageous to all parties. The conferences were accordingly opened, and after a conſultation of twenty days, the civil eſtabliſhment of Scotland was fixed in the following manner: "eight juſtices to be appointed to regulate the affairs of government; and the natives of both kingdoms rendered equally capable of filling the poſts of power and truſt in Scotland. John, earl of Britany, was appointed guardian of that kingdom, and the officers of chancellor, chamberlain,

berlain, and judges, were filled partly by Engliſh and partly by Scots." It was alſo agreed. "That the Scottiſh laws ſhould be aboliſhed; and that a parliament ſhould be ſummoned, on the guardian's arrival in Scotland, in which the laws of king David ſhould be revived, together with the amendments and additions made to them by ſucceeding kings: that the guardian, with the concurrence of his council, ſhould have full power to make ſuch alterations and amendments, as ſhould ſeem moſt conſiſtent with the good of the kingdom, and the ſafety of the ſubject, without conſulting the king: but if any difficulty ſhould ariſe, which required a more mature deliberation to remove, the whole ſhould be properly ſtated, and ſent by the deputies from the ſtates of Scotland to the Engliſh parliament, where the queſtion ſhould be finally determined."

The government of Scotland being thus eſtabliſhed, and the parliament diſſolved, Edward iſſued out a general pardon to all the Scottiſh nobility, who had carried arms againſt him, the brave Wallace excepted, whom the king inſiſted ſhould ſurrender at diſcretion. This diſtinguiſhed warrior ſtill continued in arms at the head of a few followers, and ſtill cheriſhed the expiring ſparks of Scottiſh liberty. But the publication of Edward's pardon cauſed a very conſiderable deſertion in his little party, and he was obliged to wander from one part of the country to another, in order to keep himſelf concealed from the vigilant eyes of his enemies. He continued this wandering courſe of life ſome time; but was at laſt betrayed by Sir John Monteith, his former friend, and ſent priſoner to London. Edward (whoſe natural bravery ſhould have induced him to cheriſh ſimilar qualities in an enemy) was ſo enraged at ſome violences committed by Wallace during the fury of the war, that he ordered him to be tried as a rebel and traitor, and being found guilty and condemned, was carried to Tower-hilll, and there ſuffered death by decapitation.

A. D. 1306. The Scots were greatly irritated at the ſevere puniſhment inflicted on the brave Wallace, and meditated revenge. They were already diſguſted at the many innovations introduced into their country by the ſword of a conqueror, and only wanted a chief of determined reſolution, to aſſiſt them in the execution of their deſign to ſhake off the ſhackles of ſlavery and dependence. Nor was it long before a general of the greateſt merit appeared. Robert Bruce, deſcended from the royal family of Scotland, determined if poſſible, to obtain that ſovereignty, which had been ſo long poſſeſſed by his anceſtors. He well knew that after his ſubmiſſion to Edward, he ſhould never be able to appear with any advantage, while the illuſtrious Wallace (then the idol of the common people) ſurvived; but the death of that chief removed the only obſtacle to his ambition. John Baliol, the competitor with Bruce's father for the Scottiſh crown, died alſo about the ſame time. This incident united the two parties, which had before divided Scotland, and greatly encouraged Bruce to attempt the deliverance of his country from the yoke of ſlavery. Bruce was now at the court of Edward, and opened his mind to Cummin then in Scotland, who approved of his deſign, and promiſed his aſſiſtance; but reflecting coolly on the enterprize, he changed his opinion, and informed Edward of Bruce's intentions. The king, however, ſuſpecting the diſcovery of Cummin proceeded from envy, omitted to ſecure the perſon of Bruce, till, by concurring circumſtances, he ſhould be convinced of the truth of his aſſertions.

In the mean time the earl of Glouceſter knowing what had paſſed between Cummin and the king, thought it would be imprudent either to converſe with Bruce, or give him the neceſſary information he could wiſh in a letter; he therefore ſent him, by a ſervant, a pair of gilt ſpurs and a purſe of gold, which he pretended to have borrowed for him. Bruce readily perceived the meaning of this ænigmatical preſent, upon which he immediately quitted the court, and effected his eſcape.

Bruce repaired with all haſte to his native country, and ſoon after his arrival preſented himſelf at a meeting of the Scottiſh nobles, whom he informed of his deſigns, and exhorted to join in the noble attempt, to break the chains of ſervitude, and revenge the inſulted rights of their countrymen. The nobles liſtened to his remonſtrances, and declared their reſolution of ſeconding his patriotic deſigns, and aſſerting the undoubted rights of the nation, againſt their common oppreſſors. Cummin, who alone oppoſed this general determination, repreſented the attempt as pregnant with deſtruction; telling them it was madneſs in them to oppoſe the power of the Engliſh, while that power was in the hands of a prince of ſuch uncommon vigour and abilities. He added, that nothing but the moſt rigorous puniſhments could be expected, if they again broke their oaths of fealty, and ſhook off their allegiance to the victorious Edward. Bruce, who plainly foreſaw the probable failure of all his ambitious projects from the oppoſition of Cummin, followed him, on the diſſolution of the aſſembly, to the cloyſters of the Grey Friars, and, giving him a violent blow, ſtruck him to the ground. Sir Thomas Kirkpatric, one of Bruce's friends, who was by, aſked him if the traitor was ſlain. "I believe ſo," replied Bruce. "And is that a mat-" ter, (cried Kirkpatric) to be left to conjecture? I " will ſecure him." He immediately ran to Cummin, and drawing his dagger, ſtabbed him to the heart.

Bruce had now gone too far to recede. No pardon could be expected from Edward; ſo that both he and his party had no other alternative than either to conquer, or periſh in the attempt. Bruce improved every moment, by haſtening into different parts of the kingdom to rouze his countrymen to arms, and perſuade them to ſhake off the galling yoke of ſlavery. The Scots embraced with ardour the pleaſing hopes of recovering their liberty. Their courage was ſtimulated by oppreſſion, and thy determined to conquer or die. In conſequence of this the Engliſh were again driven out of that kingdom, except thoſe who had taken refuge in places of ſtrength; and Bruce was crowned king of Scotland, with the uſual ceremonies, in the abbey of Scone.

As ſoon as Edward was informed of theſe proceedings, he immediately diſpatched the earl of Pembroke, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, into Scotland, to check the progreſs of the inſurgents. Bruce had collected a conſiderable number of forces, but they were raw and undiſciplined, and conſequently unable to withſtand the attacks of veteran troops. They were encamped at Methven near Perth, without ſuſpecting the approach of an enemy. While they were in this ſtate of ſuppoſed ſecurity, the earl of Pembroke ſuddenly attacked them in the night, and

a deſperate battle enſued. Bruce behaved with great magnanimity: he was thrice diſmounted from his horſe, and as often recovered himſelf: but all his efforts were in vain, being obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior fortune, and ſeek his ſafety by flight. This diſaſter ſtruck the Scots with terror, and the greater part deſerting their leader, Bruce retired to the Weſtern Iſles, in hopes ſome future period would be more propitious to him in the attempt of reſtoring the antient liberty of his country.

A ſhort time after this defeat, Edward himſelf arrived in Scotland at the head of a powerful army, and, dividing his forces into two bodies, ſent one to the northward under the command of the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the earls of Lancaſter and Hereford. The prince made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Kildrummey, and ſoon after took the counteſs of Buchan, and the lady Mary Bruce, ſiſter to the fugitive king, priſoners. Theſe two ladies Edward, from a diſingenuous motive of revenge, ordered to be ſhut up in wooden cages, and expoſed as public ſpectacles to the inſulting populace; in conſequence of which lady Bruce was put into a cage and hung over the battlements of Roxburgh caſtle, while the counteſs of Buchan was put into another, and hung over the caſtle of Berwick. The brothers of Bruce with other Scottiſh noblemen, were put to death. After the prince had perfor ned this expedition, he met his father at Perth, and they both proceeded with their forces to the city of Carliſle.

A. D. 1307. It was generally ſuppoſed that Bruce had fallen among the ſlain at the battle of Methven: but the Engliſh were in this miſtaken; for he now appeared at the head of a ſmall body of men, and committed the moſt dreadful ravages upon thoſe inhabitants who were in the intereſt of the Engliſh. Edward, equally alarmed and exaſperated, immediately diſpatched the earl of Pembroke at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, to attack the inſurgents in their retreat; but Bruce, who was well acquainted with the nature of the country, led the earl into an ambuſcade and totally defeated his forces.

This gleam of ſucceſs greatly animated the Scots, inſomuch that Bruce, ſoon found his army increaſed to ſeveral thouſands, by which he became a dangerous, becauſe a deſperate enemy.

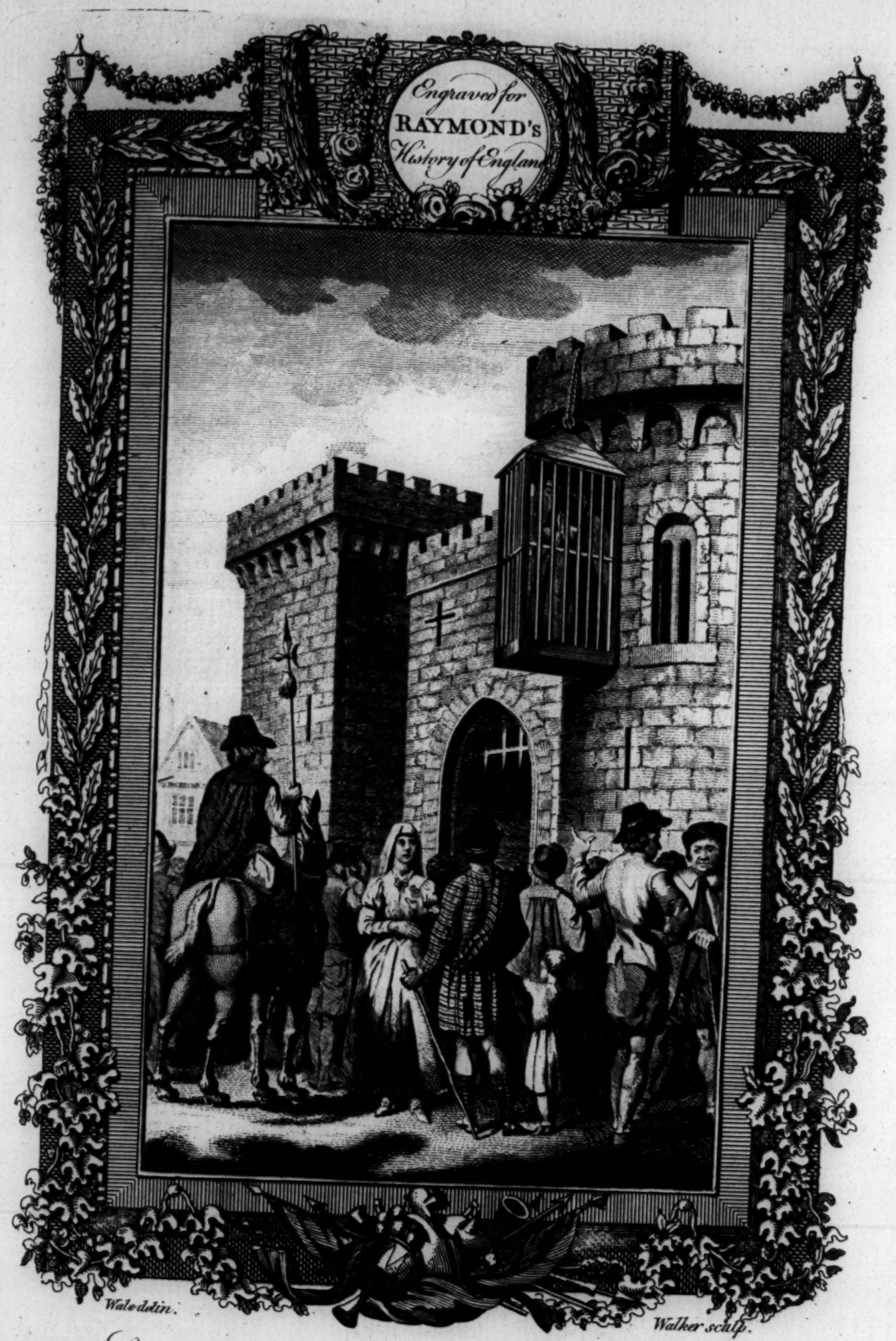
Edward now determined to take a moſt ſevere revenge on the Scots, even, if poſſible, to the very extirpation of their name; but death cut ſhort all his deſigns, and ſaved the Scottiſh nation from the precipice of deſtruction. The king had, for ſome time, been afflicted with a dyſentery, which greatly weakened him; but notwithſtanding this he marched at the head of his forces from Carliſle, on the 3d of July, and proceeded as far as a place called Burgh on the Sands in Cumberland, where his diſeaſe having greatly increaſed from the fatigues of his march, he was obliged to halt. He continued to grow worſe and worſe every day, till at length, finding his end approaching, he ſent for his eldeſt ſon prince Edward, and delivered to him the following among other injunctions: 1. That he ſhould purſue the war againſt Scotland with the utmoſt vigour, till the whole country was ſubdued; "Carry my aſhes "before you, (ſaid he) the rebels will never be able to ſupport the ſight of them." 2. That he ſhould never recall Piers Gaveſton *. 3. That he ſhould bury his body in Scotland; and, 4. That he ſhould ſend his heart to the Holy Land, with 30,000l. ſterling, which he had long reſerved for the ſupport of the Holy Sepulchre at Jeruſalem.

Having given theſe directions to his eldeſt ſon, he called for the reſt of his children, and after taking a ſolemn leave of them, together with the principal officers then about him, ſoon after paid the debt of nature, on the 7th of July, in the 69th year of his age, and 35th of his reign.

Edward was in perſon tall and comely, his features regular and elegant, with eyes keen and piercing, and had an aſpect that equally commanded reverence and eſteem. Though tall he was yet robuſt, and excelled moſt of his cotemporaries in bodily ſtrength and activity. His ſhape was ſomewhat diſproportioned on account of the too great length of his legs, from whence he received the name of Longſhanks; but this blemiſh was attended with ſome advantage, as it gave him ſuch a ſeat on horſeback, that he could not eaſily be diſmounted.

With reſpect to the character of this prince, he was certainly poſſeſſed of many virtues, though, at the ſame time, it muſt be acknowledged he had ſome vices. His ambition, and a deſire of increaſing the power of his kingdom, ſeem to have been his ruling paſſion. In purſuit of theſe he ſcrupled not to purſue meaſures inconſiſtent with the liberties of his people. The equity of his enterprize againſt Scotland has been juſtly queſtioned; but when it is remembered, that the union of the two kingdoms muſt have been attended with the moſt ſolid advantages to both, we ſhall, perhaps, be more inclined to praiſe than cenſure his conduct. At the ſame time, it muſt be confeſſed, that if his character ſhould be thought exceptionable in this particular, his country obtained the moſt permanent advantages from his activity, his courage, his policy and his prudence. He reſtored authority to the government, maintained the laws againſt all the efforts of his turbulent barons, and executed juſtice with ſeverity on all who diſturbed the domeſtic peace of the kingdom. His merit as a legiſlator was ſo great, that he is often called, "The Engliſh Juſtinian;" becauſe, in his reign, the laws acquired a great perfection, and juſtly deſerved the name of Eſtabliſhments. He ſettled the juriſdiction of the ſeveral courts; and he firſt eſtabliſhed the office of juſtice of peace. His conduct with regard to the clergy was more politic; he ſaw their power, and was deſirous of preventing its increaſe. Their poſſeſſions were unalienable, and perpetually augmenting: he therefore prohibited them from making new acquiſitions, by paſſing the ſtatute of mortmain. But the undertaking that will always render

* Piers Gaveſton was a native of Guienne, and poſſeſſed few talents; but ſtill he was capable of attracting the regard of weak and inferior minds. His great addreſs in all the genteel exerciſes conſtituted his chief merit, while his vices were numerous, and of the moſt deſtructive nature. This foreigner obtained the particular favour and friendſhip of young Edward, over whom he gained ſuch an aſcendency, that the prince was totally directed by his maxims, and purſued ſuch of his vices as forbode deſtruction to the ſtate. This was too obvious to the king, who, to prevent future bad conſequences, a ſhort time before his death, baniſhed Gaveſton the kingdom, and, with his dying breath, made his ſon promiſe never to recall him.



LADY BRUCE, *Sister of Robert Bruce King of Scotland, confined in a* CAGE *& exposed on the Battlements of Roxburgh Castle by order of* EDWARD I. *King of England.*

D

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Caernarvon Castle April 25. 1284: | *Crowned February 25. 1308.* | *Murdered in Berkeley Castle, September 21. 1327.*

render the name of this great legiſlator dear to the Engliſh, was his eſtabliſhing the Houſe of Commons, by ſummoning two deputies from every borough, conformable to the example of the earl of Leiceſter. By this means the boroughs became of importance in the ſtate; and the mechanics and tradeſmen, whom the feudal ſyſtem had placed in a deſpicable point of light, acquired the honor of being one of the branches of the legiſlature; trade was encouraged, and men of property thought it no diſgrace to engage in the commerce of their country.

Edward had, by his firſt wife, Eleanor of Caſtile, four ſons, but Edward, his heir and ſucceſſor, was the only one that ſurvived him. By his ſecond wife, Margaret of France, he had two ſons, namely, Thomas, created earl of Norfolk, and mareſchal of England; and Edmund, who was created earl of Kent by his brother after he aſcended the throne.

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Edward I.

A. D.

1275 An earthquake happened in England, which affected moſt parts of the iſland; and, among other accidents, the church of St. Michael on the Hill, near Glaſtonbury in Somerſetſhire, was entirely thrown down.

1276 An act was made whereby all Jews were compelled to wear a badge.

1279 Two hundred and eighty Jews hanged in London, for adulterating the coin of the kingdom.

1288 As the king and queen were together in an apartment of the palace, a flaſh of lightning ſtruck in at the window, and killed two of the ſervants in waiting, but their majeſties received no other injury than being greatly frightened.

1299 The palace at Weſtminſter entirely deſtroyed by an accidental fire.

1300 This year an act was made by the common-council of London for preventing impoſition in the ſale of different kinds of proviſions, when the reſpective articles of poultry to be ſold in the city were fixed at the following prices:

	s.	d.		s.	d.
A fat cock —	0	1½	A plover —	0	1
Two pullets —	0	1½	A ſwan —	3	0
A fat capon —	0	2½	A crane — —	3	0
A gooſe — —	0	4	Two woodcocks —	0	1½
A mallard —	0	1½	A fat lamb, from Chriſtmas to Shrovetide --	0	6
A partridge — —	0	1½	All the reſt of the year	0	4
A pheaſant — —	0	4			
A heron — —	0	6			

CHAP. III.

EDWARD II. ſurnamed of CAERNARVON.

Edward recalls his favourite Gaveſton, and confers on him diſtinguiſhed favours. Goes over to the continent, and marries Iſabella, daughter of Philip of France. Returns to England, and is crowned with his new queen at Weſtminſter. Gaveſton behaves with great inſolence, upon which the barons inſiſt on his being baniſhed the kingdom. The king ſeems to comply, but inſtead of ſending him to a foreign country, appoints him lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Edward is compelled to delegate his power to the nobility, who make an ordinance for the abſolute baniſhment of Gaveſton. The king oppoſes his barons, and reinſtates his favourite. The nobles beſiege Gaveſton in Scarborough Caſtle, and cauſe him to be put to death. An accommodation takes place between the king and his barons. Edward marches againſt the Scots. Battle of Bannock-burn, and conſequences thereof. The king attaches himſelf to the two Spencers, who, at the inſtigation of the barons, are baniſhed the kingdom; but ſoon after recalled by Edward. The barons take up arms, but are ſubdued, and the earl of Lancaſter, with ſome others of the confederates, put to death. Edward concludes a truce with the Scots. The queen, diſguſted at Edward's partiality to the two Spencers, goes over to France with the young prince her ſon, and joins ſome of the Engliſh barons againſt her huſband. She returns to England at the head of a powerful army. The king goes to Briſtol, and from thence embarks for Ireland. The two Spencers put to death. Edward is driven by contrary winds into Wales, where he for ſome time conceals himſelf, but is at length betrayed, taken priſoner, and confined in Kenelworth Caſtle. The queen convokes a parliament in order to dethrone her huſband, which accordingly takes place. Edward delivers up the enſigns of royalty, and the nobility renounce their allegiance, upon which young Edward is appointed ſucceſſor to the throne. The queen and Mortimer conſpire againſt the life of the depoſed king, and cauſe him to be moſt cruelly murdered. Character of Edward II.

A. D. 1307. AT the time of the late king's death, the face of public affairs wore a pleaſing aſpect, and from the mild diſpoſition of his ſucceſſor, the people had formed the moſt pleaſing ideas of enjoying both happineſs and tranquillity under his government. But they ſoon found that all their expectations were built on a chimerical foundation, and that their prince was born to obey minions and favourites, not to govern a great kingdom, and ſupport the authority of that crown and dignity with which he was inveſted.

Scarce had the late king paid the debt of nature, when the impolitic and weak Edward purſued meaſures in direct violation of the promiſes made to his expiring parent. The firſt thing he did was, to recall his deteſted favourite Gaveſton, whom he created earl of Cornwall, and to whom he committed the government of the kingdom. Not ſatisfied with this he beſtowed upon him as a gift, the very ſum which the deceaſed prince had, by his laſt will, appropriated to the ſupport of the Holy Sepulchre at Jeruſalem, and to crown all, gave him his neice Margaret in marriage.

In the mean time a parliament was ſummoned at Northampton, in order to regulate the late king's funeral, together with the marriage and coronation of young Edward. At this meeting a ſum was granted to defray the expences of theſe ceremonies, and an ordinance was paſſed that the baſe coin, which was ſuppreſſed in the late reign, ſhould be again current throughout the kingdom.

The late king had requeſted that his remains ſhould be depoſited in Scotland, and young Edward ſolemnly promiſed that his requeſt ſhould be complied with; but he made no farther heſitation to violate this promiſe than he had done the other engagements made with his dying parent. The body was removed from Carliſle to Waltham, from whence

whence it was conveyed to Weſtminſter, and there interred with great ſolemnity, on the 18th of October.*

During theſe tranſactions the war in Scotland was totally neglected. Bruce, who had retired to his faſtneſſes on the approach of the late king, now appeared boldly in the plains, fell upon the county of Galloway, and reduced it to his obedience. In conſequence of this the earl of Britany was ſent, at the head of a powerful army, to ſtop his career; upon which Bruce, finding it would be in vain to contend with a force ſo ſuperior to his own, once more retired to the mountains and moraſſes of that country.

A. D. 1308. In the beginning of this year Edward went over to the continent, in order to conſummate his marriage with Iſabella, daughter to Philip of France, to whom he had long been betrothed. Edward landed at Boulogne, where he did homage to Philip for Guienne and the next day his marriage was ſolemnized with great ſplendor. After ſpending ſome days with the kings of France, Navarre, Germany and Sicily, (who were preſent at the marriage) Edward returned with his conſort to England, and on the 25th of February, they were both crowned at Weſtminſter.

Previous to the performance of this ceremony, a circumſtance occurred which greatly alarmed Edward. The barons, exaſperated at the inſolence of Gaveſton, who affected to treat them with contempt, refuſed to aſſiſt at the coronation, unleſs Gaveſton was baniſhed the kingdom. Edward promiſed to redreſs all their grievances provided they would not force him to delay the ceremony; and the barons, in return, agreed to ſuſpend their reſentment. But to what a pitch of indignation was they raiſed, when, on the day of the coronation, they beheld the inſolent favourite, with the moſt faſtidious pomp, carrying the crown of St. Edward before the king. This was an aggravation ſcarce to be borne, and it was with ſome difficulty that one of the barons was prevented from ſacrificing the inſulting minion to his reſentment.

A powerful party was now formed againſt the inſolent Gaveſton, at the head of whom was Thomas earl of Lancaſter, couſin-german to the king, and at once the moſt opulent and powerful ſubject in the kingdom. The confederate barons continued daily to increaſe till the meeting of the parliament, when they appeared with a numerous armed retinue, inſiſted upon the baniſhment of Gaveſton, and prevailed on the biſhops to threaten him with excommunication if he did not immediately quit the kingdom.

Edward was now ſenſibly alarmed, and thinking all oppoſition would be in vain, ſeemed to comply with their demands; but, inſtead of ſending him to a foreign country, as the barons expected, he appointed him lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and even accompanied him as far as Briſtol on the way to his new government.

A. D. 1309. The weak Edward could not reſt quiet without the company of his favourite; and therefore, fearleſs of the conſequences, recalled Gaveſton, who on his return, reſumed all the ſame inſolence and oſtentation which had procured him the univerſal deteſtation of the people. The barons were now more provoked than ever; and they determined to put it out of the power of the king himſelf to protect ſo hated a minion.

It was not long before an opportunity offered for carrying their deſign into execution. The king ſummoned a parliament at Weſtminſter, when the barons aſſembled, attended by an army of their retainers, and after remonſtrating with Edward on his abſurd attachment to the infamous Gaveſton, compelled him to ſurrender his authority into the hands of twelve perſons, whom they appointed to direct the affairs of government.

A. D. 1311. Under the direction of theſe twelve the kingdom was governed near a year and a half, when a parliament being ſummoned on the 8th of Auguſt, a ſet of ordinances were produced by the barons, which were to have the force of ſtatutes, and which were readily ſigned by the king. Theſe ordinances were twenty-ſix in number, the moſt material of which were the following: That all evil counſellors ſhould be removed from the king's perſon, particularly Henry de Beaumont, and his ſiſter the lady de Veſay, who had obtained grants from the king diſhonourable to the dignity and prejudicial to the prerogatives of the crown. That whereas Piers Gaveſton had given evil council to his majeſty, removed all perſons of integrity and abilities from the public offices, and ſupplied their places with his own weak and worthleſs creatures, embezzled the king's treaſure, impoveriſhed the realm, by obtaining unreaſonable grants, and procuring blank charters, which he filled up according to his own pleaſure, protected robbers, arrogated to himſelf the royal power and dignity, and formed aſſociations inconſiſtent with the laws of the land; he ſhould, for theſe miſdemeanors, abjure the kingdom for ever before the firſt of November; and if found in any part of his majeſty's dominions after that day, ſhould be treated as a public enemy. That the king ſhould not leave the realm, nor declare war againſt any prince or potentate, without the conſent of the barons. That on his quitting the kingdom with their conſent, a guardian of the realm ſhould be appointed by the parliament, who ſhould alſo nominate the chief officers of the ſtate, of the houſhold, of the revenue, and of juſtice, as well as the keepers of foreſts, the eſcheators on both ſides the Trent, and, in a word, all perſons employed under the crown in any part of his Majeſty's dominions. That all perſons in office ſhould take an oath to obſerve theſe

* It was depoſited on the north ſide of the ſhrine of St. Edward, under a tomb of grey marble, with the following inſcription: *Edwardus Primus, Scotorum malleus, hic eſt*, 1307, *Pactum Serva*. That is, "Here lies Edward I. the Scourge of the Scots. 1307. Obſerve Engagements."

It is remarkable that the tomb of this king was opened ſo lately as in the month of May 1774, the cauſe of which was as follows: the Society of Antiquarians having found it mentioned in a book called *Rymer's Fœdera*, that Edward I. ſurnamed Long-ſhanks, was interred in a ſtone coffin, incloſed in a ſtone tomb, in Edward the Confeſſor's Chapel, and that a ſum of money was allowed to preſerve the tomb, determined to gratify their curioſity by endeavouring to diſcover the truth of it. Accordingly they applied to the dean of Weſtminſter for leave to open the tomb, who readily complied with their requeſt. At the time appointed for opening the tomb, the dean, with about fifteen of the ſociety, attended, when, to their great aſtoniſhment, they found the royal corpſe to appear as repreſented by the hiſtorian. He had on a gold and ſilver riſſe robe, over which was a very handſome one of crimſon velvet, both of them quite freſh; and the jewels that were about him appeared exceeding bright. He had in one hand a ſceptre and dove, and in the other a ſceptre and croſs, which meaſured near five feet in length. The crown on his head being raiſed, the ſkull appeared bare, but the face and hands ſeemed perfectly entire. He meaſured in length ſix feet two inches.

these ordinances; and that one bishop, two earls and as many barons, should be chosen in every parliament, to receive the complaints against the king's ministers, and others who should violate these ordinances, and to punish offenders at discretion.

Though Edward had signed these ordinances with great readiness, yet he secretly determined not to observe them. No sooner was the parliament dissolved, than he repaired to York, and issued out a proclamation, repealing the article relative to the exile of Piers Gaveston, "as being unjust, and contrary to the oath taken by the king at his coronation." In consequence of this Gaveston was reinstated, in direct opposition to the very article which had been signed by the king for his banishment.

A. D. 1312. Exasperated at the conduct of Edward, and dreading the resentment of the powerful minion, the barons flew to arms, and besieged Gaveston in Scarborough-castle. The king used his utmost efforts to raise an army for the relief of his favourite; but he was held in such universal detestation, that the people refused joining the royal standard. In the mean time Gaveston, sensible of the bad condition of his garrison and the want of provisions, thought proper to capitulate. In consequence of this it was agreed that he should surrender himself a prisoner for two months, during which time means should be used for bringing about an accommodation; but if the terms proposed by the barons should not be accepted, the castle should be restored to him in the same condition as when he surrendered. The earl of Pembroke, being now master of the person of the favourite, conducted him to the castle of Dedington, near Banbury, where he left him (probably by consent of the rest of the barons) under pretence of having some business of importance to discharge in London. But before he returned, Gaveston was carried off by the earl of Warwick, who, in conjunction with the earls of Lancaster, Arundel and Hereford, caused him to be beheaded by the hands of the common executioner.

As soon as Edward was informed of the death of his favourite, he vowed revenge against the perpetrators of so unjustifiable and inhuman an act; and even threatened to exterminate the whole body of his nobles, whom he considered as being accessary to the horrid deed. But, on cool reflection, he altered his mind, and agreed to come to terms of accommodation with them on condition of their publickly asking him pardon on their knees. This was readily consented to, and performed, and with these vain appearances of exterior submission the king was so well pleased, that he forgave them their past offences, which, with his favourite Gaveston, were now buried in oblivion.

A. D. 1314. The attention of Edward was now directed towards the Scots, who, taking advantage of the disputes between the king and his barons, had made inroads into the northern counties, and committed the most horrid ravages on the innocent inhabitants. Edward, determined to suppress these violences, raised a powerful army, at the head of whom he marched with all expedition into the north. The Scottish forces under the command of Bruce were very inferior in numbers to those of Edward, in consequence of which he endeavoured to supply by art what was wanting in strength. Persuaded that this important contest was to decide the fate of his kingdom, he chose the field of battle with the utmost prudence, and made the most judicious preparations he could project for receiving the English. He posted himself at a place called Bannock-burn, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, having on his right flank an hill, and on his left a morass. In the front of his camp ran a small rivulet, the banks of which, as well as the bed of the stream, he filled with sharp stakes; and caused deep pits to be dug a little beyond the opposite bank, into which sharp stakes were also stuck, and the whole covered over with turf. The van of the English army reached the neighbourhood of the Scottish camp in the evening of the twenty-fourth of June, and a smart skirmish ensued between two parties of cavalry. The English were led by Henry de Bohun, a younger brother to the earl of Hereford, and the Scots by Bruce in person. The contest was very bloody; but at last decided in favour of the Scots, by the valour of Bruce, who rode up to Bohun, and cleaving his head with a battle-axe, in sight of both armies, he fell dead to the ground.

The English were so dispirited at the loss of their leader, that they retreated to the main army, and night coming on the general attack was postponed till the next morning, when the English troops prepared for the dreadful conflict. The wings, composed of cavalry, were commanded by the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, and the king himself led the center, or main body. Bruce drew up his forces, which consisted chiefly of foot, in three lines, with a body of reserve. The center was commanded by himself, the right wing by his brother Edward, the left by Randolph, and the body of reserve by Sir James Douglas.

Thus were preparations made on each side for coming to action; but just as both parties were ready to engage, a dispute took place between the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, with regard to beginning the attack upon the enemy. The first claimed it by custom and the latter as constable of England. The earl of Gloucester, therefore, (determined not to submit to his opponent) broke the rank, and, impelled by all the ardour of youth, rushed on to the attack, and fell among the covered pits, by which means his whole body of forces was thrown into the utmost confusion, and himself fell a victim to his own temerity.

This imprudent sally of the earl of Gloucester proved fatal to the English army. Several of the pits made by the Scots had been discovered during the skirmish the preceding evening; and the king, in order to prevent a similar misfortune, gave orders for a body of infantry to take a circuit round the morass, and attack the main body of the Scottish army in flank; and during the confusion it was natural to expect from so sudden an attack, the cavalry were to have forced the passage of the rivulet, and fallen sword in hand on the embarrassed enemy.

The fate of Gloucester was hardly determined, when the body of infantry, having made the prescribed circuit, fell with the utmost fury on the wing commanded by Randolph, and galled them so severely with repeated showers of arrows, that they were thrown into disorder. Sir James Douglas perceived the confusion, and fell suddenly upon the rear of the English with such impetuosity, that they were routed with great slaughter. The main body of the English, however, marched up with great resolution to attack the enemy; when they observed on the heights towards their left the appearance of another army marching leisurely to surround them. This was nothing more than a

number of waggoners and ſumpter boys, whom Bruce had ſupplied with military ſtandards, which at a diſtance gave them the appearance of a numerous body of forces. The Engliſh, not diſcovering the deception, were ſtruck with a panic, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation, in conſequence of which Bruce obtained a complete victory. The booty acquired by the Scots was prodigious; beſides which they took ſeveral perſons of diſtinction priſoners, who paid dearly for their ranſom. Edward himſelf had ſcarce time to reach Dunbar caſtle, before Sir James Douglas appeared at the head of four hundred horſe, hoping to intercept him if he attempted to eſcape to Berwick by land; but the king eluded his vigilance by going to that town by water.

The victorious Bruce diſtinguiſhed himſelf as much by his humanity and generoſity after having conquered his enemies as he had done in the battle by his bravery and prudence. He treated all his priſoners with the greateſt tenderneſs; ſent the bodies of the earl of Glouceſter and lord Clifford to the Engliſh monarch at Berwick; diſmiſſed ſome perſons, for whom he had formerly a particular regard, without ranſom; exchanged the earl of Hereford, and other noblemen, for his wife, daughter and ſiſter, the earl of Mar, and the biſhop of Glaſgow, who had remained priſoners ever ſince the battle of Methven; and, laſtly, cauſed the dead bodies left on the field of battle to be decently interred.

A. D. 1315. The defeat of the king's forces at the battle of Bannock-burn gave no concern to the barons, who, on the contrary, founded hopes of their own future grandeur from that diſaſtrous event. No ſooner did the king return, than they inſiſted on a renewal of their ordinances, and the earl of Lancaſter was placed at the head of the miniſtry.

The weak and infatuated Edward, ſenſible of his own incapacity for holding the reins of government, now attached himſelf to a new favourite. This was Hugh Deſpenſer, or Spencer, a young man of high rank, deſcended from a noble family, and an Engliſhman by birth. He poſſeſſed all the exterior accompliſhments of perſon and addreſs neceſſary to engage the affections of Edward; but wanted that prudence and moderation which could alone have ſupported him in the pre-eminence to which he was advanced. Had the oppoſition of the barons, however, been founded on virtue, and directed only to ſupport the honour of their country, theſe defects would have been conſidered as abundantly ſupplied by the talents and experience of the father of this new favourite, and who had alſo acquired a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration. He was a nobleman venerable for his age, and during his whole life had been reſpected for his wiſdom, valour and intrepidity. But envy now obſcured all his merits; his paſt ſervices were forgotten; and he was, together with his ſon, devoted to deſtruction.

A. D. 1316. The turbulent barons firſt indicated their diſſatisfaction at the king's new favourites by abſenting themſelves from parliament; but this not producing the deſired effect, they determined to have recourſe to more powerful methods for completing their deſigns. It was not long before an opportunity offered, which gave them a pretence for attacking the miniſters. Edward, among other favours beſtowed on the younger Spencer, gave him a barony, which it was pretended had reverted to the crown. This tranſaction was conſidered by the barons as a proper ſubject to work on, the conſequence of which was that the whole kingdom was thrown into a general ſtate of commotion. Theſe diſturbances continued near five years, when the earl of Lancaſter, and ſeveral other barons, flew to arms, and peremptorily demanded the baniſhment of the two Spencers. The king refuſed to comply; upon which they marched to London, and preſented to the parliament an accuſation againſt the favourites. In conſequence of this they were both condemned to baniſhment, and, ſubmitting to their ſentence, all diſturbances ſeemed happily to ſubſide.

A. D. 1321. In the beginning of this year a circumſtance happened which rouſed Edward from his natural ſtate of indolence. The queen having occaſion to paſs by the caſtle of Leeds belonging to lord Badleſmere, one of the confederate barons diſpatched ſome of her ſervants to deſire a night's lodging in the caſtle; upon which the requeſt was not only denied, but they were even refuſed admittance, and ſome of them killed by the ſervants of the governor. This outrageous behaviour was reſented by all parties, and the king levying an army, made himſelf maſter of the caſtle, and put the governor, with ſeveral of the garriſon to death. The conduct of the king on this occaſion was approved even by the turbulent barons themſelves; in conſequence of which Edward (who was too apt to be over elated at the moſt trifling ſucceſs) thought it a proper opportunity of attempting the recovery of his prerogative. He accordingly ventured to recall the two Spencers, whoſe ſentence he declared to be illegal and unjuſt, as being paſſed without the conſent of the prelates, and extorted by violence from him and the barons aſſembled in parliament. Adding, "that he was bound by the Great Charter to receive the petitions of the Spencers, becauſe he was obliged to do juſtice to all his ſubjects."

A. D. 1322. The aſſociated barons were highly enraged at this proceeding of Edward, and, being ſtill in arms, determined to preſerve their power by the force of the ſword; in conſequence of which the king marched againſt them at the head of a powerful army, and continued his rout as far as the borders of Wales. But the forces of the barons were not ſufficient to meet thoſe of the king in the open field. They therefore had recourſe to the Scottiſh monarch, with whom they concluded a treaty, promiſing to recognize his title to the crown of Scotland; and that prince in return, ſtipulated to aſſiſt them with a body of forces.

The earl of Lancaſter, encouraged by the hopes of a powerful aſſiſtance from Scotland, and joined by the earl of Hereford at the head of his retainers, determined to oppoſe the king's forces, and accordingly poſted himſelf at Burton upon Trent, in order to diſpute the paſſage of that river. But no ſooner did the royal army appear than Lancaſter was intimidated, and retreated towards Borough-bridge, in order, if poſſible, to reach the borders of Scotland. Unfortunately for the earl, Sir Andrew Harcla, governor of Carliſle, ſuſpecting his deſign, poſted himſelf, at the head of a body of troops, to oppoſe his paſſage over a ſtream, ſo that Lancaſter found himſelf reduced to the wretched alternative of venturing an engagement, or ſurrendering himſelf a priſoner to Harcla. He choſe the former; but the earl of Hereford being ſlain in the firſt attack, the barons troops fled with

with great precipitation, and Lancaſter (with ſeveral of the principal barons) was taken priſoner. Harcla conducted the earl to the king at Pomfret, where he was tried by a court martial, and being condemned to death, was carried in an ignominious manner to an eminence in the neighbourhood, and there beheaded. Thus fell Thomas earl of Lancaſter, a prince of the blood, and one of the moſt powerful barons ever known in England; but whoſe turbulent temper hurried him into meaſures at once ſubverſive to the peace of ſociety, and the welfare of his country.

The earl of Lancaſter was not the only perſon who ſuffered death on this occaſion; about twenty other barons being afterwards tried and executed, ſome of whom were hanged, and others beheaded. Many made their eſcape into France, and others were thrown into priſon. Harcla was rewarded for his ſervices with a large eſtate and the earldom of Carliſle. But he did not long enjoy the royal bounty; for entering into a treaſonable correſpondence with the king of Scotland, he paid the forfeit of his life as an atonement for his perfidy.

A. D. 1323. Elated with the ſucceſs of Edward over his turbulent barons, and giddy with power, the younger Spencer committed ſuch acts of violence as ſtill farther inflamed the hatred of the public againſt him. Freſh complaints were every day made to the king on his conduct; and Edward, deſpairing of making a ſucceſsful campaign againſt Scotland, while the nation was divided, concluded a truce with the Scottiſh monarch for thirteen years. By the articles of this truce it was agreed, that a free commerce ſhould be open between the two kingdoms: that no new caſtles ſhould be built, nor any old fortreſſes repaired: and, laſtly, that the truce ſhould remain in force, though the king of England, or lord Robert Bruce, ſhould die in the interim.

A. D. 1324. But though Edward had totally ſubdued his turbulent barons, and made a peace with the Scots, he did not remain long in a ſtate of quietude. Freſh troubles aroſe, and from a quarter he little expected. Charles the Fair of France (ſon and ſucceſſor of Philip) ſummoned Edward to do him homage for his province of Guienne. In conſequence of this the younger Spencer, who ſaw the conſequences that might attend his own authority during the king's abſence, would not conſent to his leaving the kingdom. The parliament therefore was conſulted, and it was the unanimous opinion of the whole aſſembly, that it was improper for the king to go abroad in perſon, but that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the court of France, requeſting that the homage might be delayed till a more convenient opportunity. This was accordingly done; but Charles refuſed to poſtpone the ceremony and ſent a body of forces to attack Guienne.

It was now thought proper that queen Iſabella ſhould go to her brother's court, in order, if poſſible, to bring about an accommodation. She accordingly repaired thither with all expedition, and uſed her utmoſt influence to execute the buſineſs on which ſhe was ſent; but all her endeavours proved fruitleſs: Charles was peremptory, and inſiſted that Edward ſhould repair to Paris in perſon to perform his homage.

During the contention between Charles and Edward, queen Iſabella, who continued at her brother's court, projected a ſcheme for removing all difficulties, and at the ſame time putting it in her power to be amply revenged on the younger Spencer from whom ſhe had received ſome diſtinguiſhed inſults, and on that account long beheld him with the utmoſt deteſtation. She ſent meſſengers over to Edward, propoſing that he ſhould reſign the ſovereignty of Guienne to his ſon, and that the prince ſhould be ſent to Paris to perform the duty of a vaſſal.

Edward and Spencer highly approved of the queen's propoſal, in conſequence of which the young prince was immediately ſent to the French court. But the king and his favourite ſoon perceived the blunder they had made, in truſting the perſon of the heir apparent to the crown in the hands of an ambitious woman, and at the court of a foreign monarch.

Iſabella, on her arrival in France, had found a great number of fugitives, the remains of the Lancaſtrian party; and their common hatred to the younger Spencer ſoon cemented a ſecret friendſhip between them. Among the reſt was Roger Mortimer, a powerful baron of the Welſh marches, and one of the leaders of the late rebellion. This young noblemen ſoon inſinuated himſelf into the affections of the queen, who made no heſitation at ſacrificing to a vicious paſſion all the ſentiments of honour and fidelity ſhe owed to her huſband. It was in vain that Edward ordered her to return to England: he ſent repeated meſſengers to her for this purpoſe, but ſhe ſent for anſwer that ſhe was reſolved to continue in France, till the two Spencers ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom.

A. D. 1325. Finding all lenient meaſures ineffectual, and that no arguments, however perſuaſive, would bring Iſabella to a ſenſe of her duty, Edward had recourſe to the pope, who wrote a very preſſing letter to the king of France, inſiſting, on pain of excommunication, that the queen of England ſhould be ſent back to her huſband. Charles was ſo affected at this menace of the pontiff, together with the ſhameful connection between Mortimer and his ſiſter, that he determined to ſupport her no longer. He accordingly ſhewed her the pope's letter, telling her he could not, either with honour or ſafety to himſelf, afford her protection, and that ſhe muſt immediately quit his dominions.

The artful Iſabella had, for ſome time, been apprehenſive of this event, and therefore took proper care to guard againſt its conſequences. She had affianced her ſon, the prince of Wales, to the daughter of William, count of Hainault and Holland; who, in return, promiſed her an aſylum in his dominions, and to aſſiſt her with a body of troops againſt her enemies. She therefore retired into Hainault, where ſhe was received with the greateſt marks of kindneſs and reſpect.

A. D. 1326. Every method was now uſed for raiſing an army to attend the queen and the young prince on an expedition to England; and about 3000 men in arms were collected for the purpoſe, under the command of John de Hainault, the count's brother. Iſabella however, did not build her hopes of ſucceſs on the number and valor of her troops in the intended invaſion of her huſband's dominions, but in the connections ſhe had formed with the diſcontented nobles. All the old Lancaſtrian faction were ready to join her; and the families of about twenty of the nobility, who had ſuffered with the late earl of Lancaſter, were the more zealous in their attachment, as they hoped, in conſequence of her ſucceſs, to be reſtored to the eſtates which had been forfeited in conſequence of the late rebellion. At the ſame time many of the principal people

people in England had joined the queen's party. The king's brothers, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with other prelates, and ſeveral of the moſt powerful barons, approved of her meaſures; ſo that nothing was wanting but the appearance of the queen and prince, at the head of their foreign troops, to turn the whole force of the tempeſt againſt the unfortunate Edward.

The baſe and perfidious Iſabella, having collected her forces at Dort, embarked with her ſon for England, and landed in Suffolk on the twenty-fourth of September. She was immediately joined by the princes of the blood, with other factious nobles; and, to give her hoſtile appearance a favourable aſpect, iſſued out a proclamation, declaring that the ſole motive of her proceedings was, to deliver the nation from the tyranny of the Spencers, and of chancellor Baldock, their creature. This proclamation had the deſired effect; the ardour of the Engliſh was aſtoniſhing, and they flocked from all quarters to the queen's ſtandard.

Edward, who was then in London, applied to the citizens for aſſiſtance againſt the invaders of his country; but ſoon perceived that no reliance could be placed on them. He therefore ſet out for the weſtern parts of England, hoping that his ſubjects in that quarter of the kingdom would commiſerate majeſty in diſtreſs, and ſupport him againſt the unnatural rebellion of an implacable woman. But he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken: the people were unwilling to come to his ſtandard, and he formed the reſolution of paſſing over to Ireland, in hopes of meeting with that aſſiſtance there which was refuſed him in England.

No ſooner had Edward left London than the populace committed the moſt dreadful diſorders. They plundered the houſes and murdered the perſons of all who were obnoxious to them. Even the acknowledged virtues of the biſhop of Exeter could not protect him from their rage. He was dragged, like a felon, to the great croſs of Cheapſide, where his head was ſevered from his body. Moſt of the other cities followed the example of the capital, and, taking advantage of the national confuſion, committed every ſpecies of outrage with wantonneſs and impunity.

As ſoon as the queen was informed of the flight of Edward, ſhe diſpatched the earl of Kent, with John de Hainault, at the head of his mercenaries, in purſuit of him. They accordingly marched as far as Briſtol, but on their arrival at that city found the king had quitted it ſome days, leaving the elder Spencer in poſſeſſion of the caſtle. The earl of Kent immediately inveſted the place, and Spencer would certainly have defended himſelf to the laſt extremity had the garriſon been faithful to him; but they were infected with the diſloyalty of the times, mutinied againſt their commander, and delivered him up to the enemy. No reſpect was paid to this venerable old man, who had nearly reached his ninetieth year. All his former ſervices were forgot; and though they could alledge nothing againſt him but his loyalty to his maſter, he was condemned to death by the rebellious barons, and hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor.

In the mean time the king, purſuant to his reſolution, had embarked for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, endeavoured to conceal himſelf among the mountains of Wales. Iſabella was alarmed when ſhe heard her huſband was ſtill in his own dominions. She was fearful that his diſtreſſed ſituation might turn the tide of popular favour againſt her party; and it was therefore determined to ſeize the royal perſon. The difficulty of diſcovering his retreat was ſoon removed, by bribing the Welſh; and the king was taken at Caerfilly, in Glamorganſhire, with the younger Spencer, Baldock the chancellor, and a few domeſtics; all the reſt of his courtiers having deſerted him in his misfortunes. The king was committed to the care of the earl of Lancaſter, and confined in Kenelworth caſtle. The younger Spencer, without any form of trial, was executed, with the moſt ſhocking circumſtances of barbarity and inſult. Baldock, the chancellor, being a prieſt, could not, with ſafety, be ſo ſuddenly and illegally diſpatched. He was therefore conducted to London, and aſſaulted by the populace, who uſed him with the utmoſt cruelty, and threw him into Newgate, where he ſoon after expired.

Iſabella was now inveſted with the actual government of the nation; and the firſt uſe ſhe made of it was, to convoke, in the name of her huſband, a parliament, who were to dethrone him, and which was appointed to aſſemble on the 7th of January following. This buſineſs being done, ſhe went to keep her Chriſtmas at Wallingford caſtle, where, in the adulterous embraces of the infamous Mortimer, ſhe forgot every call of nature; loſt every ſenſe of ſhame; and ſeemed to forget that there exiſted ſuch a perſon as the then wretched Edward.

A. D. 1327. The parliament, according to appointment, met on the 7th of January; and on the 10th an impeachment was exhibited againſt the king; in which, though it was drawn by his moſt inveterate enemies, nothing but his confined genius or his misfortunes were alledged againſt him; malice itſelf not being able to find any particular crime that could be alledged againſt him. But this was of little weight in an aſſembly convoked for his deſtruction. The ſpirit of faction had annihilated juſtice. The impeachment being read in the preſence of the prince, ſeated on the throne, it was reſolved that young Edward ſhould aſſume the reins of government, and that Edward II. ſhould no longer be ſtiled king of England, but only Edward of Caernarvon.

This buſineſs being done, commiſſioners were appointed for carrying to Edward the reſolution of the parliament with regard to his depoſition. This deputation conſiſted of three biſhops, three earls, two abbots, and two knights for each county, together with Sir William Truſſel, one of the judges, who was nominated the nation's particular procurator. Theſe were inſtructed to uſe every argument they could deviſe to prevail upon Edward to make a voluntary reſignation of that power they were determined he ſhould no longer hold.

The biſhops of Hereford and Lincoln, two of the king's moſt inveterate enemies, were ſent to converſe with him before the commiſſioners arrived, in order to prepare him for the approaching change of his condition. Edward was ſufficiently convinced that his fate was determined when theſe two prelates appeared; and the manner in which they diſcharged their commiſſion was perfectly ſimilar to the reſt of their conduct. Inſtead of pouring the balm of conſolation into the breaſt of wounded royalty, they aggravated the pungent ſmart by a thouſand malicious inſinuations: and when they perceived Edward made the leaſt ſtruggle to maintain his dignity, by refuſing to confer with the deputies; they told him, "that if he continued obſtinate in refuſing to reſign, the parliament would involve his whole family in his guilt, exclude all his

his children from the ſucceſſion, and place another perſon on the throne of his anceſtors."

This menace awakened all the fondneſs of a father in the ſoul of the unfortunate Edward: he paused, dropped a tear to the remembrance of his fallen ſtate; conſented to admit the deputies to an audience, and retired to his chamber. As ſoon as he could collect his ſpirits, he entered the chamber of audience dreſſed in a mourning habit; but after the articles of impeachment againſt him were read, and the commiſſioners had demanded his immediate reſignation, he was unable to ſtand the ſhock; his ſpirits forſook him, and he had fallen to the ground, had not the biſhop of Lincoln ſupported him in this dreadful moment of conflicting paſſions. As ſoon as he recovered, he proceeded to the ceremony of reſignation, by delivering, with his own hands, to the commiſſioners, the crown, ſceptre, and other enſigns of royalty, which had been brought thither for that purpoſe. And Sir William Truſſel renounced, in the name of the parliament and people, all future allegiance.

This melancholy ceremony being finiſhed, the commiſſioners returned to London, and young Edward was placed on his father's throne. But it was impoſſible to prevent theſe atrocious acts of violence from opening the eyes of a deluded people. The cruelty, perfidy and infidelity of the queen, joined to her impudent hypocriſy, in publickly bewailing with tears the misfortunes of the king, who owed them all to her execrable conduct, could not fail of exciting the indignation of the Engliſh. Her infamous commerce with Mortimer increaſed the public odium, and ſhe was looked upon with deteſtation by every friend to truth, virtue and fidelity.

The current of popular favour was now changed: the queen was conſidered as an object of horror, while the fate of the unfortunate Edward was univerſally deplored. A ſcene of majeſty in diſtreſs attracted the pity, compaſſion, and tears of the people. Even the earl of Lancaſter himſelf was touched with theſe generous ſentiments, and treated his royal priſoner with the greateſt kindneſs and reſpect.

But the meaſure of Iſabella's wickedneſs was not yet full. It was not ſufficient to have dethroned and impriſoned her huſband, but ſhe alſo determined that his life ſhould fall a ſacrifice to her ſafety. Both ſhe and Mortimer well knew what would be the conſequence if Edward ſhould be again placed in the ſeat of power, and a reſolution was formed to add to their catalogue of crimes the guilt of murder. They therefore removed him from Kenelworth to Berkley-caſtle in Glouceſterſhire, where he was committed to the care of Sir John Gournay, and John de Maltravers, by whom he was alternately guarded.

Theſe two inhuman wretches treated the unfortunate king with every inſtance of indignity and cruelty they could invent. They hurried him about from one caſtle to another in order to elude the endeavours of his friends for his releaſe, and harraſſed him with every weight of grief they could poſſibly impoſe. Having by theſe means eluded the reſearches, and defeated the attempts of his friends, they brought him back to Berkeley-Caſtle, where they inflicted on him the moſt ſevere cruelties. But the natural ſtrength of Edward's conſtitution ſupported him under all theſe afflictions, till at length an order* was ſent from the queen and Mortimer to put an end to his life.

No ſooner did the two execrable monſters in human ſhape receive the horrid order, than they immediately proceeded to carry it into execution. They accordingly entered the king's apartment while he was aſleep, and ordering ſeveral ruffians, who attended them, to hold him faſt down on the bed, they thruſt a red-hot iron into his body, through a horn tube, in order to prevent any external marks of violence on his perſon; and in this manner ſoon put a period to his exiſtence.

The next day the cruel perpetrators of this horrid deed, willing to avoid ſuſpicion, and depending on the precautions they had taken, expoſed the body to the inſpection of the public; but though no wound or blemiſh appeared on any part of the body, yet the muſcles of his face were ſo diſtorted, as plainly to ſhew the dreadful agonies he had undergone; and many people, at a conſiderable diſtance heard the cries and groans he uttered, while undergoing thoſe excruciating torments which produced his death. The body, however, was interred (without any enquiry being made into the cauſe of the king's deceaſe) in the abbey of St. Peter at Glouceſter; but the regicides, inſtead of procuring thoſe rewards they expected for their diabolical cruelty, were obliged to conſult their own ſafety by flight.

Thus fell, by the hands of inhuman aſſaſſins, Edward II. king of England, in the 43d year of his age, and 20th of his reign.

Though this unfortunate monarch experienced the fate of a tyrant, yet, perhaps, it will be difficult to find, in the annals of hiſtory, a prince more innocent or more inoffenſive. But he was wholly diſqualified for the arduous taſk of government; and the troubles which fell on himſelf, and diſturbed the peace of the kingdom, during the greater part of his reign, aroſe from his making himſelf a dupe to baſe and ambitious miniſters. In ſhort, Edward was more weak than wicked, and fully atoned for the errors of his conduct by the length and ſeverity of his afflictions.

Edward II. left four children, namely, Edward, his eldeſt ſon, and ſucceſſor on the throne: John, afterwards created earl of Cornwall, who died at Perth; Jane, afterwards married to Edward Bruce, king of Scotland; and Eleanor, married to Reginald, count of Gueldres.

Remark-

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* This order was contained in a letter directed to his keepers, Maltravers and Gournay, and couched in ſuch artful and ambiguous terms, that though the perſons to whom it was directed ſhould take it in the literal ſenſe, yet it furniſhed them with an opportunity of exculpating themſelves, in caſe they ſhould be called to account for the horrid deed. The words contained in the letter were theſe:

Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum eſt:

The tranſlation of which is as follows:

To ſhed king Edward's blood
Refuſe to fear I count it good.

Theſe fallacious and artful lines admit of either a good or bad, a peaceable or ſanguinary conſtruction; for if a comma is placed after the Latin word *nolite*, or the Engliſh word *refuſe*, the lines imply the criminality of entertaining any idea of the king's death; but if on the contrary the comma is placed after the Latin word *timere*, or the Engliſh word *fear*, the command to commit the murder appears poſitive.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Edward II.

A. D.

1315 A dreadful ſickneſs and famine happened in England, which carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.

1320 The greateſt earthquake happened that had ever been known in England, by which many buildings, in different parts of the kingdom were levelled with the ground.

During this reign the order of the Knights Templars was diſſolved, by pope Clement V. who was inſtigated thereto by the cruel and vindictive diſpoſition of Philip the Fair, king of France. An ample teſtimony of the great piety and morals of theſe people was ſent from England to the pope; but without producing any good effect. The order was annihilated, the knights diſtributed into ſeveral convents, and their poſſeſſions transferred to the order of St. John of Jeruſalem.

BOOK IX.

From the Acceſſion of Edward III. to the Death of Henry IV.

CHAP. I.

EDWARD III. ſurnamed of WINDSOR.

Acceſſion and coronation of Edward III. War with Scotland. Edward is married to Philippa of Hainault. The earl of Kent, brother to the late king, beheaded. Edward takes the reins of government into his own hands. The infamous Mortimer tried, condemned and hanged. Prudent adminiſtration of Edward. Wars between the Engliſh and the Scots. David dethroned, and Baliol crowned king of Scotland. Edward enters into a treaty with Baliol, and aſſiſts him in reducing the Scots. Diſputes relative to the ſucceſſion to the crown of France. Edward embarks for the continent with a powerful army. Engages and defeats the French fleet. Siege of Tournay. Edward ſends a challenge to Philip of France. A ceſſation of hoſtilities takes place, and the king returns to England. Edward again goes over to the continent, and concludes a truce with the French monarch for three years. Farther wars with France. Tragical death of Jacob Van Ardevelt. The king goes again to the continent at the head of a powerful army. The famous battle of Creſſy. The Scots defeated, and David their king taken priſoner. Edward makes himſelf maſter of Calais. Inſtitution of the Order of the Garter. Battle of Poictiers. Remarkable condeſcenſion in the Prince of Wales (commonly called the Black Prince) to the French king, whoſe army was defeated, and himſelf made priſoner. A truce with France. The Black Prince makes his public entry into London, with his royal priſoner the king of France. David king of Scotland ſet at liberty. Edward again invades France, and after taking various places, agrees to a peace, and the French monarch is ſet at liberty. Edward the Black Prince marries Joan of Kent, and takes up his reſidence at Bourdeaux. The king of France returns to England and dies in the palace of the Savoy. Edward the Black Prince eſpouſes the cauſe of Peter of Caſtile, and reſtores him to his kingdom. Freſh wars with France. Edward on the death of his queen, attaches himſelf to a concubine named Alice Pearce. Richard, ſon to the Black Prince, declared heir to the crown, ſoon after which his father pays the debt of nature. Death and character of Edward III.

THE late king ſubmitted to the neceſſity of reſigning the enſigns of royalty on the 20th of January, which was no ſooner made known to the perfidious Iſabella and her infamous paramour, than they immediately cauſed young Edward to be proclaimed king, and on the 26th of the ſame month he was crowned at Weſtminſter by the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Young Edward poſſeſſed by nature all thoſe ſhining qualities which predict the glory of a reign, and the happineſs of a ſtate. But at the time he was advanced to that ſeat of power from which his father had been removed by the artifices of an ambitious woman, he was only fourteen years of age, and conſequently incapable of guiding the helm of government. A council of regency (conſiſting of twelve perſons, viz. five prelates and ſeven lay peers) was therefore appointed by the parliament to direct the adminiſtration of public affairs; and the earl of Lancaſter was choſen guardian and protector of the young king during his minority.

A. D. 1327. A truce had been concluded between the late king of England and Robert Bruce king of Scotland, but from the unſettled ſtate of the nation in conſequence of the depoſition of the former, Bruce made an attempt upon the caſtle of Norham. The governor, however, Sir Robert Manners, having received intelligence of his deſign, ſallied out with ſuch fury on the Scottiſh forces, that they were put to flight with great ſlaughter, and obliged to retire with precipitation into their own country. But this did not intimidate Bruce, who ſoon after collected an army of ten thouſand men, which he placed under the command of the earl of Murray and lord Douglas, with a deſign of making himſelf maſter of the northern counties of England.

Theſe were diſagreeable circumſtances to the Engliſh miniſtry, who were determined not to ſuffer ſuch inſults to paſs with impunity. Young Edward expreſſed the moſt earneſt deſire of leading his troops againſt the enemy, and chaſtiſing them for their inſolence. In conſequence of which, no objection being made to his requeſt, he marched to the northward at the head of 60,000 men, and found

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

EDWARD III.

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Windsor November 15. 1312. | *Crowned January 26. 1327.* | *Died at Richmond June 21. 1377.*

found the enemy encamped on the declivity of a hill, at the foot of which was the river Were. This was a ſituation ſo very advantageous to the Scots, that Edward could not bring them to an engagement, in conſequence of which he diſpatched a meſſenger, challenging them to meet him in the open field, and terminate the diſpute by a deciſive battle. Douglas, highly exaſperated at this challenge, was deſirous of accepting it; but the motion was over-ruled by Murray, who thought ſuch a meaſure would be incompatible with their then ſtate of ſecurity.

Douglas uſed all the force of argument he could in order to bring on a general engagement with the Engliſh; but this proving ineffectual, he reſolved no longer to remain idle in his camp. He accordingly put himſelf at the head of two hundred horſe, paſſed the river in the night, and entering the Engliſh camp unperceived, advanced as far as the royal tent, with a deſign to ſurprize and carry off the king. But the attempt was rendered abortive by ſome of Edward's ſervants, who awaking in the critical moment, made a noble reſiſtance, and ſacrificed their lives in his defence. The king himſelf cut his way through the Scots, who had entered his camp, and eſcaped; and the Engliſh falling with great violence on the enemy, the greater part were ſlain; but Douglas himſelf, with a few followers, found means to retreat to his own army. The next night the Scots decamped and marched with ſuch expedition, that Edward, finding it would be impoſſible to overtake them, marched with his army to Durham, and from thence to York.

Edward had been long contracted in marriage to Philippa of Hainault, and he now determined to celebrate his nuptials with that lady. Accordingly ambaſſadors were diſpatched to the continent to bring over his intended bride, who arrived in London, (attended by her uncle John de Hainault, and a pompous retinue) on the 23d of December. She immediately proceeded to York, where the nuptials were ſolemnized with great pomp on the 24th of January; but the ceremony of her coronation was not performed till ſome time after her arrival in England.

A. D. 1328. When Edward returned to London with his new conſort, he found great diſturbances had taken place owing to the conduct of Mortimer, who had uſurped the whole authority of government, and from his imperious proceedings, grew daily more obnoxious to the people. The king himſelf was highly incenſed, and determined to free himſelf from the power of a miniſter who ſeemed totally regardleſs of the honour and welfare of his country.

Mortimer, finding a material alteration in the behaviour of the king, was apprehenſive of danger; and therefore, while in his power, thought it neceſſary, at all events, to make peace with the Scots, to which he was induced by the advice of the perfidious Iſabella. He accordingly, in the name of the king, entered into a negociation with Bruce, whom he acknowledged as king of Scotland, and renounced the Engliſh claim of ſuperiority, on condition of his paying the ſum of thirty thouſand marks. But this peace was no ſooner made public than it excited an univerſal clamour throughout the kingdom, and the people expreſſed their reſentment in the moſt ſevere terms. They declared openly that it was neither honourable or neceſſary; that thoſe who concluded it had baſely ſacrificed both the blood and treaſure of the nation to private views; that the queen-mother (who, under pretence of her huſband's incapacity, had uſurped his authority) now ſufficiently diſcovered how unable herſelf was to have any direction in the affairs of government; and that the errors of the depoſed king had been inferior to thoſe committed ſince her being concerned in the public adminiſtration.

Mortimer was no ſtranger to his having incurred the general hatred of the people, and therefore began to dread the conſequences, more eſpecially when he was informed, that the earls of Kent, Norfolk and Lancaſter, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London and Winchester, with ſeveral powerful barons, had determined to impeach him before the parliament. He was ſenſible of the conſequences that muſt take place if a majority in that aſſembly ſhould favour the complainants, and exerted all his power to bring about a reconciliation. Nor did he endeavour in vain; the parties who meant to accuſe him appeared ſatisfied, on his promiſing that all grievances ſhould be removed during the enſuing parliament.

A. D. 1329. Though the ambitious and baſe Mortimer was obliged to temporize with the diſcontented barons, yet he was determined to be revenged on them for the treatment he had received; to effect which he ſingled out an object that might ſtrike his enemies with terror. The weakneſs of Edmund earl of Kent (brother to the late king) promoted his criminal intentions. A report had been ſpread, at the inſtigation of Mortimer, that Edward II. was yet alive, and confined in Corfe-Caſtle. The earl, who had always retained an affection for his brother (though he had joined the queen's party to drive the two Spencers from the kingdom) believed the report, and publicly declared his deſign of replacing him on the throne. But the treacherous Mortimer had no ſooner procured ſufficient proofs of his deſign than he cauſed him to be ſeized, and committed to that priſon where he had flattered himſelf he ſhould meet with his unhappy brother, whom he now diſcovered was no more, and that the report of his exiſtence was totally groundleſs.

A. D. 1330. As ſoon as the parliament met, which was on the 13th of March, the unfortunate earl of Kent was formally accuſed of high-treaſon, and, being found guilty, was ſentenced to be beheaded. Iſabella and Mortimer, apprehenſive of young Edward's lenity towards his uncle, hurried the execution, and the earl ſuffered the next day after his ſentence was pronounced. So beloved, however, was he by the people, that when brought on the ſcaffold the common executioner refuſed to perform his office; nor could any one be found to ſupply his place till late in the evening, when the ſentence was executed by a felon from the Marſhalſea, who, as a reward for his ſervice, received a free pardon for all the robberies he had committed.

This cruel and perfidious act of Mortimer rendered him more univerſally deteſted than ever. All parties, forgetting their former animoſities, now conſpired the deſtruction of this inſolent and baſe miniſter. Edward himſelf, then in his eighteenth year, was deſirous of taking into his own hands the reins of government, and bringing to exemplary puniſhment a man who made no ſcruple of ſacrificing the honour of his country, and the lives of the nobility, to his inſatiable thirſt of power. But it was abſolutely neceſſary to uſe the utmoſt precaution. Mortimer had ſo entirely engroſſed the adminiſtration of affairs,

moſt of the principal people were at his devotion. He was continually attended by a great number of armed knights and their followers, and had even ſurrounded the throne itſelf with his emiſſaries, who acted as ſpies on the behaviour of the king and his friends.

Theſe were difficulties that might have deterred a prince of leſs fortitude than Edward; but he was a ſtranger to fear, and determined, at all events, to carry his deſign into execution. He communicated his intentions to William Lord Montacute, and ſeveral other noblemen, all of whom promiſed their aſſiſtance, and it was determined to ſeize Mortimer during the ſeſſion of parliament, which was ſummoned to meet in a few days at Nottingham. In order to this, it was agreed, that Edward ſhould occupy the caſtle of Nottingham, which would enable them to carry on their deſigns with more ſafety and ſucceſs; but on their arrival, they found it already occupied by Mortimer, Iſabella and their attendants, one or two apartments only being left for the king. It was now ſufficiently evident, that it would be impoſſible to execute their deſign without the aſſiſtance of Sir William Eland, the governor of the caſtle. Lord Montacute was therefore ſent to gain him over to their party, which was effected with great facility, that gentleman joyfully embracing an opportunity of ſhewing at once his affection for the perſon of his ſovereign, and his deteſtation of thoſe, who by their infamous conduct, had brought their country to the brink of deſtruction. But at the ſame time, he informed Montacute that it would be impracticable for him to admit any aſſiſtance by the common entry, the caſtle being ſtrictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen. He, however, recollected that there was a ſubterraneous paſſage formerly contrived as a ſecret outlet to the fortreſs, but then concealed by an heap of rubbiſh. Through this cavern therefore he undertook to conduct the confederates to Mortimer's apartment. The rubbiſh was accordingly removed, and the paſſage being clear, they proceeded till they came to the apartment of Mortimer, which they immediately entered, and having forcibly ſeized his perſon, ſent him under a ſtrong guard to the Tower of London.

The next day the parliament was broke up at Nottingham, and the members ordered to aſſemble at Weſtminſter in order to try the tyrannical Mortimer. At the ſame time a proclamation was iſſued out for all perſons who had any complaints to prefer againſt him, to appear before that aſſembly, in order to obtain redreſs for all their grievances. Nor was juſtice long deferred. The firſt buſineſs that engaged the attention of the national aſſembly was the impeachment of the tyrannical Mortimer. The accuſation was immediately drawn up, and conſiſted of nine articles, which contained many high crimes and miſdemeanors. Among others, he was accuſed of having uſurped the regal power from the council of regency appointed by the parliament; of having procured the death of the late king; of having deceived the earl of Kent into a conſpiracy to reſtore that prince; of having ſolicited and obtained exorbitant grants of the royal demeſnes; of having diſſipated the public treaſure; of ſecreting for his own uſe twenty thouſand marks of the money paid by the king of Scotland; and of having repaired to the parliament with an armed force, diſturbed their deliberations, and threatened ſeveral of the members with death. Theſe facts being all notorious, it was thought unneceſſary to call witneſſes; and Mortimer was condemned to ſuffer as a traitor, without being admitted to make his defence. The ſentence was executed on the twenty-ninth of November, at a place called the Elms, about a mile from London, where this once powerful nobleman was hanged on a gibbet like a common malefactor. The queen was confined to her houſe in the neighbourhood of London, and her revenue reduced to four thouſand pounds per annum. The king conſtantly viſited her once or twice a year, during the remainder of her life; but ſhe never recovered the leaſt degree of power or authority in the ſtate.

A. D. 1331. Edward, having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, determined to purſue ſuch meaſures as might reſtore happineſs and tranquillity to his kingdom. The people had long formed the moſt pleaſing ideas of his great abilities for government; and the firſt acts of his adminiſtration convinced them their hopes were not formed on a chimerical baſis. He reſumed all the grants that had been made of the royal demeſnes during his minority, and rewarded thoſe who had aſſiſted him in ſeizing the ambitious Mortimer. He remitted the fines and confiſcations that had been awarded againſt thoſe barons who oppoſed the deſtructive meaſures of that miniſter; reverſed the ſentence of attainder that had been paſſed againſt the earl of Kent, reſtored his ſon to the family eſtate and honours, and his widow to the enjoyment of her jointure. He removed the ſheriffs that had been appointed by Mortimer, and placed others in their ſtead; diſpatched orders to the judges to adminiſter ſtrict juſtice to all perſons without delay, notwithſtanding any letters that might have been procured from the crown to the contrary, and purſued every other meaſure that appeared moſt conducive towards the well-governing of the nation.

But there were many other diſorders, beſides thoſe which had crept into the adminiſtration of public affairs, and which equally required the abilities and firmneſs of Edward to remove. The kingdom was infeſted with numerous bands of robbers, who, taking advantage of the late commotions, had ſet the power of the magiſtrates at defiance, and exerciſed, with impunity, their lawleſs depredations. They were even openly protected by the great barons, who employed them againſt their enemies. It was therefore previouſly neceſſary to deſtroy this alarming connection before the evil could be removed. Accordingly Edward exacted a ſolemn promiſe from his barons, aſſembled in parliament, to break off all connections with ſuch malefactors, as a diſgrace to nobility. He iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all juſts and tournaments, which ſerved as a plauſible pretence for aſſembling great numbers of armed men, to the diſturbance of the public tranquillity, and the terror of the peaceable inhabitants. After taking theſe neceſſary meaſures, he marched in perſon againſt the robbers; and by his courage and activity, the more powerful troops were broken and diſperſed; many were taken and executed, and great numbers flew for ſafety to the continent.

The example of the king was followed by all thoſe appointed to adminiſter juſtice. Theſe were indefatigable in diſcovering and purſuing criminals, whom they ſeverely puniſhed accordingly to their reſpective crimes. Thus was the great evil, which had ſo long ſubſiſted in a ſhort time removed,

moved, the ſafety of travellers ſecured, and peace and tranquillity reſtored to the kingdom.

A. D. 1332. In the beginning of this year a confederacy was formed by ſome of the Engliſh barons for placing Edward Baliol on the throne of Scotland, the cauſe of which, with the particulars attending it, are as follows. Robert Bruce died ſoon after the peace made between the Engliſh and Scots by Mortimer, leaving his ſon David, then a minor, under the guardianſhip of the earl of Murray. Among other articles in that treaty, it was ſtipulated, that both the Scottiſh nobility, who enjoyed lands in England before the commencement of the war, and the Engliſh, who enjoyed eſtates in Scotland, ſhould be reſtored to their reſpective poſſeſſions. Edward ſtrictly performed his part of the treaty; but Robert had refuſed to follow the example of the Engliſh monarch. It would have been in vain for the Engliſh barons to have attempted any other method for redreſs but that of petition, while Robert ſwayed the Scottiſh ſceptre; but the feeble ſtate of the kingdom under a minority induced them to enter into an aſſociation for recovering their rights. Lord Beaumont, who was at the head of this confederacy, claimed the earldom of Buchan in Scotland; and propoſed, as the moſt effectual method of obtaining juſtice, to invite Edward Baliol, ſon to John Baliol then in England, to make an attempt for recovering his father's throne.

Young Baliol, who, ever ſince the death of his father, had lived on his patrimonial eſtate in Normandy, little thought of ever attempting to revive the claims of his family to the crown of Scotland; but the propoſal was too flattering to be refuſed. He therefore readily engaged in the enterprize, and joining the diſcontented barons, they applied themſelves to ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to facilitate their deſigns.

As ſoon as the Scots were informed of theſe proceedings, they immediately made application to Edward for aſſiſtance; but the Engliſh monarch was too prudent to engage openly in the deſign, though he ſecretly encouraged the undertaking of Baliol, and blew the ſparks of civil diſcord into a flame. At this time Scotland was in a very feeble condition. Murray, the late regent, had ſome time paid the debt of nature; and lord Douglas (who, as well as Murray often led the Scots to victory) diſdaining a life of indolence and eaſe, had paſſed over to the continent, where he periſhed in a battle againſt the Moors.

Baliol and the diſcontented barons having raiſed a body of forces, embarked near Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, and in a few days reached the coaſt of Fife. On their approaching the ſhore, they perceived a body of the militia, commanded by Sir Alexander Seaton, drawn up on the beach to oppoſe their landing; but this, however, they effected by dint of reſolution, and fell on the Scottiſh forces with ſuch fury that they were totally defeated, and their general himſelf, with near a thouſand of his men, ſlain on the ſpot.

Elated at this firſt ſucceſs of their enterprize, the Engliſh marched to Dumfermling, where they ſeized a magazine of arms and proviſions. Here Baliol took a review of his little army, which he found fell ſhort of three thouſand men. But this did not intimidate him: he wanted neither valour nor activity; and therefore, leaving Dumfermling, marched at the head of his forces into the heart of the country, flattering himſelf with receiving aſſiſtance from the old partizans of his family.

In the mean time Donald earl of Marre, who had ſucceeded Murray in the regency, collected an army of near 40,000 men, and advanced to meet the enemy. But he was greatly inferior in military abilities to his predeceſſor, having neither prudence nor intrepidity; ſo that all his motions were ill-judged, and he obſerved no order in the encampment of his army.

Baliol being informed that the earl of Marre was encamped with his forces at a place called Gladſmuir, on the bank of the river Earn, determined to attack him, and hazard the fate of his enterprize in a ſingle battle. He accordingly marched with all expedition at the head of his forces and paſſing the ſtream of the ſmall river Duplin, fell ſo unexpectedly on the Scottiſh forces during the night, that they were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and driven from their camp with great ſlaughter.

From this ſucceſs the Engliſh flattered themſelves with having obtained a complete victory; but they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken, for early the next morning ſome of Baliol's officers aſcending an eminence to ſurvey the country, perceived the Scottiſh army (who had recovered from the panic into which they were thrown the preceding night) advancing towards them in three diviſions. In conſequence of this intelligence, the Engliſh immediately flew to arms, and, poſting themſelves in a narrow defile, reſolutely waited the approach of the enemy.

The Scots, exaſperated at their late defeat by ſo ſmall a body of forces in compariſon with their own, advanced to the attack with the utmoſt precipitation, without regarding ſome broken ground which lay between them and the Engliſh. But they were ſoon convinced of their folly; their ranks were diſordered, and the ſecond diviſion preſſing upon the firſt, threw the whole into ſuch confuſion, that they became an eaſy prey to the Engliſh. Above twelve thouſand of the Scots fell in the battle: and among them the flower of their nobility, particularly the regent himſelf, Robert Bruce, a natural ſon of the late king; the earls of Athole and Montieth; and the lords Hay, Keith, and Lindſey.

Theſe repeated ſucceſſes ſo animated Baliol that he advanced with his army to Perth, which he entered without oppoſition, and immediately repaired the fortifications. But he had hardly compleated this buſineſs, when the earl of Marche, and Sir Archibald Douglas, at the head of 40,000 men, inveſted the place by land, reſolving, if they could not reduce the place by any other means, to effect it by ſtarving the enemy. For this purpoſe they had collected a few veſſels, under the command of one John Crabbe, a Flemiſh ſailor, in order to block up the place by water. But this ſcheme was ſoon rendered abortive; for the Engliſh ſquadron, then lying at the mouth of the Tay to ſupply Baliol's army with proviſions, drove Crabbe from his ſtation, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the greater part of his ſhips.

From this overthrow the Scottiſh generals perceived it would be in vain to continue the blockade of Perth: they therefore abandoned the enterprize, made a retreat, and diſbanded their forces. In conſequence of this the greater part of the nobility and gentry of Scotland repaired to Perth, in order to make their ſubmiſſion to Baliol. The young king David and his queen were ſent to France, and, on the 27th of September, Baliol was crowned king of Scotland.

But Baliol did not long enjoy the crown he had ſo eaſily obtained; for having imprudently

diſmiſſed the greater part of his Engliſh followers, he was driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to ſeek protection in England.

A. D. 1333. Baliol had not long been in England, when the conduct of the Scots gave Edward juſt reaſon to break the peace which had been made with them by Mortimer, and to exert himſelf in favour of Baliol. Elated with their late ſucceſs againſt their new king, and allured by the hopes of plunder, the Scots broke into Cumberland, and laid great part of the country waſte with fire and ſword. In conſequence of this Edward immediately ſent Sir Anthony Lacy, with a conſiderable body of forces, to repel the inſurgents. This buſineſs he effected with great ſucceſs, the invaders being defeated, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat to their own country.

Douglas, the regent, was alarmed at the proceedings of Edward, and ſpared neither entreaties, excuſes nor ſubmiſſions, to divert the gathering ſtorm that threatened the deſtruction of his country. But all his efforts were in vain: Edward liſtened only to the voice of ambition.

Having raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, Edward marched into Scotland, and opened the campaign with the ſiege of Berwick. That place was conſidered by the Scots as the moſt important in their country, and the regent had accordingly furniſhed it with a ſtrong garriſon under the command of Sir William Keith; while himſelf headed a numerous army on the frontiers, in order to penetrate into England, as ſoon as the caſtle of Berwick ſhould be inveſted by Edward. The ſiege continued near two months, when great part of the fortifications being demoliſhed, the garriſon agreed to capitulate, if not relieved in five days. Theſe terms were accepted, and a meſſenger diſpatched to Sir Archibald Douglas, informing him of the conditions, and preſſing him to march immediately to their relief, without which they muſt be compelled to give up the town, and ſurrender themſelves priſoners to the enemy.

The great importance of Berwick, and the impatience of his forces to be led againſt the Engliſh, determined Douglas to comply with the requeſt of the garriſon. He accordingly marched to their relief, and drew up his forces at the foot of Halidown hill, in ſight of the Engliſh camp. Douglas divided his army into four bodies, each of which was headed by one of the principal nobility of Scotland. The Engliſh were alſo drawn up in four ſeparate bodies, and both wings flanked with archers; and in this diſpoſition Edward waited the attack of the enemy, who began to aſcend the hill with great impetuoſity about five in the afternoon; but the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, the weight of their armour, the inceſſant ſhowers of arrows diſcharged from the bows of the Engliſh, and the large ſtones rolled down after them, ſoon checked their career. They ſuddenly made a halt; and their general, being that inſtant tranſfixed with an arrow, fell lifeleſs to the ground.

This incident threw the Scottiſh forces into the utmoſt confuſion, which being perceived by Edward, he determined to take advantage of it, and accordingly ordered lord D'Arcy, at the head of a body of light-armed infantry, to charge them in flank, while himſelf attacked their front with a detachment of veterans. The Scottiſh knights, in order to render the action more ſteady and deſperate, had diſmounted from their horſes, but they could not ſtand the ſhock of the Engliſh. A compleat victory was ſoon obtained by Edward, and ſuch of the Scots as eſcaped the ſword, were obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight. Near thirty thouſand of the Scots fell in the action, and all their knights were either ſlain or taken priſoners. The town and caſtle of Berwick immediately ſurrendered; and Edward, after leaving a conſiderable part of his army with Baliol, returned to England.

It was now impoſſible for the Scots to oppoſe the power of Baliol: the principal part of their nobility were loſt, their army greatly reduced, their king in France, and their regent ſlain. Submiſſion, therefore, was their only reſource. Baliol, after leaving a ſtrong garriſon in Berwick, marched with his forces through the principal parts of the country; and all the caſtles, except thoſe of Dumbarton, Urquhart, and two or three others, which were deemed impregnable, opened their gates at the firſt ſummons.

A. D. 1334. In conſequence of theſe ſucceſſes Baliol, in order to place himſelf ſubſtantially in the ſeat of power, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh on the 10th of February. In this aſſembly Baliol was acknowledged king, and the Scottiſh nobility ſwore fealty to him: the ſuperiority of England was again recognized: Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and all the ſouth-eaſt counties of Scotland were declared to be for ever annexed to the crown of England; and the diſcontented Engliſh barons were put into immediate poſſeſſion of the eſtates they claimed in Scotland.

The proceedings of this aſſembly greatly irritated the Scots, who determined, as ſoon as poſſible, to purſue ſuch meaſures as might render them abortive. Nor was it long before an opportunity offered which encouraged them to attempt their deſign. Baliol, thinking himſelf ſufficiently ſecure on the throne, diſmiſſed his Engliſh troops, and ſent them to their own country; in conſequence of which the Scots immediately flew to arms, renounced their fealty to Baliol, ſwore allegiance to Bruce, and elected Sir Andrew Murray regent of the kingdom.

A. D. 1335. Several ſkirmiſhes took place between the forces under the command of Murray, and thoſe of Baliol, in moſt of which the former was victorious; and Baliol, finding his intereſt greatly decline, applied for aſſiſtance to the Engliſh monarch, who accordingly made preparations for again invading Scotland.

Having raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, Edward proceeded to Berwick, from whence he purſued his march, without oppoſition, into the very heart of the country, the Scots having abandoned all the plains on his approach, and retired to their mountains and faſtneſſes. Knowing it would be in vain to purſue them, Edward marched to Perth, from whence he ſent a detachment of his forces, under the command of his brother John of Eltham and Sir Anthony Lacy, to ravage the weſtern counties, which were principally inhabited by the adherents of Bruce.

In the mean time the Scots who had retired to their mountains, having greatly increaſed in numbers, determined to hazard a battle, and leaving their faſtneſſes, marched with all expedition againſt the Engliſh. The two armies no ſooner met than a bloody engagement took place, which was maintained, for ſome time, with great obſtinacy on both ſides; but at length victory declared in favour of the Engliſh, prodigious numbers of the Scots were ſlain on the field of battle, and the reſt

reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

This defeat ſtruck ſuch a damp on the ſpirits of Bruce's adherents, that they determined not to make any farther oppoſition, but immediately ſubmit themſelves, and ſolicit the Engliſh monarch for a peace. Accordingly application was made to Edward, who, as the ſeaſon was then far advanced, liſtened to their requeſt, and a treaty of peace was concluded on the following conditions: "That the Scottiſh noblemen ſhould receive a free pardon for all former offences; that they ſhould enjoy their lands, honours and offices in Scotland, and be reſtored to their Engliſh poſſeſſions which had been forfeited: That all the privileges and franchiſes of the kirk and boroughs of Scotland ſhould continue unaltered and inviolable: That none but natives ſhould be put into the offices of that crown and kingdom, excepting in ſome particular caſes where their king, Edward Baliol, ſhould make uſe of his prerogative in favour of perſons of another nation." It was alſo agreed, "That Edward Baliol ſhould enjoy the crown of Scotland during his natural life; and that, at his death, it ſhould deſcend to David Bruce, who, in the mean time, ſhould reſide in London, and be maintained at the expence of the Engliſh monarch, in a manner conſiſtent with his dignity as heir to the Scottiſh throne."

Hoſtilities being thus terminated, Edward ordered the fortifications at Perth to be repaired, and the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling to be rebuilt. He alſo appointed the earl of Athol guardian of the northern parts of the kingdom; and, leaving a part of his forces for the protection of Baliol, returned with the remainder to England.

But the peace thus made with the Scots was of ſhort duration. They had, indeed, ſubmitted to Edward, but were far from being reconciled to their condition, and only watched for a favourable opportunity of ſhaking off a yoke to which neceſſity alone had compelled them to ſubmit. Nor was it long before this opportunity offered. The earl of Athol, inſtead of ſoothing the Scots, and applying lenients to heal the wounds of their country, treated them with rigour; and the caſtle of Kildrummy, in which the regent's wife had ſhut herſelf up, having ſtill refuſed to open its gates to the Engliſh, the guardian imprudently beſieged the fortreſs. This action awakened all the pride and anger of the Scots: the earl of Marche and Sir William Douglas haſtened immediately to the relief of the fortreſs, attacked the beſiegers with the utmoſt impetuoſity, routed them with great ſlaughter, and the earl of Athol himſelf fell among the ſlain.

Animated with this ſucceſs, the Scots inveſted ſeveral other caſtles; the ſtandard of war was again diſplayed, and forces were collected in every part of the kingdom. But before Edward could again march againſt them, the king of France interpoſed, and a truce was concluded till the ninth of May, in the enſuing year.

A. D. 1336. This truce was conſidered both by the Engliſh and Scots, as a prelude to a final peace, and accordingly conferences were opened in the beginning of the ſpring at Newcaſtle; but Philip de Valois (who then filled the throne of France, and had found the diſſentions between the Scots and Engliſh to his own intereſt) gave ſuch inſtructions to his envoys, that though they appeared as mediators between the contending parties, they omitted no opportunity of embarraſſing the parties concerned in the negociation, and rendering the intended treaty abortive. At length the French envoys told them, that their maſter would never abandon the cauſe of the unfortunate and injured David Bruce, but would ſupport him to the utmoſt of his power. Theſe promiſes ſo elated the Scottiſh deputies, that they inſiſted on terms which could not be accepted by Edward, who immediately broke off the treaty in great rage, and both parties made great preparations for deciding the conteſt by the ſword.

Edward had acquired ſuch popularity by having enacted ſeveral excellent laws for the promotion of commerce, and general welfare of his people, that the parliament readily granted him ſuch ſupplies as were neceſſary for carrying on the war againſt the Scots. Accordingly, having raiſed a powerful army, and given the command to Henry, ſon of the old earl of Lancaſter, he ordered them to aſſemble at Berwick, a ſhort time before the expiration of the truce lately made with the Scots.

Having given theſe orders Edward ſummoned a parliament to meet at Northampton, in order to take into conſideration the neceſſary meaſures to be purſued for oppoſing the deſigns of the French monarch, who had not only ſent a body of forces to the aſſiſtance of the Scots, but had likewiſe threatened to invade England. During their deliberations Edward received advice that Murray, the regent, had taken the field, reduced the caſtle of St. Andrew's, and proceeded with his forces to inveſt that of Stirling. Alarmed at this intelligence, he immediately repaired to Berwick, where he was joined by his troops, and the next day marched to Perth.

As ſoon as Edward's arrival was known, the Scots made a vigorous aſſault upon the caſtle of Stirling, in which Sir William Keith the governor was ſlain; but being repulſed in this attempt with great loſs, and hearing that Edward was advancing to the relief of the place, they abandoned the enterprize, and retired to their faſtneſſes to avoid a general engagement.

Edward now took his rout through Athol to Inverneſs, and from thence to the ſhire of Murray, which he laid deſolate. The town of Aberdeen was reduced to aſhes, and Edward, after deſtroying the principal places in the northern parts of Scotland, returned with his army to Perth, where, after ſtaying a ſhort time, he left a part of his forces with Baliol, and returned to England.

A. D. 1337. Edward had, for ſome time, entertained notions of engaging in an enterprize of much greater importance than that of ſubduing the Scots, and was now determined, if poſſible, to carry his deſign into execution. He accordingly ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter on the 3d of March, when he declared his reſolution of invading France, and endeavouring to wreſt from Philip de Valois that crown of which he conceived himſelf to be the true heir as next in blood to the late king *.

Edward

* Charles the Fair, who died in 1328, having left no male children, Philip de Valois, his couſin-german, and firſt prince of the blood, was unanimouſly acknowledged his ſucceſſor. As Charles left ſeveral daughters great diſputes had taken place relative to the ſucceſſion, but it was at length decided, according to the Salic Law, that all females ſhould be excluded the

Edward was greatly encouraged in this reſolution by Robert d'Artois, a prince of the blood of France, who having been condemned in conſequence of a forgery he had committed, took refuge in England. This prince bore the moſt implacable hatred to Philip, and therefore uſed the moſt forcible arguments to prevail on Edward to declare war againſt France, in order to ſupport his title to that crown.

Philip, being informed of the advice given by Robert d'Artois to the Engliſh monarch, immediately iſſued out a proclamation, offering a reward for his perſon, and at the ſame time confiſcating all his poſſeſſions in France. He likewiſe declared that every vaſſal of the crown, whether within or without the kingdom, who gave countenance to that traitor, ſhould, if apprehended, be put to death. The meaning of this menace was eaſily conceived by Edward, who immediately made preparations for invading France, and removing Philip, whom he conſidered as an uſurper, from the throne of that kingdom.

In order to ſecure ſucceſs in the intended enterprize, Edward determined to form alliances with the princes of the Low Countries, and on the frontiers of Germany; and therefore engaged in his ſervice the earl of Hainault, the duke of Brabant, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the duke of Guelders, and the princes of ſeveral other provinces. He, however, did not think this confederacy ſufficiently formidable: he was deſirous of obtaining the aſſiſtance of the Flemings, but ſome difficulties attended this acquiſition. The Flemings, who, by their arts and manufactures, had acquired riches and ſome ſhare of independence, had riſen in tumults, inſulted the nobility, driven their earl into France, and determined to free themſelves from every ſpecies of tyranny. The leader of theſe popular inſurrections was one Jacob Van Ardevelt, a rich brewer of Ghent, who governed the people in a more arbitrary manner than any of their lawful ſovereigns. He never appeared in the ſtreets without a guard of fourſcore perſons, who, from the leaſt ſignal given by their leader murdered any perſon who happened to fall under his diſpleaſure. Whatever he thought proper to propoſe in the aſſembly of the ſtates was never contradicted, becauſe every member feared his power. Edward courted the aſſiſtance of this ferocious leader, who refuſed to join in the alliance, unleſs he would aſſume the title of king of France, in order to remove the ſcruples of the Flemings, who made ſome heſitation on account of their doubts relative to the legal ſucceſſor to the French diadem.

Edward agreed to the propoſal made by Ardevelt, who, in conſequence thereof, politely invited him to come over to Flanders. About the ſame time Edward received from the emperor Lewis of Bavaria the title of "Vicar of the Empire," that he might appear to have a right of command over the German princes.

Every thing now portended an immediate rupture between the crowns of France and England. Philip invaded Guienne, and Edward ordered the duke of Brabant to demand, in his name, the crown of France, conſtituted him his lieutenant-general of that kingdom, and iſſued a proclamation, commanding the French, whom he called his ſubjects, to pay him obedience. Philip, having raiſed a conſiderable army, determined firſt to direct his arms againſt the Flemings, and to reinſtate the earl of Flanders in the poſſeſſion of that country. But Edward ſent a large body of forces to join his new allies, under the command of the earls of Derby and Suffolk, in order to render the deſigns of Philip abortive. The Engliſh, on their arrival on the coaſt, were informed that Guy de Rickenbourgh, natural brother to the earl of Flanders, had taken poſſeſſion of the iſle of Cadſant, in order to cut off all communication by ſea to Bruges and Ghent. It was therefore reſolved to drive him from that advantageous poſt. Guy, who was prepared for the attack, gave them a very warm reception; but the Engliſh, after an obſtinate diſpute, made good their landing, when a bloody battle enſued, in which the earl of Derby was thrown from his horſe, and would, in all probability, have been killed or taken priſoner, had he not been reſcued by Sir Walter Manny, a valiant knight of Hainault, who, at the head of a body of horſe, charged the enemy with the utmoſt fury, and took Guy de Rickenbourgh priſoner. The loſs of their leader ſtruck the French with conſternation; they immediately fell into confuſion, and were routed with prodigious ſlaughter. This victory filled Ardevelt and his party with joy; and the Flemings ſent a meſſage to Edward, preſſing him to come over without delay, and head the allied army in perſon.

A. D. 1338. Edward, having raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, and taken every prudent meaſure he could for the ſafety of his kingdom during his abſence, embarked for the continent with a fleet of 300 ſhips, accompanied by many of the chief nobility of England; and, after a quick and eaſy paſſage, landed at Antwerp, the capital city belonging to John duke of Brabant. But the ſeaſon being too far advanced, Edward did not take the field till the enſuing ſpring, when he marched at the head of 40,000 men, and encamped between Marchiennes and Douay. He had not, however, been long in this ſituation before he received advice that Philip was advancing, with a formidable army, to give him battle, in conſequence of which he immediately broke up his camp, and marched with all expedition to meet the enemy.

The two armies ſoon came within ſight of each other, and having formed their reſpective encampments, remained in that ſtate for ſix days, neither party ſeeming deſirous to come to action. At length Edward ſent an herald to Philip offering him battle, which being accepted, the following Friday was the day appointed for deciding the quarrel. But while both parties were preparing with equal ardor for the engagement, Philip received a letter from Robert king of Naples (who was eſteemed a great aſtrologer) foretelling him ill ſucceſs whenever he ſhould fight the Engliſh. This ſo operated on the mind of Philip, that though Edward, on the day appointed, drew out his

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the ſovereignty. Edward, as ſon to Iſabella, ſiſter to the late king, claimed his right to the crown of France, notwithſtanding he had done homage for Guienne to Philip de Valois, and by that act acknowledged him as ſuperior lord. But an unjuſt cauſe ceaſes to appear ſuch when there is reaſon to hope for ſucceſs. Opportunity determines the conduct of the greater part of mankind; and that now offering Edward was determined to embrace it, and, if poſſible, make himſelf maſter of the throne of France; to which it is to be obſerved, he was more ſtrongly induced, in order to puniſh Philip for having taken part with the Scots.

his forces early in the morning in order of battle, the former declined coming to an engagement. In conſequence of which Edward, the next day, wheeled off towards Aviſnes for the ſake of a more convenient ſituation, and ſent word to Philip that he would wait for him all Sunday in order of battle. This, however, was a challenge the French king did not think proper to accept. On the contrary, he broke up his camp, and after fortifying his frontier towns with ſtrong garriſons, returned with his forces to Paris; in conſequence of which Edward retreated, put his German troops into winter quarters, and marched with his own forces to Bruſſels.

Edward had entered into engagements with the duke of Brabant to ſtay in the Low Countries till the war ſhould be ended; but he found it impoſſible to fulfil his promiſe. His abſence had occaſioned many diſorders in England, where bands of robbers diſturbed the peace of the nation; and the adherents of Bruce had not only recovered what they had loſt in Scotland, but alſo invaded the northern counties of England. Theſe were ſufficient reaſons for Edward's leaving the continent; but, in order to ſatisfy the duke of Brabant, who ſtrongly objected to his departure, he left him four Engliſh lords (beſides his queen, who was at Antwerp) as pledges for his return.

A. D. 1340. Having thus ſettled matters for the preſent on the continent, Edward embarked for England, and, on the 21ſt of February landed at Harwich. He immediately proceeded to London, and the next day iſſued out writs for aſſembling a parliament at Weſtminſter on the 29th of March. The members, at this meeting, ſhewed an uncommon alacrity in aſſiſting their monarch, and providing for the ſecurity of the realm againſt all invaders. They granted the king a large ſupply for carrying on the war with France; and orders were iſſued for fortifying Southampton and the Iſle of Wight; for fitting out a fleet of one hundred and fifty ſail to protect the coaſts; for ſending ſupplies of proviſions to the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and for raiſing bodies of foot and horſe to defend the marches of Scotland. In grateful return for theſe ſingular marks of affection Edward granted a full remiſſion of all debts due to the crown, and of all proſecutions on foreſt-treſpaſſes ſince his acceſſion to the throne; to which he likewiſe added a confirmation of the two great charters.

While Edward was making the neceſſary preparations for returning to the continent, he received advice from the duke of Gueldres, that the French had got together a powerful fleet to intercept him in his paſſage. In conſequence of this upwards of forty ſail of large ſhips were immediately fitted out for his convoy, and furniſhed with every article neceſſary to withſtand the attack of an enemy.

All things being ready, Edward embarked with his forces early in the morning of the 23th of June, attended by the principal nobility of his kingdom. The next day they eſpied the French fleet in the harbour of Sluys upon which Edward, after giving orders for making preparations to engage, ſent ſome knights on ſhore to bring him an account of their numbers; but they returned with their intelligence ſo late, that he could not begin the engagement that evening, and his fleet was obliged to lay all night at anchor.

Early the next morning Edward ſaw the enemy's fleet lying about a mile from the harbour, and ranged in three diviſions, each under the command of an admiral. In conſequence of this he immediately drew up his ſhips in like order, placing the largeſt in the firſt line, well provided with archers and men at arms. The ſecond diviſion was ordered to keep at ſome diſtance to windward, and prevent the firſt from being encloſed by the enemy; and the third was reſerved for the protection of the tranſports, which were loaded with baggage and military ſtores.

Having thus formed the line of battle, and obtained the weather-gage, Edward bore down upon the enemy, and a deſperate engagement enſued, which laſted from ten in the morning till ſeven at night. The ſhips engaged yard-arm and yard-arm with incredible fury, and the Engliſh noblemen and knights exerted all their power in ſignalizing themſelves under the eye of their ſovereign, who animated them by his own example. The Engliſh archers made a terrible ſlaughter among the French and Genoeſe, and the men at arms attacked them at ſo cloſe quarters that multitudes, in deſpair, leaped over-board, and periſhed in the ſea. The firſt diviſion of the French was totally defeated, and the ſecond greatly diſordered, when admiral Morley arriving with ſome Flemiſh ſhips joined the Engliſh, and falling on the ſhattered ſquadrons of the enemy, bore down all oppoſition, ſo that Edward obtained a compleat victory.* Two of the French admirals, with upwards of 20,000 men, were ſlain, and the greater part of their largeſt ſhips taken; while the loſs on the part of the Engliſh amounted to about four thouſand. Edward received a ſlight wound in the thigh, and on that account remained all night on board his ſhip. The next day he landed with all his forces at Sluys, and immediately ſet out on his march to Ghent, where he found his queen had, a ſhort time before, been delivered of a ſon named John, and who was afterwards duke of Lancaſter.

The naval victory obtained by Edward over the French, added a luſtre to his power among the different allies; and he ſoon marched from Ghent at the head of an army of 150,000 men, compoſed of Engliſh, Germans, Flemings and Gaſcons. The firſt attempt was the ſiege of Tournay, which Edward had no ſooner inveſted than he detached 50,000 men, under the command of Robert D'Artois, with orders to poſt himſelf near St. Omer's to prevent any aſſiſtance from that garriſon in behalf of the beſieged. Robert's troops were chiefly compoſed of tradeſmen, who had never faced an enemy, and were wholly ſtrangers to military diſcipline. From ſuch troops very little could be expected; and accordingly they were totally routed by a ſally from the garriſon, notwithſtanding the great abilities of their general.

This defeat, however, did not intimidate Edward, who puſhed the ſiege of Tournay with the utmoſt

* This defeat was conſidered in France as having given ſuch a fatal blow to the naval force of that kingdom, that none of Philip's courtiers durſt acquaint him with the loſs, till his buffoon diſcovered it to him by the following artful jeſt: Coming into the royal preſence, he cried out ſeveral times, "Cowardly Engliſhmen! Daſtardly Engliſhmen! Faint-hearted Engliſhmen!" The king aſked him what he meant by that exclamation? "Becauſe, ſaid he, they durſt not leap into the ſea as our gallant Frenchmen did."

utmoſt vigour, though the oppoſition he met with might have diſcouraged any other commander from continuing the attack*. At the end of ten weeks the city was reduced to great diſtreſs; and Philip, having collected a powerful army, advanced within a few miles of the Engliſh camp, not with a deſign to bring on a general engagement, but of being ready to aſſiſt the garriſon whenever an opportunity ſhould offer. Edward, exaſperated at the length of the ſiege, ſent an herald to Philip, challenging him to decide their claims to the crown of France by ſingle combat, by an action of an hundred againſt an hundred, or by a general engagement. Philip ſent for anſwer that a vaſſal was not entitled to challenge his liege lord; and that the propoſal was made on very unequal terms; but if he would put alſo the kingdom of England on the iſſue of the combat, he would willingly accept the challenge.

But theſe diſputes were terminated by the interference of the counteſs dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to Edward, and ſiſter to Philip, who employed her good offices for bringing about a peace between two perſons ſo nearly related to her. Her zeal produced a ſhort ceſſation of hoſtilities, and which the pope in vain endeavoured to convert into a peace; but the demands of Edward were too exorbitant to be admitted. He required that Philip ſhould free Guienne from all claims of ſuperiority, and entirely abandon any farther protection to the Scots. Theſe conditions were accordingly rejected by Philip; and a prolongation of the truce only was agreed to for one year.

Edward had not yet received any ſupplies from England, and being, therefore, unable to pay his allied forces, they abandoned the confederacy; ſo that finding nothing of moment could be tranſacted on the continent, he embarked with his queen for England, and after a dangerous paſſage, landed on the laſt day of November, about midnight, at the Tower of London.

The real cauſe of the monies not being ſent to Edward while on the continent, aroſe from the nature of the ſubſidy granted for that purpoſe by the parliament. It conſiſted of corn and wool, on account of the great ſcarcity of money, and theſe articles could not be collected and diſpoſed of ſoon enough to anſwer his exigencies. But Edward attributed the defect to the negligence of his miniſters, and therefore determined to make them examples of his reſentment. Accordingly the biſhop of Chicheſter, chancellor, and the biſhop of Litchfield, treaſurer, were deprived of their offices, and committed to priſon. The archbiſhop, who was prime-miniſter, dreading the like fate, retired immediately to Canterbury, and determined to defend himſelf by the weapons of the prelacy.

He accordingly convened a meeting of the clergy in that cathedral, and pronounced ſentence of excommunication againſt all who ſhould ſeize the perſons, lands, or goods of the clergy, or inform againſt a biſhop for any offence whatever.

A. D. 1341. The parliament met at Weſtminſter on the 23d of April, when the primate, who had received no ſummons to attend, preſented himſelf at the door of the houſe in his pontifical ornaments, and demanded admittance to his ſeat as the firſt peer of the realm. His requeſt was, however, denied for two ſucceſſive days, when Edward, fearful of the dangerous conſequences that might attend a quarrel with the clergy, prudently accepted ſome conceſſions made by the primate, who, in conſequence thereof, was again received into favour, and all animoſities buried in oblivion.

Soon after this an event happened which occaſioned the truce lately made between the kings of England and France to be broken, and hoſtilities again commenced. John III. duke of Britany, dying without iſſue, left his dominions to his neice Jane, married to Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France; but John de Montfort, brother to the late duke, laid claim to the duchy, and being determined, if poſſible, to ſupport his cauſe by ſome powerful alliance, applied to the king of England, offering to do him homage and acknowledge his title to the crown of France, if he would engage to aſſiſt him againſt Charles de Blois. This propoſal was readily embraced by Edward, in conſequence of which Montfort came over to the Engliſh court, and a formal alliance was concluded between him and Edward. As ſoon as this buſineſs was adjuſted Montfort returned to Nantes, where he ſoon after received a citation to attend the court of peers in France, in order to prove his title to Britany.

Montfort, ſuppoſing the treaty he had made with Edward was a profound ſecret, made no heſitation at obeying the ſummons, and accordingly repaired to Paris. But he was ſoon convinced of his error. Philip, at his firſt audience, plainly told him he had no right to Britany, and at the ſame time reproached him for having done homage to Edward, and entered into an alliance with a prince who was the profeſſed enemy of France. Montfort acknowledged his having paſſed over to England, but denied the charge of having done homage to Edward; adding, that he was ſatisfied of the goodneſs of his claim, and was ready to ſubmit to the judgment of his peers with regard to Britany. Philip told him his title ſhould be diſcuſſed within fourteen days, and enjoined him not to quit Paris, till the affair was adjuſted.

From this injunction Montfort was convinced he had every thing to fear, and therefore reſolved to make his eſcape. He accordingly left Paris during the night in the diſguiſe of a merchant, and reached Britany in ſafety. Philip was no ſooner informed of his eſcape, than, in a tranſport of rage and indignation, he inſtantly confiſcated the earldom of Montfort commanded the parliament of Paris, by his ſole authority, even without ſummoning the peers of France, or exhibiting any formal proceſs, to adjudge Britany to Charles de Blois; and the more effectually to carry the ſentence into execution, he ſupplied his nephew with a numerous army, under the command of his eldeſt ſon John duke of Normandy. Montfort, who was unable to face the French army in the field, ſhut himſelf up in Nantes, which was ſoon beſieged by the duke of Normandy. The city was ſtrongly fortified, and capable of holding out a conſiderable time againſt the enemy; but by the treachery of the inhabitants the city was delivered up, and Montfort being taken priſoner, was ſent to

* Tournay was, at that time, one of the nobleſt cities in Flanders, and contained above ſixty thouſand inhabitants. It was defended by a garriſon of fifteen thouſand men, commanded by Robert Butraud and Matthew de la Trie, marſhals of France; aſſiſted by the counts of Eu, Guiſnes, Foix, Narbonne, and other gallant noblemen, who were reſolved to periſh under the ruins of the city, rather than open their gates to the enemy.

to Paris, and confined in the great tower of the Louvre.

The captivity of Montfort ſeemed to put an end to all his pretenſions to Britany; but the heroic abilities and conjugal fidelity of his wife revived his drooping ſpirits, and animated his party with freſh life and vigour. Jane of Flanders, counteſs of Montfort, who then reſided at Rennes, no ſooner heard of the impriſonment of her huſband, than ſhe immediately convened an aſſembly of the inhabitants, appeared in the midſt of them with her infant ſon in her arms, and conjured them to preſerve from deſtruction the only remaining heir of that illuſtrious family who had ſo long held the ſceptre of Britany. Moved by the affecting appearance, and animated at the noble conduct of the princeſs, the whole aſſembly vowed to live and die with her in defending the rights of her family. The inhabitants of all the other fortified towns in Britany embraced the ſame reſolution. The counteſs went from place to place, encouraging the garriſons, providing them with every thing neceſſary for ſubſiſtence, and concerting their plans of defence, having done which ſhe ſhut herſelf up in Hennebonne, where ſhe waited with impatience the arrival of thoſe ſuccours promiſed by Edward. In the mean time ſhe ſent over her ſon to England, in order at once to provide him a place of ſafety, and engage the king more ſtrongly by ſuch a pledge, to embrace with zeal the intereſt of her family.

Perſuaded that the reduction of Hennebonne, together with the captivity of the counteſs, would put a final period to all oppoſition, Charles de Blois inveſted the place with a large army, compoſed of French, Spaniards and Genoeſe. The ſiege was carried on with the utmoſt vigour, and the place defended with a bravery that would have done honour to the beſt general of the age. The French were repulſed in every attack, and perpetually harraſſed with ſoldiers from the garriſon. The counteſs was foremoſt in every danger, and led her troops with the utmoſt prudence and intrepidity. Perceiving that the beſiegers, in making an aſſault upon one part of the town had neglected to ſecure a diſtant quarter of their camp, ſhe ſallied out at the head of two hundred horſe, made a dreadful ſlaughter, and ſet fire to their tents, baggage and magazines.

But notwithſtanding the noble defence made by the counteſs and her brave garriſon, the town was at length reduced to the utmoſt extremity. Several breaches were made in the walls, and the enemy was preparing for a general aſſault. It was now thought neceſſary to offer terms of capitulation, and the biſhop of Leon was actually ſent for that purpoſe to the camp of Charles de Blois; but the counteſs, who had mounted one of the towers of the fortreſs, diſcovering the Engliſh fleet coming to her aſſiſtance, immediately communicated the joyful tidings to the garriſon, and the biſhop of Leon was recalled.

The French were confounded when they ſaw the Engliſh enter the harbour, and laid aſide their deſign of making a general aſſault. The Engliſh forces conſiſted of a body of men at arms, and ſix thouſand archers, commanded by Sir Walter Manny, one of the beſt captains of the age. The courage of the garriſon was now revived, they readily joined the Engliſh in a ſally, drove the beſiegers from their poſt, and obliged them to retire with precipitation.

The counteſs, however, found that this reinforcement was not ſufficient to enable her to take the field againſt the enemy, and therefore determined to paſs over to England, in order to ſolicit in perſon more effectual ſuccours from Edward. Her requeſt was readily granted, and a more numerous reinforcement was immediately embarked under the command of Robert d'Artois, and the earl of Northampton. The counteſs herſelf returned in this fleet, which was attacked in the paſſage, by a French ſquadron commanded by prince Lewis of Spain. The counteſs behaved with her uſual intrepidity, and the action continued with great obſtinacy till night put an end to the conteſt; and before the morning appeared a dreadful ſtorm ſeparated the two fleets; but the Engliſh reached the harbour of Hennebonne in ſafety.

Soon after their arrival Robert D'Artois marched with his forces againſt Vannes, which he carried by aſſault; but being dangerouſly wounded was confined to his room, during which a party of the enemy attacked and retook the place by ſurprize. Robert, however, had the good fortune to eſcape to Hennebonne, from whence he embarked for England; but ſoon after his arrival died in London of the wounds he had received during the aſſault of Vannes.

Edward was ſo irritated againſt the French for the death of D'Artois, that he vowed the moſt ſevere revenge. Accordingly, having raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, he embarked at Sandwich on the 5th of October, and, after a very good paſſage, landed at Breſt. A few days after his arrival on the continent he laid ſiege to Vannes; but the place being then well fortified, he could not take it by ſtorm, and was therefore obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade.

While Edward lay before Vannes, the duke of Normandy appeared at the head of 40,000 men, whom he encamped in ſuch a manner as to cut off all proviſions from the Engliſh. In this dangerous ſituation Edward liſtened to the mediation of the pope's legate, and a truce was concluded for three years, which being ratified and confirmed on the 19th of January, 1343, Edward, a few days after, embarked for England.

This truce, however, was but of ſhort duration, owing to the conduct of Philip, who cruelly put to death ſome lords of Britany, under pretence of their being guilty of treaſon. Edward was ſo incenſed when he firſt heard of the fate of theſe noblemen, that he gave orders for beheading all the priſoners of Philip's party, but was prevailed on to recall the bloody ſentence by the remonſtrances of Henry, earl of Lancaſter. He, however, ſent for one of the principal captives, and told him with great emotion, that though the death of his countrymen beheaded at Paris, was a ſufficient reaſon for retailiating the ſame puniſhment on him and his fellow priſoners, yet he would not ſtain his reputation by imitating ſo bad an example; nor ſatiate his vengeance in the blood of the innocent; but would ſeverely puniſh the author of ſuch unparalleled treachery and barbarity.

A. D. 1344. Nor were theſe threats uttered in vain. Edward diſpatched the earl of Derby (ſon of Henry earl of Lancaſter, and one of the moſt accompliſhed noblemen of his time) at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, to begin hoſtilities in Guienne. For ſome time he was very ſucceſsful, and poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral places in the territories of the enemy. He attacked the count de Laille, the French general, who was en-

encamped at Bergarac, drove him from his entrenchments, and made himself master of the place. This success animated the English, and they proceeded in their conquests with the most astonishing rapidity.

In the mean time count de Laille, having collected an army of twelve thousand men, invested Auberauche, which had some time before fallen into the hands of the English. Derby hastened to relieve the place, and arriving near the camp of the enemy in the night, Sir Walter Manny proposed to attack the French immediately. His advice was followed with such secrecy and success, that the English entered one quarter of the French camp without resistance, and fell upon the enemy with such impetuosity, that the counts de Laille, Perigord and Valentinois, were taken prisoners in their tents, before they had time to recover from their surprize; and their troops seized with such a panic, that they fled with the utmost precipitation. The confusion was not, however, general. While one quarter was filled with disorder, the other, where the count de Cominges commanded, fled to arms and advanced against the enemy. Elated with success, the English attacked them with incredible fury, and the engagement became very bloody; when the garrison, alarmed by hearing the trumpets sound a general charge, and discovering by the light of the dawn the English ensigns, sallied out, attacked the French in flank, and put them to flight. Above seven thousand were slain, and twelve hundred taken prisoners, among whom were many noblemen and persons of distinction.

The earl of Derby having defeated the main forces of the French in these parts, and possessed himself of many considerable places, marched to Bourdeaux, where, putting his troops into winter quarters, he embarked for England, in order to procure fresh succours against the ensuing campaign.

A. D. 1345. In the beginning of this year John de Montfort, after having suffered a severe imprisonment in the castle of the Louvre, found means to make his escape in the disguise of a beggar, and coming over to England, where his countess and son then resided, did homage and swore fealty to Edward, as king of France, for the duchy of Britany. He then returned to that duchy, accompanied by the earls of Northampton and Oxford, with a considerable body of forces; and, taking the field early in the spring, reduced Dian and other fortresses on the sea-coast. This success encouraged him to invest Quimper-Corentin, which had been taken by Charles de Blois; but that competitor advancing with a numerous army to the relief of the place, he was obliged to raise the siege, and retired to Hennebonne, where he soon after died of a fever.

Soon after the death of Montfort, the earl of Derby arrived from England with eight thousand men at arms, and joining his forces with those of the earl of Northampton they took the field, and, in a short time, made themselves masters of several considerable places, particularly St. Basil, and St. Roche.

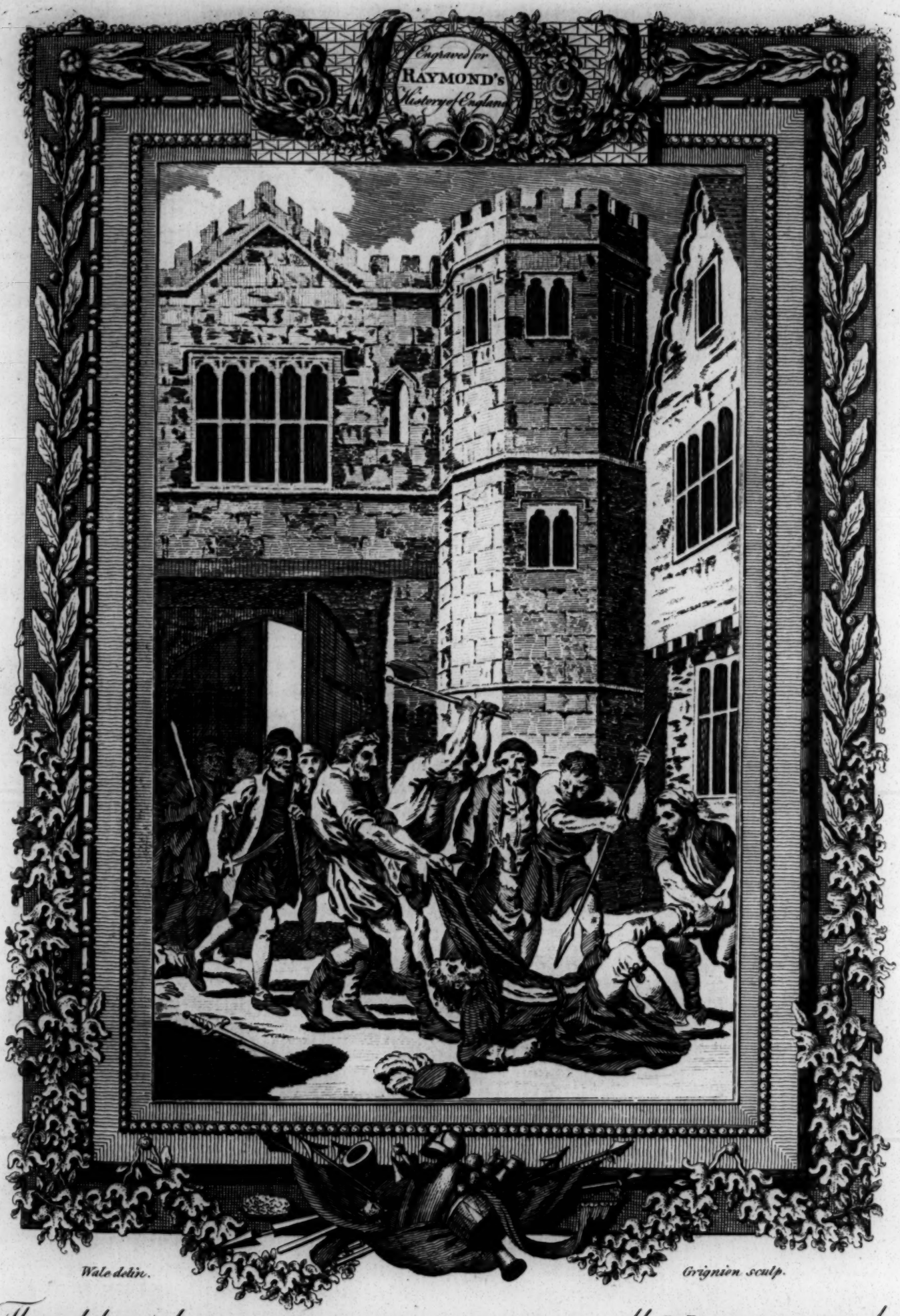
Alarmed at the progress of the English, Philip collected a numerous army, the command of which he gave to his son the duke of Normandy, assisted by the duke of Burgundy. In consequence of this, the earl of Derby, knowing how impolitic it would be to meet the French in the open field, determined to act on the defensive, and endeavour only to preserve the places already conquered. He therefore furnished all those that were fortified, with good garrisons, and large quantities of provisions and military stores; having done which he passed over to England, to inform Edward of the dangerous state of the provinces, and the proceedings of the French monarch.

A. D. 1346. Edward no sooner received the earl of Derby's report, than he immediately determined to head his army in person against the enemy; and accordingly summoned all his allies on the side of Flanders to furnish their quota of troops for the intended expedition. But here a disappointment took place little expected by Edward. The allies refused to fulfil their engagements, and Jacob Ardevelt, the popular leader of Ghent, who had been so strenuous in the cause of Edward, was no more. The circumstances which occasioned his death were as follow:

Desirous of transferring the government from the earls of Flanders to the prince of Wales, Ardevelt had proposed, in a meeting of the states, to insist that their count should renounce his alliance with Philip de Valois; and in case he persisted in maintaining that connection, that they should transfer their allegiance to young Edward, adding, that they had nothing to fear from the resentment of either their own sovereign or the king of France, as the English monarch was both able and willing effectually to support them. Astonished at this unexpected proposal, and afraid of contradicting so popular a leader, the states desired time to consult their constituents, as they had no authority to determine a question of such importance without their consent. The request was too reasonable to be denied, and the assembly broke up in great confusion. Ardevelt's enemies laid hold of this attempt to ruin him: they charged him with having embezzled considerable sums of the public money; and of having made large remittances to England, whither he intended to retire, in order to enjoy in tranquillity the riches he had procured by deceiving the people. The giddy multitude eagerly swallowed the bait prepared for them. The idol they had so long worshipped was now devoted to destruction: they thirsted for the blood of a person, for whose preservation, but a few weeks before, they would willingly have shed their own. Ardevelt soon felt the effects of this fatal change in the sentiments of the people. The enraged populace surrounded his house, forced the door, and, after having killed most of his guards, dragged him into the street, where he was cruelly hacked and murdered by his enraged and ferocious countrymen.

The death of Ardevelt, and the desertion of most of the German allies destroyed all hopes of Edward's being able to attack France on the side of Flanders. He therefore embarked at Portsmouth with his forces for Guienne; but was prevented from putting to sea by contrary winds. During this interval Godfrey de Harcourt, one of the most powerful noblemen of Normandy, and who, with several of his countrymen, had joined Edward, persuaded him to change his plan of operations, and, instead of landing in Guienne, to make a descent in Normandy, the inhabitants of which he represented as disaffected, degenerate and defenceless.

The advice of Harcourt being taken by Edward, as soon as the wind would permit he set sail from St. Helen's, and in two days landed without opposition at La Hogue, where he knighted his eldest



The celebrated JACOB VAN ARDEVELT *cruelly* MURDERED *by the Populace at* GHENT, *for having espoused the Cause of* EDWARD III. *King of England, against* PHILIP *of France.*

BRITISH MUSEUM
1864
JAN

eldeſt ſon the prince Wales, a youth then only ſixteen years of age.

The firſt thing Edward did was to deſtroy the ſhips at La Hogue, Barfleur and Cherbourgh; having done which he marched at the head of his forces to Valogne, and from thence to Carentan, both of which places readily opened their gates on his approach. From hence he proceeded to St. Lo, which ſubmitted after a faint reſiſtance, and, continuing his march, arrived in the neighbourhood of Caen, the capital of Lower Normandy. This place was defended by a large body of troops under command of count d'Eu, conſtable of France, and count Tankerville, chamberlain of Normandy. Theſe generals, confiding in their valour, ſallied out with their forces againſt the Engliſh; but met with ſo warm a reception that they were ſoon defeated. The two generals, with many knights and principal officers were taken priſoners, and the greater part of their forces put to the ſword. The Engliſh then entered the city, which they plundered of all its moſt valuable treaſures. The booty was conſiderable, the whole of which, together with all the perſons of diſtinction, was embarked, and ſent to England.

Though the city of Caen was taken, yet the caſtle ſtill held out; but Edward, thinking the reduction of it would be of little conſequence, left the place, and marched towards Rouen, the capital of Normandy. In his route he took the towns of Louvre and Liſieux; but on advancing to the banks of the Seine he found the bridge already broke down, and the French monarch poſted on the oppoſite ſide of the river, at the head of a prodigious army. Edward did every thing in his power to provoke Philip to battle. He laid the whole country waſte, and burnt the ſuburbs of Port l'Arche, Vernon, and Mullien. The ſame fate attended the noble palace of St. Germain; and ſome of the light troops carried their ravages into the very heart of the country. Edward made another attempt to paſs the Seine at Poiſſy, but met with the ſame diſappointment; the bridge was broken down, and Philip's army appeared on the oppoſite bank of the river. Some ſtratagem was therefore neceſſary to elude the vigilance of Philip. Accordingly the Engliſh monarch marched with great rapidity, farther up the Seine; but by a ſudden countermarch during the night, returned to Poiſſy, repaired the bridge, routed the militia left to guard the paſſage, croſſed the river, and advanced, with quick marches, towards Flanders. In this route he burnt the ſuburbs of Beauvais; and defeated, with great ſlaughter, the inhabitants of Amiens, who were marching to reinforce their king's army. But he ſoon found himſelf in a very dangerous ſituation: all the bridges that were over the Somme were either broken down, or ſtrongly guarded; and the whole country was in a moſt deſolate ſtate. Philip was alſo advancing againſt him at the head of 100,000 men; and Godemar de Faye was ſtationed on the oppoſite ſide of the Somme, with a numerous army, to obſerve his motions.

In order to extricate himſelf from this dangerous ſituation, Edward cauſed a reward to be offered to any perſon who would lead his army to a place where he might paſs the Somme; and a peaſant of Normandy, preferring riches to the ſafety of his country, pointed out a ford below Blanchetaque, where the ſtream was not above a foot in depth at low water. This diſcovery revived the courage of the Engliſh; they decamped at midnight, and reached the ford about ſun-riſing the next morning, a little before the tide of flood made up the river. The place exactly anſwered the deſcription given of it by the peaſant; but the oppoſite bank was guarded by Godemar de Faye, at the head of twelve thouſand men. This oppoſition was not, however, ſufficient to intimidate Edward, who, plunging himſelf into the ſtream, called out, "Let all who love me follow my example." Animated by the preſence and example of their ſovereign, the ſoldiers followed with the moſt amazing intrepidity. The French made a noble ſtand; but nothing was capable of ſtopping the career of the Engliſh: they were not intimidated by any oppoſition; and after a bloody diſpute, put the enemy to flight, and gained the oppoſite bank, juſt as the van of Philip's army appeared under the command of the king of Bohemia.

It is impoſſible to expreſs the vexation of Philip at this incident. He had traced the Engliſh many miles by the ſmoaking ruins left behind them, and thought himſelf ſure of overtaking the invaders. But it was in vain to repine; the tide of flood was made up the river, and rendered a paſſage impoſſible, while the Engliſh purſued their march without farther oppoſition.

After proceeding ſome miles, Edward, thinking it would be impoſſible to purſue his march over the extenſive plains of Picardy, without expoſing his van to inevitable deſtruction from the French cavalry, determined to make a halt, and venture a general engagement. He accordingly choſe an advantageous ſpot of ground near the village of Creſſy; and to ſecure his flank from the furious attacks of the French horſe, threw up a large entrenchment, and extended it round a ſmall wood, where he depoſited his baggage. Having taken theſe neceſſary precautions, he drew up his army on a ſmall eminence, and divided it into three lines. The firſt was commanded by the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, Geoffrey Harcourt of Normandy, the lords Stafford, Chandois, Delaware, Holland and Cobham, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. This line conſiſted of eight hundred men at arms, four thouſand archers, and ſix thouſand Welſhmen. The ſecond line was commanded by the earls of Arundel and Northampton, aſſiſted by the lords Willoughby, Roſs, Baſſet of Sapcote, and Malton; and conſiſted of eight hundred men at arms, two thouſand four hundred archers, and four thouſand bill men. The king himſelf commanded the third line, which conſiſted of ſeven hundred men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, and five thouſand three hundred bill-men.

In this poſition Edward waited the approach of the enemy, who in a few days appeared within ſight of the Engliſh army. Philip reſolving to give battle, immediately divided his forces into three lines, the firſt of which was led by John de Luxembourgh, king of Bohemia, and compoſed of three thouſand men at arms, twenty-nine thouſand infantry, and fifteen thouſand Genoeſe croſs-bowmen, under the command of Antonio Doria and Carolo Grimaldi. Theſe were placed oppoſite to the Engliſh archers. Charles, duke of Alencon, brother to Philip, led the ſecond diviſion, conſiſting of four thouſand men at arms, and twenty thouſand infantry. The third diviſion was headed by Philip in perſon; and formed a body of reſerve, amounting to twelve thouſand men at

arms, and fifty thouſand foot.

The two armies being thus prepared for battle, Edward, in order to animate his troops, rode through every rank, and uſed the moſt forcible arguments to inſpire them with the noble reſolution of endeavouring to obtain a conqueſt, or periſh in the attempt. He told them that the great number of the enemy ſhould be ſo far from intimidating, that it ought to inſpire them with courage; that confuſion would be the inevitable conſequence of ſuch multitudes of undiſciplined forces; and that the order in which he had placed them, added to their own reſolution, would be abundantly ſufficient to repel all the attacks of the French army. Adding, "I requeſt nothing from you, but that you imitate my example, and that of the prince of Wales." The troops caught the courage and noble intrepidity of their ſovereign, and ſeemed anxious to be led againſt the enemy.

The battle was begun by the Genoeſe croſs-bow-men, but the Engliſh archers poured in ſuch a dreadful ſhower of arrows, that they were unable to ſupport the ſhock, and fell back, in great diſorder, upon the duke d'Alençon's cavalry. Another diſcharge of arrows from the Engliſh doubly encreaſed the confuſion; and the whole body ſeemed to be in a ſtate of hurry, terror and diſmay. At length the duke d'Alençon, having diſengaged himſelf from the flying Genoeſe, made a circuit with his cavalry, and fell upon the flank of the firſt battalion of Engliſh archers. The battle now became deſperate and bloody. The French opened a paſſage through the archers, and advanced againſt the prince of Wales, who received them with ſuch firmneſs and reſolution, that numbers of them were ſlain; but the prince himſelf was ſtill in the greateſt danger of being ſurrounded by the ſuperior numbers of the enemy. The earls of Arundel and Northampton perceived his ſituation, and detached a body of troops to his aſſiſtance. Philip ſeeing this ſent three ſquadrons of French and German knights to the aid of his brother the duke d'Alençon. The prince was now attacked both in front and rear; and a meſſenger was diſpatched by the earl of Warwick to the king, to inform him of the danger of his ſon, and deſire him to order a body of troops to his aſſiſtance. The king aſked the meſſenger if his ſon was ſtill alive, and being anſwered that he was, and had performed the moſt aſtoniſhing feats of valor, he bade the meſſenger depart, and tell his generals from him, "That they ſhould no more ſend to him while the prince was alive, he being determined that the honor of the day ſhould be wholly his; and that he muſt now, if ever, win his ſpurs." This anſwer being delivered to the prince in the hearing of his followers, they ſeemed to be inſpired with freſh courage: they were more than a match for the increaſing numbers of the enemy, who exerted all their efforts to break again the compacted phalanx of the Engliſh, who, in their turn, attacked the French with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were unable to ſtand the ſhock. A dreadful carnage enſued, princes, peers, generals, knights, and common ſoldiers, fell promiſcuouſly, and formed a frightful heap of ſlain.

Enraged to ſee the two firſt lines of his army totally defeated, Philip advanced at the head of the body of reſerve, which the confuſion that prevailed in the French army had hitherto prevented from engaging. Confounded at the ſight of ſeeing ſuch numbers of their countrymen ſlain, and the whole plain filled with fugitives, the troops anſwered not the courage of their leader, who gave ſignal proofs of his valor and capacity as a general, but it was too late. The French refuſed any longer to face the Engliſh, and a general flight enſued. Philip himſelf was wounded, and carried off the field of battle. The ſtandard of France was thrown down, and the whole French army diſperſed, every one providing, in the beſt manner, for his own ſafety.

As ſoon as the magnanimous Edward found the victory was compleat he moved from his ſtation, and, taking his helmet from his head, ran to the prince of Wales, whom he embraced in the moſt affectionate manner in ſight of the whole army, ſaying, "My gallant ſon, heaven grant you may perſevere in the glorious courſe you have begun! The heroic manner in which you have acquitted yourſelf to-day ſufficiently proves you deſerve that crown you are born to wear."

Such was the iſſue of the famous battle of Creſſy, which was fought on the 25th of Auguſt, 1346, when, by a moderate computation, there fell by the ſwords of the Engliſh twenty-four baronets, twelve hundred knights, fifteen hundred gentlemen, four thouſand men at arms, and thirty thouſand infantry; together with the principal nobility of France, and the kings of Bohemia and Majorca. The creſt of the former of theſe two monarchs conſiſted of three oſtrich feathers, and as he had acted in the capacity of a volunteer, he took the motto Ich Dien, which, in the German language, ſignifies *I ſerve*. This device young Edward aſſumed to himſelf in memory of the victory, and the princes of Wales have ever ſince retained it in their arms.

Though mercy was refuſed to the living during the battle of Creſſy, the dead were treated with the greateſt marks of humanity. Edward ſent the body of the king of Bohemia to his family; cauſed the field of battle to be conſecrated, attended in perſon the funerals of the noblemen who fell in the action, and ordered the common ſoldiers to be interred with the greateſt decency.

Having ſtaid three whole days in the performance of theſe laudable offices, Edward led his victorious army towards Calais, which he inveſted on the third of September. The garriſon made a gallant defence, under the command of John de Vienne, who repulſed the beſiegers in all their aſſaults. Edward, ſeeing there was no probability of reducing the place by ſtorm, reſolved to ſtarve the garriſon into a ſurrender, and accordingly ordered huts to be built for his army during the winter. The governor, perceiving his deſign, ſent about ſeventeen hundred uſeleſs hands out of the town, that the garriſon might ſubſiſt the longer, and Edward, with a generoſity not common in thoſe times, not only ſuffered them to paſs unmoleſted, but likewiſe gave them money to relieve their neceſſities.

While Edward was carrying on the war with France, the counteſs of Montfort was diſplaying her heroic abilities in Britany. Charles de Blois, at the head of a numerous army, inveſted the fortreſs of Roche de Reen, and puſhed the ſiege with the utmoſt vigour. The place was of too much importance for the counteſs to ſuffer it to fall into the hands of the enemy, without making one attempt for its relief. She therefore put herſelf at the head of her little army, and having received a reinforcement of Engliſh troops under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth, attacked the

French during the night, routed the whole army, and took Charles de Blois priſoner. This misfortune called another heroine from obſcurity. The counteſs of Blois, in whoſe right her huſband claimed the duchy of Britany, ſeized the reins of government, and became a powerful rival to the counteſs of Montfort. She was her equal both in the field and cabinet; and the war was carried on with the ſame vigour as before her huſband's captivity.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent the Scots had recalled David Bruce from France, who at the inſtigation of Philip, invaded England at the head of a very powerful army. As David's intention was to ravage the country, he levied the moſt oppreſſive contributions, and committed the moſt dreadful diſorders in his march, which he extended to the gates of Durham. The diſtreſs of the people animated queen Philippa to march in perſon to their defence; and having collected an army of twelve thouſand men, ſhe led them againſt the Scottiſh invaders. Her army was divided into four bodies, the firſt commanded by lord Piercy; the ſecond by the archbiſhop of York and lord Neville; the third by the biſhop of Lincoln and lord Mowbray; and the fourth by Baliol in perſon. In this order the Engliſh approached the army of Bruce encamped at Neville's-Croſs, near the city of Durham. Bruce drew up his army in three lines; the firſt, conſiſting of French auxiliaries and the flower of the Scottiſh nobility, was commanded by the king in perſon; the ſecond by Robert, high-ſteward of Scotland and the earl of Marche; and the third by the earls of Murray and Douglas.

The battle was begun by a troop of Genoeſe croſs bow-men, who ſerved in the diviſion under Robert; but they were ſoon routed by the more experienced Engliſh archers. Robert perceived the ſuperiority of the latter, and preſſed on furiouſly with his men at arms, to begin a cloſe fight with the detachment under lord Piercy. The Engliſh archers opened immediately to the right and left, to let the enemy paſs, but cloſed again immediately, and galled them dreadfully with their arrows in flank, while they were engaged in front with the Engliſh infantry. Robert, however, maintained the fight with the greateſt intrepidity; and it was for ſome time doubtful to which ſide Fortune would give the victory. Baliol ſaw the danger, and led up his diviſion to the aſſiſtance of lord Piercy. The Scots were now ſtruck with a panic, and immediately betook themſelves to flight. Baliol, who was not deficient in military abilities, inſtead of purſuing the fugitives, wheeled ſuddenly about, and fell with the utmoſt impetuoſity on the flank of the diviſion commanded by the king. David fought with great intrepidity, and, aſſiſted by his friends, made a noble ſtand againſt the attacks of the Engliſh; but the conteſt was unequal; the whole diviſion was broken and put to flight, and the king himſelf taken priſoner. The third diviſion, under the earls of Murray and Douglas, ſtill ſtood firm, but were ſoon broken when attacked by the whole force of the Engliſh. Murray was ſlain in endeavouring to rally his men, and Douglas taken priſoner. Robert rallied his men after he had given way to the attacks of the Engliſh, and retreated in excellent order, by which the other fugitives had time to join him, and form a body; but the victors did not think proper to purſue them.

Never did the Scots receive a more fatal blow than at this battle. No leſs than fifteen thouſand fell in the action; and, from a liſt of the ſlain, and thoſe who were taken priſoners, it appeared that there was ſcarcely a noble family in Scotland that did not ſhare in the public calamity.

The next day after the battle queen Philippa returned with her army to London, taking with her David Bruce and about thirty Scotch noblemen her priſoners, whom ſhe confined in the Tower. A few days after ſhe embarked at Dover, and paſſed over to the Engliſh camp before Calais, where ſhe was received with all the reſpect due to her rank and diſtinguiſhed valour.

The garriſon and inhabitants of Calais had held out againſt all the efforts of the Engliſh to take it. But they were reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions. Philip was no ſtranger to their wretched condition, and reſolved to march to their relief. He accordingly aſſembled a very numerous army, and advanced towards the place; but he found the Engliſh camp ſo well ſecured by entrenchments, encompaſſed with moraſſes, that he could not attempt to force it without expoſing himſelf to the moſt imminent danger, and therefore retreated with his army.

A. D. 1347. The garriſon of Calais, deſpairing of relief, and being almoſt deſtitute of proviſions, at length deſired to capitulate; in conſequence of which John de Vienne, the governor, appearing on the walls, made the ſignal for a conference; and Edward ſent Sir Walter Manny to hear what he had to propoſe. The governor told him, that having now no farther hopes of relief, he was willing to ſurrender the place, and deſired no other conditions than that the lives and liberties of the garriſon ſhould be ſecured. Manny anſwered, that Edward was ſo exaſperated againſt the inhabitants of Calais for their pertinacious reſiſtance, that he was ſure he would receive no conditions that ſhould confine him with regard to their puniſhment. "Is this" replied Vienne, the treat-"ment to which brave men are entitled? Would not your king have expected the ſame conduct from any Engliſh knight in my condition, which I have performed for my ſovereign? The noble defence made by the inhabitants of Calais certainly merits the eſteem of every prince, much more of ſo gallant a prince as Edward. But I inform you, that if we muſt periſh, we ſhall not periſh unrevenged; and that we are not yet ſo reduced, but we can ſell our lives at a high price to the victors. It is, doubtleſs, the intereſt of both ſides to prevent theſe deſperate extremities; and I expect that you yourſelf, brave knight, will interpoſe your good offices with your prince in our behalf."

Manny, ſtruck with the juſtice of theſe remarks, exerted all his intereſt with Edward in behalf of the brave garriſon of Calais. He repreſented the dreadful conſequences that might reſult from treating them with ſeverity, which, he ſaid, could not fail of increaſing the miſeries of war, already ſufficiently calamitous. Edward felt the whole force of his obſervations, and thought proper to mitigate the ſeverity of the conditions he had demanded. He only inſiſted that ſix of the principal citizens ſhould repair to his camp with the keys of the fortreſs, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes about their necks, to be diſpoſed of as he ſhould think proper, and on theſe conditions he promiſed to ſpare the lives of the reſt of the inhabitants.

The horror and confuſion which theſe ſevere conditions excited in the breaſts of the inhabitants may

may be more eaſily conceived than deſcribed. They endeavoured to deprecate the wrath of the victor by the moſt humble ſubmiſſions and affecting remonſtrances. But Edward was inflexible; and it was reſolved by a council of the garriſon to ſubmit to the maſſacre that muſt follow from the refuſal, rather than devote ſix of their brethren to an ignominious death, for no other reaſon than that of having done their duty to their king and country. But before the council broke up, Euſtace de St. Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, ſtept forth, and offered to lay down his life for the ſafety of his friends and companions. Affected with this uncommon inſtance of magnanimity, three of his own relations declared themſelves ready to ſhare in the glorious ſacrifice; and two others were quickly found who followed their example. Theſe willing victims marched out of the town, barefooted, in their ſhirts, with halters about their necks; and, when they came to the Engliſh camp, preſented the keys of their city, and proſtrated themſelves at the feet of Edward, who, ſtill burning with reſentment, gave orders that they ſhould be carried to immediate execution. Their backs were already turned on the remorſeleſs maſter of their fate, and they were proceeding, mournful, though determined, to meet their doom, when the queen, who was then big with child, pierced with the afflictions of virtue in diſtreſs, fell on her knees before Edward, and beſought him with tears to ſpare the lives of thoſe brave men, whoſe only crime was their attachment to their ſovereign. Edward could not withſtand the force of conjugal affection; he relented, and the heroic burghers were pardoned. But the compaſſion of Philippa did not terminate here: ſhe conducted the almoſt famiſhed victims to her tent, ordered them a noble repaſt, made them a preſent of money and clothes, and ſent them back to their friends in ſafety.

The victorious Edward being now maſter of Calais, took every precaution in his power to ſecure his conqueſt. He knew it would be impoſſible for him ever to make the inhabitants real friends to his government, and therefore obliged them all to leave the town, which he peopled with his own ſubjects from England, and, for their ſecurity placed therein a ſtrong garriſon.

Soon after Edward had obtained the acquiſition of Calais, he liſtened to the mediation of the pope, and after concluding a truce with Philip, returned with his forces to England.

A. D. 1348. But the terms of this truce were very ill obſerved; and it was not long before an attempt was made to recover Calais, by corrupting the governor. One Aimery de Pavia, an Italian knight, brave and intrepid in war, but a ſtranger to every principle of honour and fidelity, was entruſted by the Engliſh monarch with the command of this important fortreſs. Geoffrey de Charny, governor of St. Omer's, found means to open a negotiation with Aimery; who, in conſideration of twenty thouſand golden crowns, promiſed to admit a certain number of Frenchmen into the fortreſs; and the moſt proper methods were accordingly taken to inſure ſucceſs. Edward, informed of the deſign by Aimery's ſecretary, prepared to turn the contrivance to the deſtruction of the enemy. He ſent for the governor to London, and reproached him with his crime; but promiſed to ſpare his life, if he would aſſiſt him in taking vengeance for the perfidious attempt. Aimery readily agreed to this double treachery; a day was appointed for the admiſſion of the French; and Edward, having prepared a force of a thouſand men, under Sir Walter Manny, departed ſecretly from London, taking with him the prince of Wales, and, without being in the leaſt ſuſpected, arrived at Calais in the evening before the day appointed for delivering up the place. He immediately made a proper diſpoſition for the reception of the enemy and kept all his forces, as well as the garriſon, under arms. On the appearance of Charny, a choſen troop of French ſoldiers was admitted at the poſtern by the governor, who received the ſtipulated ſum. All the French who entered were immediately made priſoners, while Charny was waiting with impatience for the ſignal to enter the town in triumph. At length the great gates were thrown open, and the Engliſh ruſhed out under the banner of Sir Walter Manny, both Edward and the prince of Wales ſerving as volunteers. Charny was aſtoniſhed, but determined to diſpute the victory with the enemy. He accordingly drew up his men in a ſquare battalion, and maintained the fight with great reſolution. During the conteſt a valiant knight, named Euſtace de Ribaumont, fought in ſingle combat with Edward, whom he beat twice to the ground, and who as often recovered himſelf with the moſt ſurpriſing agility. The victory was long doubtful; but at laſt Ribaumont owned himſelf conquered, and delivered his ſword to the king. In the mean time Charny maintained the fight with great obſtinacy, till, perceiving his retreat cut off by another detachment from the town he ſurrendered at diſcretion. All the officers were conducted to Calais, where they ſpent the evening with Edward, who treated them with great reſpect, and then firſt diſcovered to them that he had been preſent in the action. The king declared Ribaumont the braveſt knight he had ever encountered, and reſtored him to his liberty without ranſom. As for Aimery he was removed from his office, and Sir John Beauchamp appointed governor of Calais in his ſtead; ſoon after which Edward, with his ſon the prince of Wales, and the Engliſh nobility, returned to England.

A. D. 1349. As Edward had been always fond of Windſor Caſtle as a country retreat, he now made it the ſeat of a military order, which he founded in honour of St. George, the patron of England. A garter of blue velvet with the inſcription *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe* was the ſymbol of union and concord choſen for this noble fraternity, which, from hence, was called the order of the Garter*.

But the happineſs and tranquillity which now prevailed in the Engliſh court, and indeed throughout the kingdom in general, was ſuddenly changed into ſorrow and mourning, by a moſt deſtructive peſti-

* The Order of the Garter, which was inſtituted at this time, is ſaid to have owed its origin to the following circumſtance: Edward was greatly enamoured with the counteſs of Saliſbury, who having, at a court ball, dropped her garter, the king took it up; and obſerving that ſome of his courtiers ſmiled, as if he had not obtained that opportunity merely by accident, he called out, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe*. That is, "Evil be to him that evil thinks." Theſe words became the motto of the order. It conſiſted of twenty-ſix perſons including the ſovereign; and ſoon after became a capital object to courtiers, who ſtill conſider it as one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours they can receive.

peſtilence which was diſperſed into moſt parts of Europe. It firſt appeared in the northern parts of Aſia; and, after ſpreading over all that country, continued its deſtructive progreſs from one end of Europe to the other. The weſtern parts of England firſt felt this dreadful ſcourge, which ſoon after reached the capital, and raged, with unremitting fury, near two years, ſo that hardly one tenth part of the inhabitants ſurvived; and it was computed that in London only no leſs than 50,000 perſons periſhed.

The Scots took advantage of this misfortune to renew their ravages in the northern parts of England; but they paid dearly for their conduct. Above five thouſand of them were ſwept away by the plague, and the reſt returned to their own kingdom, to diſperſe the peſtiferous ſeeds of this dreadful diſeaſe among their countrymen.

A. D. 1351. Towards the latter end of this year the French monarch, having, notwithſtanding the truce with Edward, made ſome captures at ſea, was ſo elated as to fit out a powerful fleet, with a vague deſign of making a deſcent on England. But his expectations were ſoon deſtroyed by the gallant Edward, who ſtood towards them in the channel, with an Engliſh fleet, which entirely defeated the combined navy of France and Spain, and induced the latter power to ſue for a truce for twenty years, which Edward readily granted, from a view of its being advantageous to the commercial intereſts of his ſubjects.

A. D. 1352. This was the laſt warlike tranſaction in which Philip de Valois was engaged, as he ſoon after paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded by his ſon John duke of Normandy. Philip, in the beginning of his reign, had acquired the title of Fortunate; but the tranſactions that took place during his holding the ſovereignty were very little demonſtrative of the propriety of this epithet, though his bad ſucceſs was leſs owing to his want of courage and conduct, than to the better fortune and ſuperior proweſs of his rival Edward.

John, who ſucceeded Philip on the throne of France, was a prince poſſeſſed of many virtues, but they were rather of a private than public nature. With a heart full of the juſteſt ſentiments of honour and ſincerity, he was, of all others, the moſt improper perſon to ſway the ſceptre of France in thoſe turbulent times; he wanted that maſterly prudence and foreſight, that penetration and ſagacity, which the ſituation of his affairs required. His relation, Charles, king of Navarre, ſurnamed the Bad, threw the kingdom of France into great confuſion, in which ſtate it continued near three years, when that prince entered into a private treaty with the Engliſh, and even ſeduced the dauphin to engage in his intrigues; but the French prince, being at laſt convinced of the folly of ſuch deſtructive connections, invited the king of Navarre, and the noblemen of his party, to an entertainment at Rouen, where they were all betrayed into the hands of John, who immediately ſent them to priſon.

A. D. 1356. The ſeizing and confining the king of Navarre was highly reſented by Edward; and the prince of Wales (generally known by the name of the Black Prince from the colour of his armour) having the preceding year made a ſucceſsful expedition into Guienne, Edward now ſent him a meſſage, requeſting him to purſue his conqueſt with the utmoſt vigour. In obedience to this meſſage young Edward advanced into Quercy at the head of two thouſand men at arms, ſix thouſand archers, and four thouſand foot. The ſucceſs of this young warrior was aſtoniſhing: he waſted Quercy, the Limoſin, and Auvergne, advanced to Berry, and after ſome unſucceſsful attempts upon Bourges and Iſſodun, took Vierzon by ſtorm. Here he refreſhed his army, and received the firſt intelligence that the king of France was poſted at Chartres, on the other ſide of the Loire, all the fords of which were ſtrongly guarded.

Young Edward now perceived it was impracticable to advance farther, and therefore reſolved to retreat to Bourdeaux. John perceiving his intentions, croſſed the Loire, and marched with ſuch expedition, that he overtook him in the neighbourhood of Poictiers. Edward, knowing a retreat was now impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and all the prudence of the oldeſt and moſt experienced commander. He poſted his men in a place of difficult acceſs, full of hedges, buſhes and vineyards, where neither the enemy's cavalry could attempt to pierce, nor their infantry attack him without great diſadvantage: at the end of a narrow lane, the only avenue by which the French could advance to attack his main body, he placed a ſquare battalion of the flower of his Engliſh archers; nor could the enemy avail themſelves of their great ſuperiority of numbers, till theſe were broken.

The French army, which conſiſted of above 60,000 men, was encamped between Beauvoir and Maupertuis, and had John known how to have made a proper uſe of his numerous forces, his ſucceſs had been infallible without hazarding a battle. Prince Edward was already ſo diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, that a few days would have been ſufficient to have forced him to ſurrender at diſcretion. But the imprudent ardour of the French nobility would admit of no reſtraint; they imagined themſelves ſure of victory, and advanced immediately to attack the Engliſh. Juſt before the charge was ſounded, the cardinal of Perigord reached the French army; and at his intreaty the battle was deferred till he had viſited the Engliſh prince, and endeavoured to ſave the farther effuſion of human blood, by an advantageous peace. Edward told the cardinal he would agree to any terms conſiſtent with his own honour, and that of his country. He offered to purchaſe a retreat to Bourdeaux, by reſigning all the conqueſts he had made, and ſtipulating not to ſerve againſt France during ſeven years. Theſe offers were haughtily rejected by John, who peremptorily inſiſted, that the prince himſelf, together with an hundred of the chief nobility in his army, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners; and on theſe conditions he offered a ſafe retreat to the Engliſh army. The anſwer of the prince was that of an hero, who fears death much leſs than diſhonour. He declared that neither himſelf nor his knights ſhould be taken but in battle; and that he would rather ſacrifice his life than conſent to terms of ſo infamous a nature.

The ſword was now to determine the important conteſt, and the next morning the time fixed for determining the fate of thouſands. Edward employed the whole night in ſtrengthening the poſt he had ſo judiciouſly choſen with new entrenchments; and detached a body of choſen men, under the command of an experienced officer named de Greilly, with orders to make a compaſs round the hill, and keep himſelf concealed under covert of the hedges and ditches with which it was ſurrounded, till the battle ſhould begin, and then to

fall with the utmoſt fury on the French rear. He then divided his troops into three diſtinct bodies, but ranged in ſo cloſe and compact a manner, that they ſeemed to form only a ſquare battalion: the front was defended by a number of ditches and hedges; and the flanks were ſecured on one ſide by a ſteep hill, and on the other by a moraſs. The earl of Warwick was ſtationed on the ſide of the hill, with the troops which compoſed the van; the rear, commanded by the earls of Suffolk and Saliſbury, was poſted behind about a ſtone's caſt from the lane through which the French muſt march to the attack. At the end of this lane was a pretty large gap, where Edward took his poſt at the head of the main body, which extended itſelf among the vines and buſhes; the weaker part of the field being inloſed by the carriages and baggage waggons. The French army was alſo divided into three bodies, the firſt of which was commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; the ſecond by the dauphin of France, aſſiſted by his two brothers the dukes of Anjou and Berry; and the third, which conſiſted of 40,000 of the beſt troops in France, was led by the king in perſon.

Both parties having made the neceſſary preparations for engaging, the battle was begun about nine o'clock in the morning by three hundred choſen Frenchmen, who marched up the lane towards the main body of the Engliſh; but were ſo galled by the archers, who lined the hedges, that one half of them were ſlain before they reached the front of Edward's diviſion, where all the reſt were cut to pieces by an advanced party commanded by lord Audley. The marſhals Clermont and Andrehen, who with a body of choſen cavalry had advanced cloſe behind the men at arms to ſupport them, met with ſo warm a reception from the earl of Warwick, and at the ſame time ſo impetuous an attack from the earls of Suffolk and Saliſbury, at the head of a detachment from the rear, that Clermont was killed on the ſpot, and Andrehen obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner: moſt of the corps ſhared the fate of the former.

The firſt attack of the French being thus rendered abortive, the dauphin advanced to the charge, but not without great difficulty; his men, diſpirited at the fate of their companions, were not ready to follow their leader. In this critical moment de Greilly fell with the utmoſt impetuoſity upon their rear, and threw them into terrible diſorder: the Engliſh archers plied them with inceſſant ſhowers of arrows from every quarter; while the other infantry with ſwords and battle-axes ruſhed upon them and made the moſt dreadful ſlaughter. The French threw down their arms and betook themſelves to flight, while three principal officers, to whom the care of the dauphin and his two brothers had been particularly committed, carried them off the field of battle. The whole diviſion followed their leaders, and the duke of Orleans, ſtruck with the ſame panic, fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

But the grand diviſion, which was headed by John in perſon, aſſiſted by his principal nobility, ſtood firm and ſeemed determined to diſpute the victory with the Engliſh, who were far inferior in numbers. Edward, far from being diſmayed, mounted his horſe, and advanced at the head of his army to begin the attack. The dreadful ſtruggle for victory now commenced, and the moſt violent ſhock enſued. John exerted his utmoſt efforts to retrieve by valour what he had loſt by his imprudence. The prince of Wales fell with the moſt amazing impetuoſity on a body of German cavalry placed in the front, and a ſtubborn conteſt enſued. Nor did the Germans give ground till their three leaders, together with the conſtable of France, were ſlain, when they fled with the utmoſt precipitation from the field of battle.

The French monarch now ſaw himſelf reduced to a ſmall battalion of faithful friends, who were continually leſſening by the ſwords of the Engliſh. At laſt, wearied out with fatigue, and overwhelmed with numbers, he weilded the ſword but faintly, and might eaſily have been ſlain; but every one was emulous of ſo noble a prize, and therefore, as they approached, called out to him to ſurrender, and offered him quarter. Unwilling, however, to yield himſelf a priſoner to any perſon of inferior rank, he cried out, "Where is my couſin the prince of Wales; to him only will I yield." Being informed that Edward was in another part of the field, he ſtill perſiſted obſtinately to defend himſelf, till Sir Dennis de Morbec, a knight of Artois, made his way through the croud of aſſailants, and requeſted John to yield himſelf his priſoner. John, after being aſſured that he was a knight, threw down his gauntlet as a ſignal of ſurrender, and both he and his ſon Philip were made priſoners.

Young Edward (who was at this time in purſuit of the flying enemy) no ſooner heard of the captivity of John, than he immediately diſpatched the earl of Warwick, and the lord Cobham, at the head of a ſmall detachmment, to enquire into his ſituation, and, if poſſible, reſcue him from the hands of the ſoldiers. Warwick luckily arrived ſoon enough to ſave his life. The Engliſh had taken the royal priſoners from Morbec; the Gaſcons claimed the honour of detaining them; and ſome of the brutal ſoldiers, rather than give them up to their rivals, threatened to put both the illuſtrious captives to death. Both parties were over-awed at the preſence of Warwick, who, approaching the captive monarch with the greateſt marks of reſpect, offered, in the moſt polite manner, to conduct him to the tent of Edward.

The conduct of the victorious prince, on this occaſion, did him no leſs honour than the great abilities and valour he had diſplayed in the field of battle. Inſtead of indulging a ſupercilious pride (too commonly the attendant on youthful warriors) he came from his tent to meet the captive king with all the marks of a ſincere regard. He ſympathized with his misfortunes: comforted him in his afflictions; paid him the tribute of praiſe due to his valour; and aſcribed his own victory to capricious fortune. He ordered a magnificent repaſt to be prepared in his tent for the royal priſoner, and himſelf waited on him at table, as if he had been one of his retinue; and when preſſed by the king to ſit down, declared with the greateſt modeſty, "that it was not for a ſubject like him to ſit in the preſence of ſo great a monarch."

The noble example of the prince was imitated by all the officers throughout the Engliſh army; and the French priſoners were treated with the greateſt tenderneſs and humanity. The ſpoils taken in the French camp were ſo great that the meaneſt individual in the Engliſh army found himſelf placed beyond the reach of want during the remainder of his life. Indeed the ranſoms of the noble priſoners alone were more than ſufficient for

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EDWARD
The
BLACK PRINCE

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Woodstock June 15. 1330. | *Beat the French at Poictiers Sep.r 9. 1356.* | *Died June 8. 1376.*

30 JAN 91

EDWARD *the* BLACK PRINCE *waiting on his Royal Prisoner* JOHN KING *of* FRANCE, *after defeating him at the Battle of* POICTIERS.

that purpoſe; though theſe were very moderate. The extent of the fortunes of all were conſidered, and no more was exacted of them than they could eaſily ſpare; no man was that day impoveriſhed for his misfortunes; they had ſtill ſufficient to perform their military ſervice for the future in a manner ſuitable to their rank and quality.

Edward now ordered a ſolemn thankſgiving to be performed in the Engliſh camp for the late victory. This was continued for eight ſucceſſive days, at the expiration of which Edward ordered the camp to be broke up, and then marched at the head of his forces to Bourdeaux, taking with him his two royal priſoners.

A. D. 1357. While Edward was at Bourdeaux, pope Innocent VI. who then filled the papal chair, ſent the cardinals of Perigord and St. Vital to him, with orders to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to bring about a peace; but failing in their negotiation, they confined their requeſt to a truce for two years. The prince, not chuſing to act of himſelf, wrote a letter to his father, deſiring his advice in ſo critical an affair. Edward ſent him full powers to act as he thought moſt conducive to the honour of his country. Being inveſted with theſe powers, the prince made no heſitation to comply with the requeſt of the cardinals, and accordingly ſigned the truce at Bourdeaux on the 23d of March.

Young Edward ſtaid about two months on the continent after ſigning the truce, in order to ſettle the affairs of Guienne; having done which he embarked with his royal captives, and landed at Sandwich in Kent on the 25th of May. He was received by the inhabitants of every place through which he paſſed with the greateſt expreſſions of joy, but repeatedly refuſed thoſe honours which were offered, deſiring that the reſpect intended for him might be transferred, with every mark of attention and civility, to the French monarch. He was met in Southwark by a thouſand of the principal citizens of London on horſeback; and the mayor diſplayed, on this occaſion, all the pomp of the city. The entry was truly magnificent. John was dreſſed in his royal robes, and mounted on a ſtately white courſer, remarkable for its ſize and beauty, as well as for the richneſs of its furniture. Young Edward rode on the left hand of his priſoner, on a little black palfry, and in a meaner dreſs, as if ſtudious to avoid every mark of diſtinction. The ſtreets through which they paſſed were ſuperbly adorned with plate, tapeſtry, and armour. The proceſſion reached Weſtminſter-hall about noon, where king Edward, ſurrounded by a ſplendid circle of the nobles, and other great men, received his royal priſoner in all the pomp of ſtate, but at the ſame time with all the courteſy as if he had been a neighbouring prince, who had come voluntarily to pay him a friendly viſit. All the pretenſions of Edward to the crown of France ſeemed to be forgotten, and John, though in captivity, received all the honours due to majeſty. He behaved with ſuch propriety on this occaſion as to be truly deſerving the generous treatment he received; and, though conquered and a priſoner, preſerved the dignity of a king. John was provided with an apartment in the royal palace, till the Savoy could be fitted up for his reception, and the French princes and noblemen brought over with him as priſoners were permitted to have their liberty on condition of remaining in London on their parole of honour.

John was not the only royal priſoner at this time in England. David Bruce was ſtill in confinement at Odiham in Hampſhire, the Scots having refuſed to pay his ranſom; but a circumſtance ſoon happened which procured his enlargement. Some time before the arrival of the prince of Wales from the continent, Edward had obliged Baliol to relinquiſh his right to Scotland, on condition of receiving an annual penſion of 2000l. Young Edward, moved by the intreaties of his aunt, the queen-conſort of Scotland, now prevailed on his father to conſent to a negotiation for the releaſement of her huſband; the conſequence of which was, that conferences were opened at Berwick, where it was agreed and concluded, "That David ſhould be ſet at liberty, acknowledged king of Scotland, and an independent monarch, on his giving hoſtages for the payment of one hundred thouſand marks ſterling in ten years, by equal portions; and that a truce ſhould ſubſiſt, and be inviolably obſerved by both nations, till the whole ſhould be paid." This treaty being ratified, David, after a captivity of eleven years, was releaſed, returned to Scotland, and reaſſumed the throne of his kingdom.

Soon after the ratification of this treaty the two cardinal legates, who had negotiated the truce with prince Edward at Bourdeaux, arrived in London, with propoſals for a peace: but of ſo ſtrange a nature, that Edward refuſed to return them any anſwer. Baffled in this attempt, they demanded, in the name of his holineſs, the arrears of the tribute formerly paid to the ſee of Rome, amounting to a thouſand marks. Edward treated this demand as an obſolete and ridiculous claim; and bid them tell the pontiff, "That he held his kingdom of God alone, and acknowledged no other ſuperior, nor would he pay tribute to any mortal upon earth."

A. D. 1358. So great a familiarity had ſubſiſted between Edward and his royal priſoner, John king of France, that the two monarchs, in the beginning of this year, made a private treaty of peace between themſelves, the ſubſtance of which was to this effect: "that, in conſideration of Edward's quitting all claim to the duchy of Normandy, the counties of Anjou and Maine, and the crown of France, he and his heirs ſhould enjoy Guienne, the Angoumois, Xaintonge, Perigord, Quercy, the Limouſin, Poictou, Touraine, Calais, Guiſnes, the Boulonnois, and the county of Ponthieu, free and independent of the crown of France: and that John and the French nobles, who had been taken priſoners with him, ſhould pay, for their ranſom, four millions of crowns." Theſe articles were ſent over to the regent of France, who laid them before a meeting of the ſtates, by whom they were rejected with diſdain, as deſtructive at once to the honour and ſafety of the nation. Edward was highly exaſperated at this refuſal, and determined to renew the war as ſoon as the truce, which had been made by his ſon the prince of Wales, was expired.

On the 12th of November this year died Iſabella, the king's mother, whoſe ambition and unjuſtifiable paſſion for the infamous Mortimer, had proved fatal to her wretched huſband. She died at the caſtle of Riſings, in the 63d year of her age, and was buried in the choir of the Grey Friars, now called Chriſt Church in London.

A. D. 1359. Edward ſeldom formed any deſign of a public nature, but he would, if poſſible, carry it into execution. The truce with France was now expired, and he determined immediately to invade that kingdom. He accordingly

ingly embarked for the continent, and landed at Calais at the head of an army of 100,000 men. The dauphin, thinking this force irreſiſtible, was too prudent to hazard a deciſive action, and therefore ſuffered the enemy to ſpend their fury in the open country, while he induſtriouſly employed himſelf in putting the moſt conſiderable towns in a proper ſtate of defence.

Edward, after waſting the province of Picardy, and entering Champagne, was deſirous of having the royal diadem of France placed on his head in the city of Rheims. He accordingly inveſted the place, where three months were ſpent in fruitleſs endeavours to take it, during which ſo many of his men died, that he thought it prudent to raiſe the ſiege.

Early the following ſpring Edward entered Burgundy, which, together with the Nivernois, were preſerved from his ravages, by paying the contributions he demanded. The Brie and the Gatinois were next plundered with the utmoſt cruelty; after which he advanced to the gates of Paris, burnt the ſuburbs of that city, and challenged the dauphin to give him battle; but not being able to make that prudent prince change his plan of operations, he ſpread his army into the different provinces of Maine, Beauſſe, and the Chartraine. In this laſt province Edward was overtaken by ſo dreadful an hurricane, that it ſeemed to threaten the diſſolution of the univerſe. The ſhock of the elements, in thunder, lightening, and hail ſtones of a prodigious ſize, ſtruck the boldeſt with terror. No leſs than ſix thouſand horſe, and a thouſand foot, were killed on the ſpot. Edward, with all his courage, was not proof againſt this dreadful ſcene: he conſidered it as a warning for him to ſheathe the deſtructive ſword of war upon equitable terms. Penetrated with theſe ſentiments, he leaped from his horſe, and proſtrating himſelf on the ground, with his arms extended towards the church of Chartres, dedicated to the Virgin, he vowed to agree inſtantly to a peace with France, if it could be obtained upon juſt and honourable terms.

Soon after this incident a negotiation for peace * was opened at Bretagne, and a treaty concluded on the following conditions: "That the king of England ſhould renounce his pretenſions to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Tourain, and Anjou; and ſhould receive in exchange the provinces of Poictou, Xaintonge, Perigord, the Limoſin, Agenois, Quercy, Bigone, Gauze, Angoumois, and Rovergne; and enjoy theſe territories in the fulleſt manner, and without any feudal ſubjection or homage. That the diſpute between Charles de Blois and John de Montfort, with regard to the duchy of Britany, ſhould be candidly diſcuſſed, and referred to arbitration, under the ſanction of both kings; but if their good offices proved ineffectual, neither ſhould take any part in the quarrel, though the ſovereignty of Britany ſhould remain to the king of France, and John de Montfort be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all his eſtates in that kingdom: And laſtly, that the king of France ſhould renounce alliance with the Scots, and Edward his connections with the Flemings." Forty hoſtages, (among whom were the two ſons of the French king, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and many of the chief nobility of France) were given as ſecurities for the performance of theſe articles.

In conſequence of this treaty, the king of France was immediately ſet at liberty, and embarked for Calais, where he was met by Edward, and the treaty was ſolemnly ratified between them. Soon after Edward embarked with his hoſtages for England, and landed at Dover on the firſt of November, from whence he immediately proceeded to London amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people.

A. D. 1361. The concluſion of the war between France and England was productive of dreadful diſorders in the former kingdom. Great numbers of adventurers, who had enliſted under Edward's banners, being now unemployed, joined different bands of robbers, and deſolated many of the inferior provinces. Habituated to pillage, and ſtrangers to fear, they committed the moſt dreadful ravages, and were known by the name of "The Companies." At length John, marquis of Monſerrat, being at war with the Viſcontis, lords of Milan, took the Companies into his pay, and freed France from theſe formidable bands of ruffians.

A. D. 1362. In the beginning of this year a moſt dreadful peſtilence broke out in France, which carried off upwards of 30,000 inhabitants in Paris only, and ſpreading into England, raged with equal violence in London. Among others ſwept away by this contagion was Henry duke of Lancaſter, who, from his great humanity, had obtained the epithet of The Good Duke. His only ſurviving ſiſter had been ſome time married to John of Gaunt, Edward's fourth ſon, who, in right of his brother-in-law, was ſoon after created duke of Lancaſter.†

A. D. 1363. No payment having been yet made by France for the ranſom of their monarch, the nobles, who were ſtill hoſtages in London, began to grow weary of their confinement, and the duke of Anjou, the ſon of John, broke his parole, and eſcaped to Paris. This act, ſo contrary to the principles of honour and juſtice, gave great uneaſineſs to John, who determined to repair to England, and deliver himſelf up to Edward, till the conditions of the treaty ſhould be fully executed. His council in vain endeavoured to diſſuade him from his deſign: his purpoſe was fixed, and every argument loſt its force. "If (ſaid he) "juſtice and good faith were baniſhed from the "reſt of the earth, they ought yet to retain their "habi-

* It is the opinion of ſome hiſtorians that the ſtorm was the principal circumſtance that occaſioned Edward to liſten to terms of accommodation; but others are of opinion, that it aroſe from the obſervations made by the duke of Lancaſter. That nobleman repreſented to Edward, that the acquiſition of the crown of France was far from being advanced by his making ſuch deſtruction in different parts of the country: that in one day he might loſe the advantages he had been ſeveral years obtaining; and that a peace, in his then circumſtances, might be concluded, which would annex ſeveral provinces to England.

† This year was likewiſe remarkable for the marriage of Edward the Black Prince with his couſin, Joan of Kent, the beautiful daughter of the late earl of Kent, who had been beheaded in the beginning of Edward's reign by the intrigues of queen Iſabella and the infamous Mortimer; and for her exquiſite beauty, ſhe was generally known by the appellation of "The Fair Maid of Kent." The young hero, who had raiſed the honour of the Engliſh to ſo exalted a pitch, was now created prince of Aquitaine, and inveſted with the property of many of the noble poſſeſſions ceded to the Engliſh by the treaty of Bretagne. He ſoon after croſſed the ſea, and fixed his reſidence at Bourdeaux, where he kept a royal court, beloved and reſpected by all ranks of people.

"habitations in the breasts of princes." He accordingly returned to England, in order to substitute himself in the place of his son the duke of Anjou; and took up his residence in the palace of the Savoy, where he continued to reside, and was royally entertained at the expence of the king, till the 8th of April in the following year, when, having been some time ill, he paid the debt of nature His remains were carried into France, and buried at St. Dennis.

A. D. 1365. In the beginning of this year the king summoned a parliament at Westminster, when several laws were made which tended to the welfare and tranquillity of the nation. Edward also issued out a proclamation for apprehending a number of robbers and lawless banditti that infested different parts of the kingdom, consisting chiefly of soldiers that had been disbanded at the conclusion of the peace with France: and that these delinquents might be more easily andspeedily brought to trial, he enlarged the judicatory powers of the city of London. He next applied himself to the removal of another evil, namely, the corruption of the judges. The lord chief justice Sir Henry Green, and Sir William Skipwith, one of the judges, were, for their partiality and extortion, imprisoned, heavily fined, and rendered incapable of ever after holding any public employment.

A. D. 1367. While peace and tranquillity continued to remain in England, Edward the Black Prince, who had been now near four years in his principality of Aquitaine, engaged himself in assisting Peter (surnamed the Cruel, from his sanguinary and revengeful disposition) to recover his kingdom of Castile. Peter was placed in the seat of power while a minor, and in very unfavourable circumstances. His father, Alphonso XI. had seven natural children by his mistress, Eleanor of Gusman; and settled such considerable fortunes on them, that they defied the royal authority; while their mother, who enjoyed still more power, insulted the queen dowager. The people of Castile were therefore divided into two parties, one of whom joined the queen mother, and the other Eleanor.

When Peter came of age, and took the reins of government into his own hands, he was obliged to maintain a war against the faction of his natural brothers. Being victorious in a decisive battle he took Eleanor prisoner; and to gratify his mother's revenge, put her to death. Soon after, he married Blanche of Bourbon, who falling in love with the grand master of St. Jago, (one of those very bastards who was then at war with her husband) she joined the faction, for which Peter shut her up in a castle. This greatly augmented the fury of the faction, and Peter was obliged to fight against the king of Arragon and his natural brothers at the same time; but victory still followed his standards, and he made a cruel use of it. He seldom forgave a crime; so that all his relations who had appeared in arms against him, were sacrificed to his resentment, and among the rest the grand master of St. Jago. During these troubles, Blanche of Bourbon died in confinement; and it was universally reported that she was basely taken off by poison.

Henry of Transtamare, one of the natural sons of Alphonso, animated with a desire of revenging at once both the death of his mother, and that of the grand master of St. Jago, entered into a treaty with Charles V. king of France, and a powerful army was soon raised, under the command of John de Bourbon. Bertrand du Guesclin, a native of Britany, famous for his military abilities, was appointed general in this expedition; and had the address to engage the Companies, (now returned from Italy) to follow him into Castile.

This powerful confederacy so alarmed Peter, more especially as the greater part of his subjects had deserted him, that, to secure his own safety, he thought it most adviseable to quit his dominions. He accordingly repaired to the frontiers of Portugal; but being refused admittance into that kingdom, went to Bourdeaux, in order to solicit the protection and assistance of the Black Prince.

Edward readily espoused his cause, and undertook to replace him on the throne of Castile. He accordingly set out at the head of his army, and after passing the Pyrennees, divided his forces into three bodies, each consisting of ten thousand men. On his approaching the confederate troops, all the Companies immediately left du Guesclin's army, declaring they would never draw their swords against Edward, whom they considered as their native prince. But notwithstanding the desertion of the Companies, Henry de Transtamare and du Guesclin were still at the head of an hundred thousand men. Both armies now approached each other, and soon after was fought on the banks of the Ebro, near the village of Navarette, the famous battle of that name, between Peter and the Black Prince on one side, and Henry de Transtamare and du Guesclin on the other. Edward acquired more honour in this battle than at either that of Cressy or Poictiers, because the contest was much longer disputed. A compleat victory was at length obtained by Edward, and not less than twenty thousand of the enemy fell on the field of battle. Bertrand du Guesclin, and the marshal of Ardrehen were taken prisoners: Henry de Transtamare fled for safety to Arragon; and Peter was re-established on the throne of Castile.

But Edward had soon reason to repent having engaged himself in the cause of a man, who was at once a stranger to humanity, justice, and gratitude. No sooner were his ends answered, than Peter refused advancing the money which he had agreed to pay Edward for his assistance; and that prince, seeing his army daily decrease by sickness, and finding his own health greatly impaired by the excessive heat of the climate, was forced to return to Guienne, without receiving any reward for his services.

A. D. 1368. From the great expence that had attended the late enterprize in favour of Peter, and the large sums of money required to pay the troops, prince Edward was under the necessity of laying a new tax on his principality. The nobility of Guienne made strong remonstrances against this imposition, and at length appealed to the king of France, as their lord paramount. Charles, who, directed all his affairs by the principles of policy rather than of justice, admitted the appeal, and summoned the Black Prince to appear personally in his court at Paris. Exasperated at so insolent and unjust a summons, the prince, with all the spirit of a young warrior, returned for answer that he was ready to obey, but if he did, it should be at the head of an army of sixty thousand men.

This threat was far from intimidating Charles: he knew the declining years of the English monarch, the languishing state of the Prince of Wales's health, and the great animosity which the inhabitants of the conquered countries had expressed against the English. He therefore deter-

mined to take up arms, and, if poſſible, recover thoſe provinces which had been ſubdued in the reign of his father.

A. D. 1370. A numerous army being raiſed, Charles commenced hoſtilities in Ponthieu, where he met with very little oppoſition, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of the principal places in that province. In the mean time the dukes of Berry and Anjou (brothers to Charles) invaded the ſouthern provinces, and were ſo ſucceſsful that they ſoon produced a very important revolution. The ſtate of the Black Prince's health would not permit him to mount on horſeback, or exert his uſual activity. The brave Chandois, conſtable of Guienne, was ſlain in one action, and his ſucceſſor taken priſoner in another. The prince ſaw the progreſs of the French with the utmoſt regret, but it was not in his power to prevent it; and his illneſs increaſed ſo faſt, that he was at length obliged to throw up his command, and return to England.

A. D. 1371--73. The Engliſh monarch, incenſed at the injuries he had received from Charles of France, determined on a ſevere revenge; but the natural infirmities of age would not ſuffer him to attend his armies in perſon. He therefore diſpatched Sir Robert Knolles, a very courageous and experienced general, over to the continent, at the head of an army of 30,000 men. Sir Robert advanced into the heart of France, and extended his incurſions even to the very gates of Paris; but without being able to bring the enemy to a general battle. He then entered the provinces of Maine and Anjou, both of which he laid waſte; but a part of his army being defeated by a body of forces under the command of the conſtable of France, the reſt were ſcattered and diſperſed, ſo that inſtead of reaching Guienne (as was intended) they took ſhelter in Britany, whoſe prince had entered into an alliance with England.

A. D. 1374. Early in the ſpring of this year, the duke of Lancaſter, at the head of 25,000 men, went over to Calais, and proceeded on his march from thence to Bourdeaux. But the duke's efforts were far from being crowned with ſucceſs. The rear of his army was ſo dreadfully harraſſed by flying parties of the enemy, and his foraging parties ſo frequently cut off, that hardly half his army reached the place of their deſtination.

All the endeavours of the duke of Lancaſter and Sir Robert Knolles were ineffectual againſt the ſuperior power of the French. One province after another fell into the hands of the enemy, till at length Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and Calais were the only places that remained in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh. Theſe were alarming circumſtances to the once victorious Edward, who to prevent worſe conſequences, was glad to conclude a truce with (at that time) his more powerful enemy the king of France.

A. D. 1376. The paſſion for military glory that fired the breaſt of Edward during the vigour of his life was now extinguiſhed, and all his honours buried in the grave of folly and voluptuouſneſs. His virtuous queen Philippa had been ſome time dead, and he now attached himſelf to an infamous and artful woman named Alice Pierce, who gained ſuch an aſcendancy over the weak monarch as to render him an abſolute dupe to her caprice.

This lady ſoon made herſelf ſo publickly odious and contemptible by her avarice and inſolence, that the parliament at length interpoſed, and after preſenting a ſpirited remonſtrance to the king, ſhe was baniſhed the court. Edward alſo ſatisfied his parliament in another requeſt. The nation had, for ſome time, entertained a jealouſy of the great power of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, and were fearful leſt he ſhould ſeize the crown on the death of the king. Edward, therefore, to remove their fears, declared, in full parliament, Richard (ſon to Edward the Black Prince) his heir and ſucceſſor to the throne of England.

Soon after this declaration, the Prince of Wales paid the debt of nature, to the great grief of his relations in particular, and the nation in general. He died at Windſor on the 8th of June, in the 46th year of his age. The character of this prince is truly amiable. His valour and military talents, which procured him the admiration of all Europe, form only a ſubordinate part of his merit. His humanity, generoſity, affability, and moderation, gained him the eſteem of all the world; even the moſt ſhining period of ancient or modern hiſtory would have received a luſtre from his virtues; they were celebrated by his greateſt enemies. Charles of France, though his kingdom had ſuffered ſo ſeverely from his valour, gave a noble mark of his high eſteem for this celebrated hero. He cauſed a ſolemn ſervice to be performed for the repoſe of his ſoul, in the church of Notre Dame, and aſſiſted himſelf in perſon, attended by the principal part of his nobility.

As ſoon as the funeral obſequies of the Black Prince were performed, the parliament teſtified their regard to his memory, by paying their reſpects to his ſon Richard, as heir apparent to the throne: they alſo petitioned the king that he might be created Prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, and inveſted with all his father's honours and poſſeſſions, except thoſe aſſigned to his mother as her dower. This petition was readily complied with by the king, and Richard ſoon after received the honour of the Garter.

A. D. 1377. Infirm from age, and indolent through the prevalence of an unſeaſonable paſſion, Edward entirely neglected the affairs of government, while the artful and ambitious Lancaſter, by ingratiating himſelf with the princeſs of Wales and her ſon Richard, ſo increaſed his influence, that he obtained the reſtoration of Alice Pierce, the king's favourite miſtreſs, to her former power. In concurrence with this infamous woman he committed the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice, maltreated the worthy, rewarded the moſt abandoned, and, wholly regardleſs of the public intereſt, purſued the gratification of every ſordid, ambitious, and venal principle.

It is little to be wondered at that ſuch a perverſion of authority, and violation of honour and juſtice, ſhould occaſion a general diſcontent throughout the kingdom. The citizens of London in particular remonſtrated againſt Lancaſter's proceedings; but, inſtead of meeting with any redreſs, were treated with contempt, the conſequence of which was, that he ſoon felt the effects of their reſentment.

One John Wickliff, a doctor of divinity in the univerſity of Oxford, had publiſhed his belief upon ſeveral articles of religion, wherein he differed from the common doctrine. He ſoon gained a number of followers in the kingdom, and among others the duke of Lancaſter and the lord Percy, earl-marſhal. Wickliff being ſummoned to appear before the biſhop of London at a ſynod held by that prelate in St. Paul's cathedral, the duke and marſhal accompanied him thither, thinking

their preſence would be a powerful protection; and, in the courſe of the examination, the duke and marſhal inſulted the biſhop, and even proceeded to threats, upon which the ſynod broke up in great confuſion. The populace of London, who adored the biſhop, and were glad of any opportunity to be revenged on thoſe whom they knew to be their oppreſſors, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and, running to the Savoy (the magnificent palace of the duke of Lancaſter) rifled the houſe, and ſearched every where for his perſon, which, in all probability, they would have ſacrificed in the height of their fury; but, on advice of the danger that threatened him, he had eſcaped, with the lord Piercy, to the court of the princeſs of Wales, then at Kennington in Surry, where they remained till the tumult was ſubſided.

As the truce lately made with France was now expired, hoſtilities were again commenced on the continent between the Engliſh and French forces. The latter laid ſiege to a ſtrong fort near Calais, which was delivered up by the treachery or cowardice of the commanding officer. On the other hand, the brave Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, made an inroad into the French territories, from whence he returned to Calais loaded with ſpoils.

During theſe tranſactions Edward, who had retired to Shene (now Richmond) was ſeized with a violent fever, which, in a few days, increaſed to ſuch a height, as to leave no hopes of his recovery. In this piteous ſituation all his pretended friends deſerted him, Alice Pierce alone excepted, who watched the royal body with great care till he appeared to be in the agonies of death, when ſhe baſely ſtripped him of his rings and jewels, and then left him without a ſingle friend or domeſtic to cloſe his eyes. It happened, however, that a prieſt of his houſhold ſoon after entered the room, and finding the deſerted monarch yet alive, addreſſed to him ſome pious exhortations, to which the latter endeavoured to reply, but in words too inarticulate to be underſtood. At length, making a final effort, he pronounced the word Jeſus, and then expired, on the 21ſt of June, 1377, in the 65th year of his age, and 51ſt of his reign. His remains were interred in the abbey at Weſtminſter.

Such was the end of Edward III. one of the moſt accompliſhed princes that ever ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre, whether conſidered as a warrior, a legiſlator, a monarch, or a man. He was tall of ſtature, but ſo juſtly proportioned, and had ſo noble and majeſtic an aſpect, as at once to engage affection, and command reſpect. Acute, penetrating, and ſagacious, he concerted the moſt prudential plans: bold, active and enterprizing, he vigorouſly executed his projects. He was a true lover of the conſtitution of his country, and ſhewed himſelf, on all occaſions, as anxious to defend the privileges of the people, as to preſerve the prerogatives of the crown. In his private character, he was humane, affable, generous and ſincere; and, in ſhort, poſſeſſed as many virtues as any monarch that had ever ſwayed the Britiſh ſceptre.

Edward had a taſte for the liberal arts much above what could be expected for the age in which he lived. The proofs we have of his taſte in architecture are, the edifices of Windſor Caſtle, King's Hall in Cambridge, and the collegiate chapel of St. Stephen (now the room where the Commons of Great-Britain aſſemble) all which he built, and the two laſt liberally endowed.

Remarkable Occurences during the reign of Edward III.

A. D.

1330 Gunpowder was this year invented by one Swarth, a monk of Cologne.

1331 The art of weaving cloth brought from Flanders to England by John Kemp, to whom the king granted his protection.

The rains were ſo violent, and continued ſo long, this year, that the harveſt did not begin till Michaelmas.

1336 A tax was laid on every bag of wool exported. Engliſh merchants paid 40*s.* per bag, and foreigners 3*l.*

A great dearth happened this year, and prodigious deſtruction was made among the cattle by a murrain.

1337 A Law was made by the parliament that no wool of Engliſh growth ſhould be exported, and that all cloth-workers, from whatever foreign parts they came, ſhould be received and encouraged. In this parliament the king created prince Edward, his eldeſt ſon, duke of Cornwall, being the firſt in England that bore the title of Duke. He was veſted with the dukedom by a wreath being placed on his head, a ring on his finger, and a ſilver verge in his hand; ſince which time the eldeſt ſon of the king of England is born Duke of Cornwall.

This year was alſo remarkable for the king's commiſſion for ſeizing the eſtates of the Lombards, or uſurers, who were grown odious on account of their extortions.

1339 It rained almoſt continually this year from the beginning of October to the beginning of December, when a froſt came on which laſted twelve weeks.

1340 Copper Money firſt uſed in Scotland and Ireland.

This year Thomas Blanket ſet up a loom at Briſtol, for weaving thoſe woolen cloths that, from him, bear that name.

1344 Gold firſt coined in England.

Among other acts of parliament paſſed this year was that called the *ſtatute of proviſions*, which excluded foreigners from Engliſh eccleſiaſtical preferments, and reduced the papal authority in England; which act has ſince been frequently renewed and called the *ſtatute of præmunire*.

This year the king gave an honourable invitation and reception to all perſons of diſtinction, whether natives or foreigners, whom he entertained with the greateſt politeneſs, magnificence and liberality. To avoid all diſtinction of rank he erected a circular hall 200 feet in diameter at Windſor, where he feaſted all the knights at one table, which was called the Round Table, in memory of the great Arthur, who, it is ſaid, firſt inſtituted an order of knighthood by that name.

1348 St. Stephen's Chapel at Weſtminſter built by order of the king.

1349 A dreadful plague in London, which carried off above 50,000 of the inhabitants.

This year alſo there was a continued rain, which laſted from Midſummer to Chriſtmas.

1352 The largeſt ſilver coin at this time in England was that to the value of four-pence.

1357 Coals firſt imported into London.

1361 This year great deſtruction was made both among men and beaſts by dreadful ſtorms of thunder and lightning; and to add to thoſe calamities, the plague again broke out with great violence, which was diſtinguiſhed from that already mentioned by being called the Second Mortality. It carried off, in London only, 57,374 perſons, among whom was Henry duke of Lancaſter.

1362 The ſtaple of wool fixed at Calais.

1364 In the month of January this year Edward III. king of England, John, king of France, Peter, king of Cyprus, and David king of Scotland, were magnificently entertained by Sir Henry Picard, then Lord-Mayor of London.

1371 The Charter-Houſe in London finiſhed by Sir Walter Manny.

1374 A tournament held in Smithfield.

1377 A tax of four pence a head levied by parliament on every perſon in the kingdom above the age of fourteen.

Several perſons, remarkable for their genius and learning, flouriſhed during the reign of Edward III. among whom the moſt remarkable were the following:

Geoffrey Chaucer (the greateſt poet of his time) a man of quality, and who made a conſiderable figure not only in the court of Edward, but likewiſe in that of his ſucceſſor Richard II. He was poſſeſſed of an admirable fund of humour, paint-

ed

ed the manners of life with great ſtrength of colouring, and helped to improve and purify the Engliſh language. But it was the fate of this great poet (though poſſeſſed of an ample fortune, and a more ample genius) to fall into misfortunes in private life. He died in the year 1400, and was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey, where a monument was erected to his memory, which is ſtill in good condition, and placed in that part of the abbey called the Poet's Corner.

William of Wickham was conſidered as one of the moſt learned men of the age in which he lived. His great and uſeful talents, eſpecially in architecture, recommended him to the favour of Edward III. who appointed him ſurveyor to the re-building of the caſtle at Windſor, which was executed in the plain but magnificent manner it now appears. He was afterwards made ſecretary of ſtate, and, after enjoying other preferments, was at length promoted to the ſee of Canterbury. He died on the 27th of September, in the year 1404.

Thomas Wikes wrote an Hiſtory of England, beginning at the Conqueſt, and ending with the death of Edward I. He was a canon regular of Oſney, near Oxford; and that part of his work relative to the wars of the barons is clear and explicit.

Wickliffe was a divine writer, and the firſt man in Europe who ventured to bring religion to the teſt of ſcripture and eccleſiaſtical antiquity. The auſterity of his life, and the ſanctity of his manners, added great weight to his doctrine. He was indefatigable in his labours, and generally went about barefooted in the habit of a pilgrim. He tranſlated the New Teſtament from the Vulgate, and died in the year 1385, at his rectory of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire.

CHAP. II.

RICHARD II. ſurnamed of BOURDEAUX.

Acceſſion and coronation of Richard II. A regency appointed during the king's minority. A famine in England. Wat Tyler's rebellion. Diſputes relative to the papacy. The French make preparations for invading England, but their deſigns are rendered abortive. Richard particularly attaches himſelf to Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, and Michael de la Pole, the chancellor. The nobles enter into a confederacy againſt the king's favourites, and the parliament not only oblige him to remove the chancellor from his office, but alſo uſurp the regal authority. The confederate lords, with the duke of Glouceſter at their head, take up arms, and impeach many of the king's miniſters, ſeveral of whom are tried, condemned and executed. Richard takes the reins of government into his own hands, and makes a great change in the miniſtry. Goes over to Ireland at the head of a powerful army. Returns to England in order to ſuppreſs the Lollards. Marries Iſabella, daughter of Charles VI. king of France. Orders his uncle the duke of Glouceſter to be arreſted, and ſent priſoner to Calais, where he is ſoon after aſſaſſinated. Quarrel between the dukes of Norfolk and Hereford. Richard again goes over to Ireland. Henry, duke of Lancaſter, during his abſence, takes up arms, and being joined by a powerful confederacy, makes himſelf maſter of Briſtol. Richard returns from Ireland with a conſiderable body of forces to oppoſe him, but the greater part of his ſoldiers deſerting him, he retires, for ſafety, to Conway Caſtle in Wales. Is enſnared into the hands of the duke of Lancaſter, who conveys him to London, and commits him priſoner to the Tower. The king makes a formal reſignation of his crown, by delivering up the enſigns of royalty, and is ſoon after depoſed by the parliament.

A. D. 1377. AS Richard had been publicly declared heir to the crown by the late king, ſo no diſputes could take place relative to the ſucceſſion. He was, therefore, immediately on the death of his grand-father Edward III. proclaimed king of England, and, on the 15th of July following, ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter *.

As young Richard was under eleven years of age at the time of his acceſſion to the throne, ſo, of courſe, he was incapable of directing the affairs of government. In conſequence of this, a council of regency was appointed to rule the nation during his minority, at the head of whom was the duke of Lancaſter, one of the king's uncles, who had taken upon himſelf the chief direction of public affairs during the latter part of the late reign.

In the month of October the parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter in order to conſider of proper meaſures to be taken for carrying on the war with France. The commons at firſt declined giving their opinion in a matter of ſuch importance without the advice and aſſiſtance of the duke of Lancaſter, but as that nobleman could not attend, they granted a liberal ſupply for the intended purpoſe.

In the mean time the Scots (in violation of the truce concluded in the late reign) ſurprized and took the town and caſtle of Berwick, on which the earl of Northumberland marched againſt them with an army of ten thouſand men, and ſummoning the fortreſs to ſurrender, was anſwered by the governor that the place had been taken by virtue of a commiſſion from the king of France, in whoſe name he would defend it to the laſt extremity. In conſequence of this anſwer, the earl immediately

* It is at this coronation we meet with the firſt mention in hiſtory of a champion, who appeared compleatly armed, in Weſtminſter-hall, where the king dined. He was attended by the high conſtable and marſhal of England, and preceded by the heralds. When the champion reached the middle of the hall he threw his gauntlet on the ground, and challenged all perſons whatſoever, who ſhould dare to diſpute his majeſty's title to the crown. The origin of this cuſtom, which is ſtill preſerved, is however utterly unknown: for though this is the firſt time we find it mentioned by hiſtorians, it is doubtleſs of a much earlier date; ſince Sir John Dimmock, who performed the office at the coronation of Richard II. was admitted to it by virtue of a right annexed to the manor of Scrivelſby, in Lincolnſhire, held by him in right of his wife, the daughter of Sir John Marmion.

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Born January 6. 1367. | *Crowned July 16. 1377.* | *Assassinated Anno 1406. by Exton & others.*

BRITISH MUSEUM
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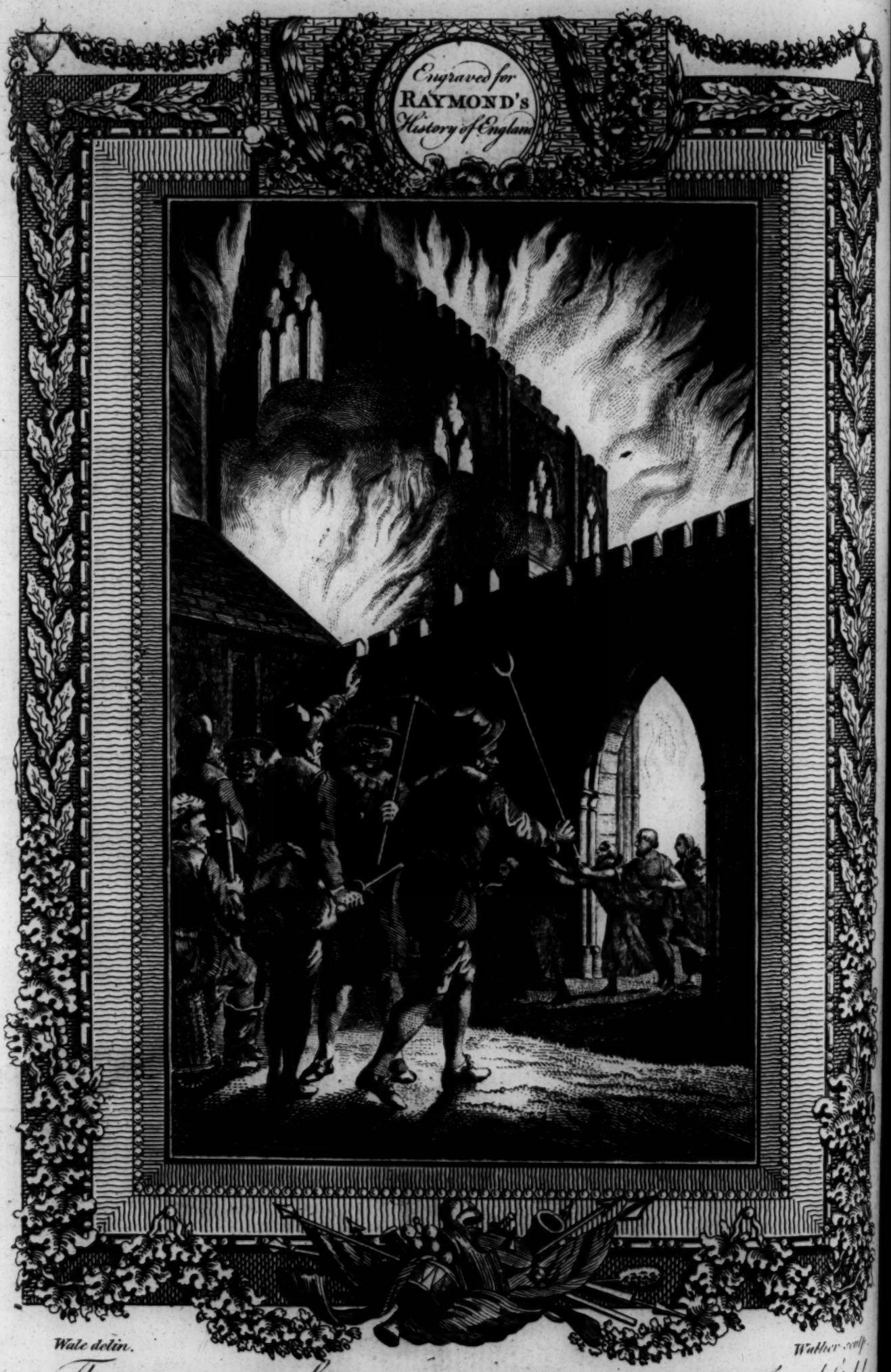

Wale delin. Walker sculp.

The BURNING of St. JOHN's MONASTERY in Smithfield
by WAT TYLER and his RABBLE

mediately prepared for inveſting the place, which he ſoon took by aſſault, and the governor, with the whole garriſon, were put to the ſword.

A. D. 1378. During theſe tranſactions the French miniſtry were concerting meaſures for carrying on the war with the utmoſt vigour, and had concerted a ſcheme for diſpoſſeſſing the Engliſh of all the important places they held on the continent; but they received ſome check in carrying their deſigns into execution by the death of their king, who left his throne to Charles VI. then a minor under twelve years of age. This event might have been of conſiderable advantage had the duke of Britany (before in alliance with the Engliſh) continued firm to his engagements; but that prince, now thinking it moſt to his intereſt to enter into alliance with the French concluded a treaty with the new king; ſo that the Engliſh could expect no aſſiſtance from that quarter.

A. D. 1379. This year was unfortunately uſhered in by a dreadful plague, which broke out in the north of England, and greatly depopulated that part of the country. The Scots took advantage of this calamity, by making irruptions into thoſe parts, where they not only plundered many towns and villages, but likewiſe committed the moſt ſhocking barbarities; and the duke of Lancaſter, inſtead of endeavouring to puniſh them for their conduct, propoſed a treaty of peace, which being gladly embraced by the Scots, was concluded for three years.

A. D. 1380. An incident now happened of a moſt ſingular nature, and which threw the government into the utmoſt ſtate of confuſion. The monies already granted for carrying on the war with France being inſufficient, the parliament, in order to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies, impoſed a new and extraordinary tax of three groats on every perſon, male and female, above fifteen years of age; but at the ſame time ordained, that, in levying this tax, the rich ſhould relieve the poor by an equitable compenſation. As the money was immediately wanted, and the common method of gathering it would take ſome conſiderable time, the court farmed out the grant to a ſet of rapacious collectors, who extorted it with the utmoſt rigour from the people. This impoſition, added to the cruelty and preſumptuous behaviour of the tax-gatherers, occaſioned one of the moſt ſingular inſurrections recorded in the annals of hiſtory.

The people had already acquired ſome idea of independence, and given ſeveral indications of their deſire of breaking thoſe chains which had ſo long been impoſed upon them by the haughty nobility. Enthuſiaſm alſo aſſiſted to augment this deſire, and make the populace acquainted with their own importance. One John Ball, a turbulent but popular preacher, viſited various parts of the kingdom, and every where inculcated on his audiences the maxims of equal right and liberty to all the goods of nature; and diſplayed to them the tyranny of artificial diſtinctions introduced by a few inſolent rulers, in order to aggrandize themſelves, and degrade the more conſiderable part of the ſpecies. Doctrines like theſe, ſo agreeable to the populace, were embraced with avidity, and kindled in the minds of the vulgar thoſe ſparks of rebellion which were ſoon blown into a flame by the inſolence of collectors appointed to gather the new tax.

A. D. 1381. The inſurrection began at Deptford in Kent, where one of the tax-gatherers, going to the houſe of Walter, a Tyler by profeſſion, (afterwards better known by the name of Wat Tyler) demanded three groats for one of his daughters. The peaſant refuſed to comply with the demand, urging, that ſhe was under the age preſcribed by act of parliament. The inſolent taxgather told him ſhe was not, offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and, at the ſame time laid hold of the girl. Enraged at this inſolence, Tyler beat out the fellow's brains with his hammer. The action was highly approved by the populace of the neighbourhood, who inſtantly flew to arms, and their example was ſoon followed by the peaſants of Eſſex, Surry, Suſſex, Hertfordſhire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. The place appointed for a general rendezvous was Blackheath, where the inſurgents aſſembled to the amount of 100,000 men, under their principal leaders Wat Tyler and Jack Straw.

The number of regular troops then in the kingdom was very inconſiderable, ſo that the government was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and had every thing to fear from this lawleſs aſſembly. In this critical ſituation a council was called in the Tower, where a reſolution was taken to ſend a meſſenger to the inſurgents, to enquire the cauſe of their tumultuous meeting. The mutinous rabble received the meſſengers with the moſt haughty inſolence; and returned for anſwer, "That they were come to ſpeak to the king about certain important affairs; and deſired he would repair to the camp in perſon, and hear what they had to propoſe." Many of the council, particularly the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Sir Robert Hales, the treaſurer, oppoſed the king's going in perſon to treat with the rebels; thinking it at once both derogatory to his dignity, and dangerous to his life. But it being repreſented to the council, that the inſurgents were in full march for London, and that it would be impoſſible to prevent their gaining admittance into the city, the king went down the river in a barge, as far as Rotherhithe; but on approaching the ſhore, perceived ſuch ſymptoms of tumult and inſolence, that he thought his perſon in danger, and, putting back, returned to the Tower.

By this time the inſurgents approached London, where, being joined by the city rabble, they threatened to burn the ſuburbs firſt, and then the capital itſelf, if the gates were not immediately opened. Intimidated by this threat, which they were able to carry into execution, their demand was complied with. They entered the city, and immediately gave a looſe to every ſpecies of exceſs. They plundered the houſes of the moſt wealthy citizens, and abuſed their perſons, together with thoſe of their wives and daughters. A party of them ran immediately to the duke of Lancaſter's palace in the Savoy, and ſoon reduced that magnificent ſtructure, together with all its ſplendid furniture, to aſhes. Another party ſet fire to the Temple; while a third repaired to the elegant monaſtery of St. John of Jeruſalem, at Clerkenwell, near Smithfield, and burnt the whole ſtructure, together with all the books, records and papers.

The inſurgents continued their riotous proceedings, in different places, the whole night, and early the next morning divided themſelves into three bodies. The firſt diviſion, under Jack Straw, marched to Highbury-manor, about two miles to the northward of London. The ſecond retired to Mile-End; and the third, under the command of Wat Tyler himſelf, took up their ſtation in St. Katherine's, and round the Tower, to prevent the eſcape of the miniſters and noblemen who had ta-

ken ſhelter in that fortreſs, and whom the rabble had devoted to deſtruction. The king, who had alſo retired thither for ſafety, finding the fortreſs, which was but weakly garriſoned, and almoſt deſtitute of proviſions, incapable of making any long defence, found means to eſcape during the night; and hearing that the rebels at Mile-End were the moſt tractable, and had expreſſed a deſire of treating with the government, he repaired thither, and demanded to know the reaſon of their aſſembling in ſo tumultuous a manner; telling them, he was their king, and that he was come to hear and redreſs their grievances.

The rebels inſiſted upon a general amneſty; the abolition of all ſlavery; liberty of trade in all market-towns, without paying either toll or impoſt; and that a ſtated rent ſhould be laid upon lands, inſtead of the ſervice impoſed upon villanage. Theſe requeſts the king readily granted, but inſiſted on their immediately laying down their arms. They obeyed the royal requeſt, and inſtantly diſperſed, leaving only a few belonging to each pariſh to carry down with them the charters of enfranchiſements and pardon.

But the rebles under Wat Tyler were not to be ſo eaſily pacified. Being of a more ferocious diſpoſition, they were determined to revenge themſelves on the heads of the nation, and, if poſſible, carry the romantic ſcheme of government they had formed into execution. Accordingly, while the king was treating with one diviſion of the inſurgents, Wat Tyler demanded admittance into the Tower; and the garriſon were ſo intimidated at their numbers that they refuſed to defend the place, and the gates were accordingly thrown open. This puſillanimous conduct raiſed the inſolence of the rabble to the higheſt pitch; and their behaviour was at once both inſolent and barbarous. They ſeized Simon Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, then chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, lord-treaſurer, and dragged them to Tower-hill, where they were both beheaded.

But theſe victims, inſtead of ſatiating the vengeance of the rebels, only tended to encreaſe their unwarrantable proceedings. Every perſon of any note who fell into their hands fell ſacrifices to their lawleſs barbarity. The citizens now ſaw their error in admitting ſuch a turbulent multitude into the city. Their ſavage practices rouſed them to revenge, and recovered them from their conſternation. Walworth, the lord-mayor, and Philpot, one of the aldermen, promiſed the king, that they would ſupport him againſt the rebels, provided ſome method could be found to amuſe them with propoſals. Sir John Newton was therefore ſent to acquaint them, that the Eſſex men had accepted certain conditions from the government, in conſequence of which they had retired peaceably to their habitations; and that he was impowered to offer them the ſame terms, on their making the ſame ſubmiſſion. But the ſavage plebeians, fluſhed with their late ſucceſs, had now formed the moſt chimerical deſigns; they propoſed to murder the king, together with all the whole nobility, and bury all government in general anarchy, in order to deſtroy every ſpecies of ſubordination, and render all men equal. Tyler, therefore, made no other anſwer to the king's meſſage, than that he would conſent to a peace if he liked the terms. Three different charters were ſent ſucceſſively by Richard in the ſpace of a few hours, but they were all rejected with the moſt provoking inſolence.

The miniſtry and principal men of the city were now thoroughly exaſperated, and Richard, attended by the lord-mayor, and chief officers of London, rode to Smithfield. Sir John Newton was again ſent to the ring-leader, inviting him to a conference with the king, in order that his majeſty might know his demands, and, if poſſible, give his conſent to their being granted. Tyler now ſeemed to be alarmed, and moved towards Smithfield, at the head of the rabble, with a very ſlow pace. Newton told him the king was waiting for him, and deſired he would quicken his march. "Make what haſte you pleaſe yourſelf," replied the inſolent rebel, "I ſhall take my own time." The true reaſon for this delay aroſe from his expecting a large reinforcement from Hertfordſhire and the adjacent counties, and therefore would willingly have deferred the conference till their arrival.

But the government was now in a capacity to defeat their ſchemes, and therefore unwilling to ſuffer them to exerciſe their ſavage barbarity any longer. The magiſtrates of London had aſſembled a large body of well-armed and well-affected citizens, and Sir Robert Knolles was juſt arrived at the head of a thouſand veterans. When Tyler, therefore, came into Smithfield, where the king waited for him, Sir John Newton told him, that both decency and duty required he ſhould be uncovered in the preſence of his ſovereign; but the rebellious leader, inſtead of complying, was ſo highly offended, that he would have ſheathed his dagger in Newton's heart, had not the king ſuddenly advanced, and drew off his attention, by aſking what he had to requeſt? Tyler was greatly diſconcerted; and made ſuch extravagant propoſals, and delivered himſelf in ſo incoherent a manner, that the king could make no reply. He demanded that all the antient laws ſhould be aboliſhed; that all bondmen ſhould be free; that all warrens, parks and chaces ſhould be laid open, and that every perſon, the poor as well as the rich, ſhould have free liberty to fiſh, fowl, and hunt in every part of the kingdom. He added ſeveral other particulars relative to the levelling ſcheme he had formed, but in ſo confuſed a manner that they were not underſtood.

The king not being able to comprehend the meaning of what this illiterate leader had advanced, returned no anſwer, which Tyler conſidering as a contemptuous refuſal, raiſed his dagger, and at the ſame time laid hold of the bridle of the king's horſe. Walworth, the mayor, who had with difficulty curbed his reſentment at the behaviour of this audacious rebel, was now ſo exaſperated that he rode up to him, and diſcharged ſo violent a blow on his head with the mace he carried in his hand, that Tyler fell ſenſeleſs from his horſe, when Philpot with his ſword immediately diſpatched him.

As ſoon as the Kentiſh-men ſaw their leader fall, they immediately made preparations for taking a ſevere revenge, and a dreadful ſlaughter might have enſued, had it not been for the great courage and amazing preſence of mind of Richard. He rode up alone to the incenſed multitude, whom he addreſſed with a chearful, but reſolute air in words to this effect: "My good people, what is the "meaning of this diſorder? Would you kill your "king? Give yourſelves no concern about the "death of that traitor: I will be your captain: "follow me, and you ſhall have whatever you "can reaſonably deſire." After ſaying this the king

king turned his horſe, and moved towards the fields of Iſlington; and the inſurgents, confounded at the death of their leader and magnanimity of Richard, implicitly followed him, without knowing whither they were going. They had no ſooner left the city than they perceived a large body of forces marching towards them under the command of Sir Robert Knolles; in conſequence of which a panic immediately ſeized the whole multitude, who threw down their arms, and begged for quarter. Sir Robert would have perſuaded the king to put a number of them to death, in order to ſtrike a terror among thoſe who had aſſembled in other parts of the kingdom; but Richard, with equal juſtice and lenity, obſerved, that as many had joined them more from force than inclination, he was not willing to puniſh the innocent with the guilty. He therefore granted them a general pardon, and they immediately diſperſed.

Richard now returned to the city, where he conferred the honour of knighthood on Walworth the lord-mayor, John Philpot, Nicholas Brambre, and Robert Laud, aldermen, for their ſignal ſervices on this occaſion; and likewiſe beſtowed grants of land to the amount of 100l. per annum to the firſt; and 40l. to the reſt, to be enjoyed by them and their heirs for ever.

The reduction of the Kentiſh rebels ſo alarmed thoſe in the other parts of the kingdom, that they were glad to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to the king's mercy. The charters of enfranchiſements and pardon granted to the rebels of Eſſex were revoked; the common people were reduced to the ſame ſtate of ſubmiſſion in which they had formerly been placed, and ſeveral of the ringleaders were executed in different parts of the kingdom.

Soon after this tumult had ſubſided a treaty of marriage was concluded between the king, and Anne, ſiſter of Winceſlaus, king of Bohemia. The princeſs landed at Dover a few days before Chriſtmas, and immediately proceeded with her retinue to London. The nuptials were celebrated on the 14th of January following, and the young queen was crowned with great pomp in Weſtminſter-abbey.

A. D. 1382. In the beginning of this year a moſt violent diſpute took place relative to the papacy, and which threatened to involve all Europe in confuſion. On the death of Gregory X. Brigano, biſhop of Barri, was elected pontiff, and took upon him the name of Urban VI. But his paſſionate and turbulent diſpoſition rendered him a very improper perſon to be placed at the head of the church. He had not been long ſeated in the papal chair, when the cardinals, ſhocked at the cruelty of his diſpoſition, withdrew to Fondi, in the kingdom of Naples, where they declared the late election void, and choſe the count of Geneva in his ſtead, who took upon him the title of Clement VII. He was a perſon of a different character to Urban, being polite, humane, liberal, and allied to moſt of the princes in Europe.

Germany, England, Flanders and Hungary, declared for Urban: France, Scotland, Savoy and Lorraine, for Clement. All the religious orders were divided, and the univerſities alſo joined in the conteſt. The two popes beſtowed on each other the appellations of Antichriſt and Uſurper, and proceeded to mutual excommunications. Clement preached up a cruſade againſt Richard and his ſubjects; while Urban not only fulminated his excommunications againſt all the adherents of Clement,

but alſo ſent over a commiſſion to Henry Spencer, biſhop of Norwich, nominating him the leader of a cruſade againſt his rival. And with this commiſſion he ſent the biſhop plenary powers, as his legate, to grant the ſame indulgences to all who engaged in the expedition as to thoſe who carried arms againſt the infidels.

A. D. 1383. The publication of this cruſade in England anſwered the moſt ſanguinary wiſhes of Urban. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and almoſt all ranks of people, engaged in it with the moſt aſtoniſhing ardour. The greateſt diſpatch was uſed in embarking the forces, and the biſhop landed at Calais on the fourth of May, at the head of 50,000 foot and 2000 horſe. His firſt attack was upon Gravelines, which he took by aſſault. This ſucceſs ſo alarmed the inhabitants of Dunkirk that they readily opened their gates to the victor, and moſt of the towns on the ſea-coaſt, as far as Sluys, followed their example.

Alarmed at the progreſs of the Engliſh, the count of Flanders reſolved to lead his forces againſt them; which was no ſooner known by the biſhop, than he marched to meet the enemy and a bloody battle enſued, in which the count was totally defeated. The king of France, at the head of an army of an hundred thouſand men, now advanced to check the progreſs of the cruſaders. The prelate, on a general muſter of his forces, found that they amounted to ninety thouſand men, occaſioned by the continual arrival of freſh reinforcements from England. But many of theſe were the very dregs of the people, and at once ignorant of diſcipline and impatient of command. It was, however, reſolved in a council of war, to fight the French army; but this was oppoſed by a large party of the troops, who inſiſted on their beſieging Ypres, where they expected to acquire an immenſe booty. It was in vain to oppoſe this ſtrange determination; and the biſhop, in order to prevent a mutiny in his army, was obliged to undertake the reduction of that place. The approaches were carried on with great intrepedity; but the biſhop was at laſt obliged to raiſe the ſiege, after loſing great numbers of his men, and retreat to Dunkirk. From hence he diſpatched a meſſenger to Richard for a reinforcement; but from the negligence of the king they were not ſent. In conſequence of this diſappointment, the biſhop gave up all hopes of being able any farther to oppoſe the enemy, and therefore, embarking with the ſmall remains of his army, returned to England.

Thus ended this mighty enterprize; and no farther attempts were made by the Engliſh for ſupporting the claim of Urban to the papacy. The other powers, however, on the continent, continued to oppoſe each other for ſome years, during which many lives were loſt, and the greateſt enormities committed by the adherents to the contending diſputants for the pontifical dignity.

A. D. 1384. The people had entertained the higheſt idea of Richard, from thoſe diſtinguiſhed accompliſhments and abilities which had been ſo repeatedly diſplayed by his father; and the remarkable inſtance he ſhewed of his intrepidity and preſence of mind in appeaſing the Kentiſh rebels, gave them the moſt pleaſing expectations of his future conduct. But it was not long before they found themſelves greatly diſappointed. As Richard advanced in years, the weakneſs of his head, and the badneſs of his heart, became the more apparent, and his want of conduct and

capacity

capacity was too plainly diſcovered by the ſtupidity of every ſcheme he formed, and his abſurd method of proceeding in every enterprize he undertook.

The Scots had made great inroads in the northern counties of England, and committed the moſt violent outrages on the innocent inhabitants. In conſequence of this a large army was raiſed to chaſtiſe their inſolence. Richard headed his troops in perſon, and entered Scotland by Berwick; while the Scots, who dreaded a pitched battle, abandoned the low country, croſſed the Engliſh borders on the weſt, and plundered the counties of Weſtmoreland, Cumberland and Lancaſhire. In the mean time Richard advanced to Edinburgh, and deſtroyed all the towns and villages in his way. He reduced that city to aſhes, as alſo Perth, Dundee, and ſeveral other places in the low country. But when he was adviſed, by his moſt experienced officers, to march towards the weſtern coaſt, in order there to wait the return of the enemy, and take ſevere revenge on them for the cruel devaſtations they had made, he fooliſhly rejected their council, and returned with his forces to England, after putting the nation to great expence, and gaining no advantage by the expedition.

A. D. 1386. The French had ſome time formed the deſign of invading England, and they now determined to carry it into execution. They accordingly collected a prodigious fleet and army for that purpoſe, and all the nobility of France were engaged in the enterprize. The French army, when reviewed at Arras, conſiſted of eighty thouſand men at arms, with their followers on horſeback, beſides a prodigious number on foot. Twelve hundred and eighty-ſeven ſhips of all ſorts were ready at Sluys to carry over this numerous army; and ſeveral warlike engines of a new conſtruction were put on board the fleet. This amazing armament engaged the attention of all Europe. The Engliſh were intimidated, particularly the citizens of London. The militia of the kingdom were ordered to the ſea-coaſt; the ports and harbours were put in a poſture of defence; and all the beacons on the coaſt prepared for giving the alarm, whenever the enemy ſhould appear. A fleet was alſo fitted out to guard the channel, and every prudent meaſure which reaſon could ſuggeſt was purſued to render abortive the deſigns of the enemy.

But this grand ſcheme was in a great meaſure fruſtrated by means of the very people by whom it was concerted. Ambition and envy, ſo often the deſtruction of public undertakings, had poiſoned the French councils. The duke of Berry, a prince of a covetous and aſpiring diſpoſition, was no friend to this undertaking, in which he thought neither his dignity nor intereſt had been ſufficiently conſulted, and therefore determined to render the whole abortive. In order to this, he proceeded ſo ſlow in aſſembling the troops, that it was the middle of September before he joined the army at the head of his diviſion. The forces were, however, embarked, and the fleet ſailed out of the harbour with a fair wind. But they had not left their own coaſt above two hours before the wind changed to the oppoſite quarter, and a dreadful ſtorm ſucceeded, which, in a few hours, ſcattered the whole navy. Some of the ſhips were driven back into the harbour of Sluys; ſome were daſhed on the rocks, others foundered at ſea, and many of the ſtragglers were taken by the Engliſh. Such was the end of thoſe mighty preparations, which had, for ſome time, ſpread a general terror throughout the kingdom.

A. D. 1387. Richard had, for ſome time, regretted the reſtraint he lay under from his uncles (the dukes of Lancaſter, Glouceſter and York) and therefore was now determined to ſhake off their authority, and give a full ſcope to his own maxims. He accordingly placed his confidence in Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of an agreeable figure, but of very diſſolute manners, more calculated to corrupt the prince than to govern the kingdom. This favourite engroſſed the affection of Richard, who knew not how to ſet bounds to his liberality. He created him duke of Ireland, and conferred on him for life the ſovereignty of that iſland; even the whole authority of the government was, by degrees, lodged in his hands. Michael de la Pole, the chancellor whom he had created earl of Suffolk, was another of his favourites; but as this man was poſſeſſed of great military talents, and had ſerved in the army with applauſe, the duke of Ireland was the moſt obnoxious to the people.

From the great attachment of Richard to theſe two favourites, the princes of the blood, and chief nobility, ſaw themſelves ſtripped of their power, and in order to recover their influence, determined to attack the favourites. Accordingly, an impeachment was drawn up againſt the chancellor, and the duke of Glouceſter undertook to carry it into the houſe of lords. It was, however, thought proper to obſerve the appearance of decency at leaſt, and accordingly the commons ſent a meſſage by their ſpeaker to the king, importing, that unleſs the chancellor was removed, they could not proceed in the diſpatch of public buſineſs. Richard, little expecting a motion of this nature, received the addreſs with an indignation he could not conceal. He told the ſpeaker very ſharply, "That it would better become the parliament to attend to the buſineſs for which they were ſummoned, than to concern themſelves with his ſervants." Nor did he give them leave to renew their addreſs: he abruptly left the place, and immediately retired to Eltham in Kent.

It was no ſooner known that Richard had withdrawn himſelf from the national council, than a meſſage was ſent him by the duke of Glouceſter and the biſhop of Ely, deſiring him, in the name of the parliament, to return: declaring, in caſe of refuſal, that they would immediately diſſolve themſelves. Richard, finding himſelf unable to reſiſt, agreed to the impeachment being carried on againſt Suffolk; but at the ſame time it was ſtipulated that no attack ſhould be made againſt any other of his miniſters. The accuſation laid againſt the earl was at once both frivolous and unjuſt; but innocence was a poor defence againſt the turbulent envy of the barons. Suffolk was convicted, and adjudged to pay a fine and ranſom to the king; and in the mean time was committed to the cuſtody of the duke of Glouceſter, who, as conſtable of the kingdom, confined him in the caſtle at Windſor.

The impeachment of Suffolk, and the conſequences ariſing therefrom, were but preludes to the intentions of the barons. Glouceſter and his aſſociates indeed, obſerved their ſtipulation with the king: they attacked no more of his miniſters; but they went much farther by attacking the regal power. The king was deprived of his authority, and the exerciſe of the ſovereign power intruſted to fourteen commiſſioners, whoſe juriſdiction was limited to a twelve-month, though it was ſufficiently evident,

evident, that the party of Glouceſter never meant to reinſtate their monarch in his prerogatives. But this was not all; they obliged the king not only to grant a commiſſion, under his own hand and ſeal, for veſting this committee with the neceſſary powers, but alſo to give his aſſent to a ſtatute, by which any perſon who ſhould dare to propoſe a revocation of the powers granted to this committee ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit his eſtate; and for the ſecond be puniſhed as a traitor.

Puſillanimous as Richard was, he, however, at the end of the ſeſſion, entered a proteſt againſt theſe violent proceedings, declaring, in full parliament, "that the prerogatives of his crown, not-"withſtanding his late conceſſion, ſhould be "deemed entire and unimpaired." But this proteſt had no effect on the commiſſioners: they proceeded to the exerciſe of their office; and the king found himſelf deſtitute of all authority.

After ſome time Richard determined to make one bold attempt for the recovery of his power. He accordingly aſſembled the judges and lawyers, who made no ſcruple of declaring, that the commiſſion was derogatory to the royal authority; that thoſe who procured it, or adviſed the king to conſent to it, were puniſhable with death; that thoſe who compelled him were guilty of treaſon; that thoſe were equally criminal who ſhould perſevere in maintaining it; that the king had the right of diſſolving parliaments when he pleaſed; that the parliament while they ſat muſt proceed firſt on the king's buſineſs; and that they could not, without the king's conſent, impeach any of his miniſters and judges.

The duke of Glouceſter and his party no ſooner heard of this ſecret conſultation between the judges and king, than they immediately had recourſe to arms, and demanded that the perſons who had ſeduced the king by their pernicious counſels, ſhould be delivered up as traitors to the ſtate. A few days after they appeared armed before the king, attended by their followers; when they accuſed the archbiſhop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Treſilian, and Sir Nicholas Brambre, as public and dangerous enemies to the kingdom. The duke of Ireland ſaved himſelf by flight, but the reſt were tried, condemned, and executed; and ſeveral of the judges and lawyers, who had taken part with Richard, baniſhed the kingdom.

During theſe tranſactions the earl of Arundel, who had received a commiſſion as governor of Breſt, and conſtituted lord-high-admiral of England, ſet ſail from that port with a ſquadron, and, falling in with a French fleet, took fourſcore of their ſhips, which he brought ſafe to England, after having reduced the iſlands of Rhee and Oleron, and alarmed the whole coaſt of France.

A. D. 1388. In the beginning of Auguſt this year the Scots, taking advantage of the great commotions in the Engliſh government, entered Northumberland with an army conſiſting of three hundred horſe and two thouſand foot, commanded by the earl of Douglas and his ſon, the earls of Fife, Murray and Dunbar, the moſt celebrated commanders in the Scottiſh army. They ravaged the whole country through which they paſſed, and advanced as far as the gates of Newcaſtle, where the lord Henry Piercy (ſurnamed Hotſpur from the haſtineſs of his diſpoſition) ſon to the earl of Northumberland, firſt oppoſed them. But his troops were defeated, and himſelf unhorſed in ſingle combat by the younger Douglas, who, having ſeized his lance, declared he would carry it to Scotland as a trophy of his victory.

Inflamed with rage at this misfortune, Hotſpur vowed revenge, and ſwore that Douglas ſhould not fulfil his intention. He accordingly collected a body of ſix hundred horſe and eight thouſand foot, and putting himſelf at their head marched in purſuit of the enemy, without waiting for a reinforcement of troops that were haſtening to join him under the command of the biſhop of Durham. The Scots, elated with their late ſucceſs, had undertaken the ſiege of the caſtle of Otterborn, and were lying before that fortreſs, when Piercy, by forced marches, reached their camp. Rage had ſtifled prudence in the breaſt of Piercy: he would not delay the battle a moment, though his troops were ſo greatly fatigued with their long marches, and night was approaching when he came up with the enemy. He attacked the Scots with all the fury of a diſappointed warrior, but the darkneſs of the night rendered it impoſſible to continue the conteſt, and the two armies ſeparated without either obtaining the victory. The moon, however, riſing at midnight, occaſioned the battle to be renewed with great fury, and at laſt victory declared in favour of the Scots, but not without the loſs of their intrepid leader the earl of Douglas, who fell among the ſlain. Piercy, his brother, and about an hundred officers of diſtinction, were taken priſoners, and twelve hundred of the Engliſh left dead on the field of battle. The biſhop of Durham, who was advancing at the head of ten thouſand men to join Piercy, no ſooner heard of this diſaſter than, inſtead of marching againſt the Scots, he retired with precipitation to Newcaſtle, and thereby allowed the Scots to retreat at leiſure with their booty and priſoners.

During theſe tranſactions a commiſſion was ſent to the duke of Lancaſter, who had been abroad two years, to treat with France about an accommodation for peace; and a truce was accordingly concluded between the two kingdoms.

A. D. 1389. Richard, being now in the twenty-third year of his age, reſolved to free himſelf from that ſtate of ſlavery, in which he had hitherto been kept by his uncles, and the confederate barons. He therefore, in a full council held at Eaſter, declared his intention of directing the affairs of his kingdom and houſhold by his ſole authority, and taking into his own hands the reins of government. Strange as it may appear, no oppoſition was made to this declaration; nor was it long before he carried his deſign into execution. He removed the archbiſhop of Canterbury from the office of chancellor, and beſtowed it on William of Wickham, biſhop of Wincheſter. The duke of Glouceſter, the earl of Warwick, and ſome other lords of the oppoſition were removed from the council-board. The part of treaſurer was taken from the biſhop of Hereford, and that of high-admiral from the earl of Arundel: the keeper of the privy-ſeal, all the great officers of ſtate, and the houſhold, were changed, and every place filled with perſons in whom the king thought he could repoſe the greateſt confidence.

Theſe changes were made without the leaſt oppoſition; and Richard, by paſſing a general anneſty, and giving up ſome ſubſidies which had been granted him by parliament, acquired the affections of the people, who eaſily paſs from one extreme to another.

Soon after this great change had taken place in

the government, the duke of Lancaſter, returned from the continent, and effected a reconciliation between the king and the duke of Glouceſter, who, in conſequence thereof, was again admitted as a member of the council. Lancaſter, as a recompence for his ſervices, was created duke of Aquitaine, and inveſted with the enſigns of that order.

A. D. 1390. The parliament became now as great advocates for the king as they had before been for his uncles and their aſſociates. During the ſeſſion, which was opened on the 17th of January, they gave ſeveral remarkable inſtances of their loyalty and affection. In particular they paſſed an act, by which they renewed the declaration, touching the king's enjoyment of his prerogative, with this addition, "notwithſtanding any "ſtatute and ordinance formerly made in deroga-"tion thereof, particularly in the reign of king "Edward II."

A. D. 1391. Nor was the parliament which met in the beginning of the next year leſs deficient in ſhewing their affection and loyalty than they had been the preceding. They granted the king a whole tenth and fifteenth to defray the expences of his voyage to France, whither he was invited by Charles to effect, if poſſible, a laſting accommodation with that monarch. In the mean time commiſſioners were diſpatched to treat with the French court on the buſineſs; and it was agreed that a congreſs ſhould be held at Amiens, in order that the treaty might be concluded and ratified in the preſence of the two monarchs.

A. D. 1392. In conſequence of this agreement Charles king of France, with his brother and uncles, repaired to Amiens, and Richard proceeded as far as Dover in his way to that place; but whether or no he altered his mind of his own accord, or was diverted from his purpoſe by the repreſentations of his council, is uncertain: his voyage, however, was laid aſide, and he remained at Dover Caſtle with the duke of Glouceſter, while his other two uncles, the dukes of York and Lancaſter, with the earls of Huntingdon and Derby, and other noblemen, proceeded to Amiens, in quality of ambaſſadors and plenipotentiaries. They were met on the road by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, and, during their ſtay at Amiens, magnificently entertained at the expence of the French king. But ſo many difficulties aroſe in the courſe of the conference, that nothing more was done, than prolonging the truce till Michaelmas in the following year.

A. D. 1393. The parliament met on the 20th of January, and the buſineſs firſt deſigned to be taken in hand was, the peace with France; but this was poſtponed on account of advice being received that Charles, from a diſorder in his brains, was incapable of holding the reins of government, and that the affairs of that kingdom were in the utmoſt ſtate of confuſion. The commons, however, granted the king an additional ſupply, in caſe a war ſhould take place either with France or Spain.

A. D. 1394. In the beginning of this year conferences were again opened for concluding a treaty of peace with France; but ſo many diſputes took place relative to the ſuperiority of Guienne that they did not produce the wiſhed-for effect, and the whole terminated by prolonging the truce for five years.

A. D. 1395. This year * Richard formed the reſolution of going over to Ireland, the cauſe of which aroſe from the following circumſtances. The Engliſh noblemen, who poſſeſſed large eſtates in that kingdom choſe rather to reſide in England, ſo that Ireland was left almoſt defenceleſs, and expoſed to the ravages of many of the ferocious natives, who took care to avail themſelves of ſo favourable an opportunity of recovering their antient poſſeſſions. Theſe they took by force of arms, and plundered all the reſt of the country belonging to the Engliſh, ſo that the revenue, which was very conſiderable in the late reign, was now not ſufficient to defray the expences of keeping forces in that kingdom.

Having made the neceſſary preparations for the expedition, Richard, after appointing the duke of York guardian of the kingdom during his abſence, ſet out for Wales, accompanied by the duke of Glouceſter, and the earls of Marche, Nottingham and Rutland; and embarking at Milford-haven, landed in Ireland with an army of 50,000 men.

The arrival of Richard, at the head of ſo powerful an army, ſtruck a general panic among the Iriſh, many of whom retired to their faſtneſſes for ſafety, while the reſt immediately ſubmitted to Richard, who treated them with the greateſt clemency. He not only gave them a free pardon, but even allotted penſions to their chiefs, and, by thoſe meaſures, endeavoured to allay their natural ferocity. The earl of Nottingham was empowered to receive, in the king's name, the ſubmiſſion and homage of all the Iriſh in Leinſter, who accordingly gave bonds for their future peaceable behaviour. Many chiefs of other parts of the kingdom came in, and in particular O'Neal, lord paramount over the other princes in Ireland, who voluntarily tended allegiance to the king of England, and did homage to him at Drogheda. His example was followed by moſt of the other princes, who engaged for themſelves, and their clans, to maintain the peace of the kingdom.

Richard, in order to complete the favourable impreſſion he had made on the minds of theſe people, determined to keep his Chriſtmas in Dublin, and invited all the Iriſh chiefs to a grand entertainment in that city, where he conferred upon them the order of knighthood, and encouraged them to adopt the Engliſh cuſtoms, dreſs, and way of living. In ſhort, he conducted himſelf with ſuch moderation and prudence as to acquire the general affection and eſteem of the native Iriſh, the greater part of whom voluntarily ſubmitted to his goverment.

While Richard was in Ireland, ſome diſturbances took place in London, owing to the conduct of the followers of Wickliff, who had acquired the title of Lollards, and were become ſo preſumptuous as to preach, write, and openly declaim againſt the eſtabliſhed religion †. Protected by ſome powerful noblemen, they impeached the morals

* On the 7th of June this year Richard ſuſtained a great loſs by the death of his queen, who paid the debt of nature at Shene. From her many excellent virtues ſhe obtained the title of Good Queen Anne; ſo that it is no wonder her death was univerſally lamented by the whole nation. Richard was ſo deeply affected at this melancholy event, that he was for ſome time, quite diſconſolate; nor could he ever after bear the ſight of the place where ſhe expired.

† The Lollards denied the doctrine of the real preſence, the merit of confeſſion and monaſtic vows, and the ſupremacy of the

rals and doctrines of the clergy, and a writing, containing the articles of the charge, was laid before the parliament by Sir Thomas Latimer, and other members, who had adopted their principles.

Alarmed at ſo deſperate an attack upon their order, the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of London, immediately repaired to the king at Dublin, and inveighed ſo ſtrongly againſt the Lollards, as being enemies to the church and ſtate, that Richard declined his deſign of ſtaying longer in that city, and therefore returned to England, in order to put a ſtop to the proceedings of thoſe diſturbers of the public peace. Accordingly, on his arrival, he iſſued out a proclamation, threatening the Lollards with death, if they continued to propagate their erroneous tenets; and the chancellor of Oxford was ordered to expel all thoſe who were ſuſpected of favouring their opinions. Theſe meaſures put a check to the proceedings of the Lollards, who thought proper for their own ſafety, to remain ſilent, and not publickly endeavour to propagate doctrines ſo repugnant to the tranquillity of the ſtate.

A. D. 1396. As the late queen had died without iſſue, it was now thought adviſeable by the council that Richard ſhould enter into a ſecond marriage, in order to prevent thoſe troubles which might ariſe ſhould he die without a legitimate offſpring. They accordingly (abſurd as it muſt appear to every thinking perſon) pitched upon Iſabella, eldeſt daughter of the French king, as the moſt ſuitable conſort for the Engliſh monarch; and the archbiſhop of Dublin, the biſhop of St. David's with ſeveral of the firſt noblemen were ſent to demand that princeſs in marriage. They were ordered to inſiſt on a conſiderable portion, and empowered to offer ten thouſand marks a year for her jointure. Theſe propoſals being laid before the council of France, ſome of the members hinted how inconſiſtent it would be to treat of a marriage previous to the concluſion of a peace; but the duke of Burgundy wiſely obſerved, that it was the moſt probable expedient to effect and conſolidate a laſting accommodation. At length, all difficulties being removed, it was unanimouſly agreed that Richard ſhould marry Iſabella, and receive with her a portion of eight thouſand franks in gold, at yearly payments: that he ſhould abſolutely renounce all claim to the crown of France, either from his own hereditary pretenſions, or by virtue of his marriage: and, laſtly, that the truce ſhould be prolonged for twenty-five years.

Theſe points being ſettled, the young princeſs, though only in the eighth year of her age, was entitled queen of England, and affianced to Richard by the earl of Nottingham as proxy. In the month of October following the king went over to Calais, where the marriage ceremony was performed in the church of St. Nicholas by the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and the young queen was ſoon after crowned with great ſolemnity in the abbey church of Weſtminſter.

A. D. 1397. This ſtrong alliance with France gave great offence to the Engliſh in general, who had contracted a violent antipathy to the people of that nation; and they were farther irritated by the indiſcretion of the king, who, ſoon after his return from the continent, delivered up Breſt and Cherbourgh into the hands of the French.

The conduct of Richard was far from being calculated to procure the reſpect of his ſubjects. Indolent in the affairs of government, and a ſlave to pleaſure; under the dominion of favourites, on whom he profuſely laviſhed the revenues of the crown, and the grants of the people; and ſullying the dignity of his rank by admitting perſons of very mean condition to his familiarity; he was looked upon with contempt by the people, who conſidered him as a perſon totally unworthy of wearing the Engliſh diadem.

Not only the people in general, but alſo many of the principal nobility, were highly incenſed againſt the king for his injudicious conduct, but none more than the duke of Glouceſter. That prince, to ſhew his diſguſt, abſented himſelf from the court; hardly ever appeared in council but to oppoſe the meaſures of adminiſtration; and threw out the moſt ſevere invectives againſt the government, the long truce concluded with Charles, and the marriage of Richard with the daughter of that monarch.

The miniſtry were greatly alarmed at the proceedings of Glouceſter, and the king, whoſe precipitate temper admitted of no deliberation, ordered him to be unexpectedly arreſted. Accordingly, a plan being laid for the purpoſe, the duke was ſeized, hurried on board a ſhip lying in the river ready to receive him, and taken over to Calais, where it was thought he could be ſafely detained in cuſtody. The duke's aſſociates, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, lord Cobham, Sir John Cheney, and other perſons of diſtinction, were alſo the next day arreſted; and, in order to prevent any popular clamour that might be made on the occaſion, a proclamtion was iſſued out, declaring, that they were arreſted on charges of treaſon, and ſhould be tried by the great council of the nation, which he ſummoned to meet on the firſt day of Auguſt at Nottingham.

The parliament met according to appointment, and ſuch was the venality of the members, that they entered with violence into the meaſures of the king and his dependents. They annulled the act of amneſty which Richard had voluntarily confirmed, and exhibited articles of impeachment againſt the duke of Glouceſter, and archbiſhop of Canterbury, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, with other noblemen, ſeveral of whom were tried, condemned and executed, for having been engaged in former attempts againſt the crown, notwithſtanding the pardon they had received.

Among thoſe who ſuffered death was the earl of Arundel, and the king himſelf was mean enough to be a ſpectator of the tragic ſcene (attended by the earls of Kent and Nottingham) which he beheld with all the ſymptoms of brutal pleaſure. When the earl came upon the ſcaffold, he turned to Nottingham, his ſon-in-law, and ſaid, "My "lord, it would ſurely have better become you "to have been abſent on this occaſion; you ſeem "to triumph in my ſufferings; but remember, "the time is coming, when your own misfortunes "may furniſh the like triumph to your enemies." The cruel treatment of this gallant nobleman excited

pope. They maintained, that the numerous ceremonies the church were deſtructive of true piety; that the ſcripture the ſole rule of faith; that the church was dependent on ſtate, and ought to poſſeſs no temporal wealth; and that no taxes ought to be levied on the people till the riches of the eccleſiaſtics had been expended in the ſervice of the kingdom.

cited a general clamour among the people, who publickly declared he fell a martyr to the the liberties of his country. His life was ſpent in a ſeries of brave actions. He had boldly endeavoured to preſerve his country's liberty, in oppoſition to vice, weakneſs and venality, with ſo uniform a tenor of conduct, that he was never known to deviate, in the leaſt point, from the principles he poſſeſſed.

As for the duke of Glouceſter, it was not Richard's intention to allow him the chance of a trial. He knew that nothing of a treaſonable nature could be proved againſt him, and as he was determined, at all events, to diſpatch him, he ſent a private commiſſion to four ruffians at Calais, who ſmothered the unhappy nobleman between two feather-beds; after which they ſtripped the body, and laying it under the cloaths, pretended he died of an apoplexy. Such was the miſerable and untimely end of Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, who, though not exempt from avarice and ambition, was nevertheleſs brave, open, ſincere and patriotic; and firmly attached to the conſtitution and intereſt of his country.

No ſooner were the dukes of York and Lancaſter informed of the cruel murder of their brother, than they immediately haſtened to London at the head of a numerous body of forces, threatening to take the moſt ſevere revenge on the authors of this execrable tragedy, not excepting even the king himſelf. Richard had, however, taken all the precautions neceſſary to divert the force of the expected ſtorm. He had not only gained over the parliament to his devotion; but alſo collected an army of twenty thouſand veterans, and ſtationed them in the neighbourhood of London. Nor did he depend on theſe forces; he had recourſe alſo to the milder method of negotiation, and the two brothers, finding that all oppoſition would be in vain, liſtened to an accommodation.

A. D. 1398. The parliament met at Weſtminſter on the 29th of January, and the firſt point of importance that came under their cognizance was, a charge exhibited againſt the duke of Norfolk, by the duke of Hereford, who accuſed him of having ſpoken in private many ſlanderous and ſeditious words againſt the king. Norfolk gave him the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by ſingle combat, a method of trial then authorized by the laws of the kingdom. The challenge was accepted, and the diſpute ordered to be decided according to the laws of chivalry, in preſence of the king and his whole court. Accordingly both the dukes appeared on the day appointed, the trumpets ſounded, and they were preparing to ruſh againſt each other, when the king prevented their encountering, by ordering them to wait till he ſhould conſult his council, and determine the diſpute without bloodſhed. He accordingly retired, and the two combatants returned to their reſpective chairs, which were placed on the ſpot, as was cuſtomary on thoſe occaſions. Some time after a proper officer arrived from the king, and ſilence being proclaimed, he pronounced the determination of the council, the ſubſtance of which was to this effect. That as both the appellant and defendant had honourably appeared in the liſts, their courage was ſufficiently aſcertained, and the king, with the advice of his council, had agreed, that the earl of Hereford ſhould, on pain of death; within fifteen days, depart the kingdom, and go into exile for the ſpace of ten years, and that the earl of Norfolk ſhould be baniſhed for life, becauſe he had not been able to clear himſelf of the accuſation laid to his charge.

The earl of Norfolk, knowing he had no favour to expect from Richard, retired firſt into Germany, and from thence to Venice, where he ſoon after paid the debt of nature. The duke of Hereford, who had ſome favourable expectations, waited on the king to take his leave before he quitted the kingdom, and this ſubmiſſive and reſpectful behaviour had ſuch an effect on Richard, that he remitted four years of the time aſſigned for his baniſhment; and alſo empowered him, by letters patent, to enter into immediate poſſeſſion of any eſtates that might fall to him during his exile.

A. D. 1399. The earl of Hereford had left the kingdom but a few months, when John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, paid the debt of nature, and Hereford, in conſequence of his rights, and the letters patent he had received, deſired to be put in poſſeſſion of the eſtates of his father. But Richard, contrary to every tie of honour and honeſty, denied his requeſt, and not only revoked the latters patent he had given to Hereford, and confiſcated all his perſonal eſtates, but likewiſe decreed that his baniſhment ſhould be perpetual.

It is little to be wondered at that a nobleman of Hereford's rank and character ſhould be highly exaſperated at ſuch complicated injuries. He was of a bold and enterprizing ſpirit; had given proofs of his courage and abilities both at home and abroad; was beloved by the people, and adored by the ſoldiers. He was always cool, ſedate and prudent; and was conſidered as the only Engliſh prince that deſerved the public confidence and eſteem. His misfortunes were lamented, and the injuries he had received complained of by all ranks of people. He was ſecretly invited to return to England, and aſſured of being ſufficiently ſupported in the recovery of his lawful inheritance.

Hereford, now duke of Lancaſter, determined to accept this generous offer; and an event ſoon happened which gave him all the advantages he could deſire. Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, lord lieutenant of Ireland, had been lately killed in a rencounter with a ſmall party of the Iriſh; and Richard, in order to reduce the rebels to ſubjection, and revenge the death of Mortimer, reſolved to paſs over into that iſland, and head his army in perſon. He accordingly embarked at Briſtol, and after a ſhort paſſage landed at Waterford, at the head of 2000 men at arms and 10,000 archers. Struck with conſternation at ſeeing the king of England at the head of ſo powerful an army, the moſt conſiderable part of the rebels ſubmitted, and the reſt were ſoon reduced to obedience.

In the mean time the duke of Lancaſter embraced the opportunity of returning to England. He embarked at Nantes, with a retinue of ſixty perſons, and landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, where he was immediately joined by the lords Willoughby, Roſs, D'Arcy, and Beaumont, and ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinction, attended by a numerous body of vaſſals and adherents. A few days after, his party was increaſed by the arrival of the earl of Northumberland, with his ſon Hotſpur Piercy, and his brother the earl of Weſtmoreland, at the head of ſuch a numerous body of forces, that Lancaſter's ſmall retinue was encreaſed to an army of 60,000 men. The duke now took a ſolemn oath, that his ſole deſign in

this invaſion was that of recovering the duchy of Lancaſter, unjuſtly detained from him. At the ſame time, he invited all his friends in England, and all lovers of equity and their country, to ſecond him in this reaſonable and moderate pretenſion. The duke of York, who was left guardian of the realm during the king's abſence, aſſembled an army of 40,000 men, and marched at their head to St. Alban's; but upon reviewing his forces, the ſoldiers declared to a man, that they would not draw a ſword againſt Henry of Lancaſter. The guardian himſelf did not, indeed, ſeem to be well affected to the cauſe he had undertaken to defend: he made no difficulty of declaring, that he would ſecond his nephew in recovering his juſt rights. It is, therefore, no wonder that he liſtened to a meſſage ſent him by Henry, who entreated him not to oppoſe a loyal and humble ſupplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony. The guardian was ſo far from oppoſing, that he joined the party of Henry; and the ſoldiers joyfully followed the example of their leader.

Lancaſter now finding himſelf maſter of the kingdom, marched directly to Briſtol, where ſome of Richard's miniſters had ſhut themſelves up, in order to defend the fortreſs againſt the attempts of an enemy, whoſe favour they had no hopes of obtaining. The garriſon, however, made but a poor defence: they ſoon ſurrendered, and Henry, yielding to the requeſt of the people, ordered the earl of Wiltſhire, Sir John Buſſy, and Sir John Green, who were taken priſoners, to be immediately executed, without even the form of a trial.

Richard no ſooner heard of theſe proceedings than he haſtened over from Ireland, and landed at Milford-haven with an army of twenty thouſand men. But his ſoldiers like the reſt of their brethren, were ſo ſtrongly attached to the fortunes of Henry of Lancaſter, that the greater part deſerted him; and Richard ſoon perceived he was in no condition of meeting the enemy. Wavering and irreſolute, he knew not whom to truſt, or whom to fear. At length he determined to deſert the remains of his forces, and take refuge in Wales. He accordingly retired, with the dukes of Exeter and Surry, the biſhop of Carliſle, and a few other attendants, to Conway-caſtle, propoſing to take the firſt opportunity of embarking for Ireland or France, and there wait ſome favourable opportunity of recovering that crown which he was not then able to defend.

As ſoon as Henry knew the ſituation of Richard, he immediately diſpatched the earl of Northumberland to Conway-caſtle, to make his profeſſions of loyalty and ſubmiſſion to the king: but this was all a deception, and the earl of Northumberland, having made himſelf maſter of the king's perſon, immediately conducted him to Henry, who was then at Flint-caſtle. Lancaſter loſt no time in conveying his royal captive to London, where he was received with the moſt barbarous inſults by the people, and committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower.

But though Lancaſter had got poſſeſſion of the perſon of the king, he was very uneaſy with regard to the beſt method of diſpoſing of that unfortunate monarch, and ſeveral councils were held on that ſubject. At length it was reſolved that the duke of York, with ſeveral of the firſt nobility, ſhould be ſent to Richard, in order to perſuade him to make a formal reſignation of that crown they were determined he ſhould no longer wear. For ſome time Richard refuſed to ſubmit to ſo humiliating a circumſtance; but at length, finding himſelf abandoned by all his friends, and ſenſible of his incapacity to reſiſt the torrent of popular hatred, he conſented to comply with their requeſt. Accordingly, the crown, ſceptre, and other enſigns of royalty, being brought before him, Richard, in the preſence of a great number of lords aſſembled on the occaſion, ſurrendered up the whole; after which, taking the ſignet ring from his finger, he preſented it to the duke of Lancaſter; at the ſame time deſiring the archbiſhop of York, and the biſhop of Hereford, to notify to the parliament his reſignation of the crown, and to acquaint them, that he wiſhed his kinſman, the duke of Lancaſter, might ſucceed him on the throne.

Though Lacanſter had thus far gained his wiſhes, yet he was not perfectly ſatisfied. He was fearful that this reſignation would appear the reſult of force, and therefore propoſed, that Richard ſhould be ſolemnly depoſed in parliament, for his tyranny and miſconduct. Accordingly a charge was drawn up againſt him, conſiſting of thirty-three articles, and laid before the aſſembly. Though many of theſe articles were falſe in fact, and all of them turned chiefly on arbitrary acts, of which the late reign furniſhed many ſtronger examples, yet the lords unanimouſly found them juſtly laid, and, with the conſent of the commons, formally depoſed their ſovereign. The only perſon who had courage and virtue ſufficient to ſtand up, and plead in defence of his oppreſſed maſter, was the biſhop of Carliſle, who nobly ſuſtained the cauſe of fallen majeſty, amidſt the general diſloyalty and violence. But his eloquence was exerted in vain; and the duke of Lancaſter, exaſperated at the bold truths he uttered, committed him priſoner to the Tower.

As ſoon as Richard was formally depoſed by the parliament, the members immediately declared the crown vacant; upon which the duke of Lancaſter aroſe from his ſeat, and claimed his ſuperior right to it, as being the lineal deſcendant, and right heir of blood, from Henry III. Though many objections might have been made to this claim, yet no enquiry was made by the parliament, who immediately accepted it, and placed Henry on the throne of England.

Thus ended the reign of Richard II. a prince who, in the beginning of it, had filled all his ſubjects with the moſt pleaſing hopes of his future good government; but, in proceſs of time, through the prevalence of baſe and ſordid paſſions, and the force of a moſt towering ambition, forfeited a crown he might have ſupported conſiſtently with dignity, and the happineſs of his ſubjects. But, deſtitute of virtue, diſcretion, and, in ſhort, every noble qualification, he ſunk not only beneath the majeſty of a king, but the dignity of a man; and remains, among many others, and inconteſtible proof, that moral excellence tranſcends the moſt dignified title or exalted rank in human life.

Richard acceded to the throne on the 21ſt of June, 1377, and his depoſition took place on the 30th of September, 1399; ſo that he ſwayed the Engliſh ſceptre twenty-two years, three months, and nine days.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Richard II.

A. D.

1378 A violent plague raged in the north of England, which, in a ſhort time, carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.

1381 This year bills of exchange were firſt uſed in England.

A violent earthquake in different parts of Europe.

In the month of December Richard's firſt queen, Anne of Bohemia, landed at Dover, ſoon after which ſuch a tempeſt aroſe, the like of which had not been known for many years. Several ſhips were daſhed to pieces in the harbour, and that in which the queen came over was ſunk. It is further obſervable, that when his ſecond wife, Iſabella of France, landed in England, a like ſtorm aroſe, in which the king's baggage was loſt, and many ſhips of his fleet deſtroyed.

1383 On the 21ſt of May this year there happened a dreadful earthquake in London, which threw down ſeveral churches, and many other public edifices.

About this time the uſe of cannon was projected, and Sir Hugh Calverly, governor of Calais, was the firſt perſon that uſed them in the Engliſh ſervice.

1386 The firſt company of linen-weavers ſettle in England.

1387 The earl of Arundel the firſt perſon appointed to the office of lord-high-admiral of England.

This year wine was ſo cheap, that the beſt ſold for 20s. a tun, and the more inferior ſort, at 13s. 4d.

1390 In the beginning of this year there happened a violent hurricane, which threw down many houſes, tore up trees by the roots, and deſtroyed numbers of cattle, in different parts of the kingdom.

1391 On the 9th of July this year the ſun appeared to be obſcured by thick and dreary clouds between that and the earth: its beams ſeemed of the colour of blood, and gave little or no light from noon till it ſat. Theſe clouds roſe daily for almoſt ſix weeks together.

About this time the north and eaſt parts of England were greatly afflicted with a peſtilence; inſomuch that in the city of York only upwards of eleven thouſand perſons periſhed in a few weeks.

This year playing cards were invented for the amuſement of the king of France.

1393 This year a dolphin was taken in the river Thames near London-bridge. Its coming ſo far up the river was conſidered as an ill omen, which was, in ſome degree, verified by the national confuſion that happened ſoon after.

1397 Blackwell-hall purchaſed by the city of London.

In the month of Auguſt this year Richard began repairing Weſtminſter-hall, and cauſed the walls, windows and roof to be taken down and new built, with a ſtately porch, as it now remains.

During this reign it was a cuſtom among the men to wear their ſhoes long and pecked, from the ends of which were ribbands and chains of ſilver faſtened to the knee, as well to ſupport them, as for the ſake of ornament.

The ladies wore high dreſſes on their heads, with long train gowns, and rode on ſide-ſaddles, after the example of the princeſs Anne of Bohemia, Richard's firſt wife, who brought that faſhion into this country, before which time they uſed to ride aſtride their horſes like men.

CHAP. III.

HENRY IV. Surnamed of BOLINGBROKE.

The firſt King of England *of the Line of* Lancaſter.

Coronation of Henry IV. A conſpiracy is formed to dethrone him, which proves abortive, and ſeveral of the principal perſons concerned are put to death. The late king aſſaſſinated. Henry paſſes a law for burning heretics. The Welſh make incurſions into the Engliſh territories. Hotſpur Piercy, ſon of the earl of Northumberland, engages the Scots, and obtains a complete victory. The family of Piercy join the Welſh and Scots againſt Henry. Battle of Shrewſbury, and conſequences thereof. The earl of Northumberland, and ſeveral other noblemen, take up arms againſt the king, but their deſigns are rendered abortive. The archbiſhop of York, who joined in the confederacy, is put to death without trial. The earl of Northumberland retires to Scotland, and from thence goes over to France. He returns, raiſes a large body of forces, and engages the royal army, but is defeated and ſlain. The king is greatly troubled at the miſconduct of his eldeſt ſon the prince of Wales. Some of the king's courtiers inſinuate that the prince had formed deſigns againſt his life, upon which he removes him from the council. The prince acquits himſelf of the accuſation. Henry is ſeized with violent fits, and the prince, thinking him no more, takes the crown from his pillow; but the king recovering, and being told who took it, orders him into his preſence, when the prince ſo far acquits himſelf to the ſatisfaction of his father as to receive his benediction. Death and character of Henry IV.

A. D. 1399. ON the depoſition of Richard II. the parliament having unanimouſly placed Henry of Lancaſter on the throne of England, a day was appointed for his coronation, which ceremony was accordingly performed, with great magnificence, on Monday the 13th of October, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. On the ſame day Henry created his eldeſt ſon, then in the thirteenth year of his age, duke of Cornwall, prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter, and appointed him ſucceſſor to the throne on his demiſe.

The very next day after Henry's coronation the parliament re-aſſembled, and the firſt buſineſs they did was, to repeal all the ſtatutes enacted in the two laſt parliaments convoked by Richard, and to paſs ſeveral new laws, tending to ſecure the independency of the crown, and confirming the privileges of the people. They likewiſe deliberated on the caſe of Richard, when it was unanimouſly agreed, that he ſhould be kept in perpetual confinement; but in other reſpects, treated according to his rank and quality. He was accordingly removed from the Tower to the caſtle of Leeds, and ſoon after to that of Pontefract in Yorkſhire.

But though Henry was thus placed on the throne of England by the unanimous conſent and protection of the parliament, yet he was far from being quietly ſeated in the regal chair. His uſurpation was ſo palpable, and the prior right of Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche (who had retired to his eſtate near the borders of Wales) ſo clear and evident, that it required his utmoſt abilities to ſecure that crown he had ſo unjuſtifiably obtained. The citizens of London, indeed, and the inhabitants of the adjacent counties, were, in general, well affected to him; but thoſe of Wales and its marches, where the Mortimer intereſt lay, and which had always been diſtinguiſhed by Richard, wanted only an opportunity of breaking into open rebellion.

A. D. 1400. Nor were the inhabitants of Wales the only people who wiſhed to dethrone the new mo-

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Walcdelin. *Grignion scnip.*

Born
Anno. 1367.

Crowned
October 13. 1399.

Died
March 20. 1413.

30 31 JAN

monarch. Many of the Engliſh nobility, who had been materially injured by the late revolution, were ſo diſſatisfied, that they entered into a conſpiracy, and determined, if poſſible, to deprive Henry of a crown to which he had no legal claim, and to replace on it the dethroned and captive monarch.

Several conſultations were held on this buſineſs, and it was at length reſolved, that in order to promote their deſign, and render their undertaking ſucceſsful, they ſhould endeavour to prevail on one Maudlin, a prieſt, who greatly reſembled Richard both in ſhape and features, to perſonate him. Maudlin readily complied, in conſequence of which, to make this part of their plan have the greater effect, they agreed to dreſs him in royal robes, and carry him to different parts of the kingdom, till the real Richard could be releaſed from his confinement.

By this ſtratagem they ſoon obtained a prodigious number of partizans, and determined immediately to carry their deſign into execution. Henry was at this time in the caſtle at Windſor, and it was agreed, in order to aſſemble a ſufficient number of perſons without ſuſpicion, to propoſe a tilting match to be held at Oxford, and to invite Henry to be a ſpectator of that manly exerciſe. If he accepted the invitation, they imagined it would be no difficult matter to ſeize his perſon; and if he refuſed, they were to march ſecretly to Windſor Caſtle, where they flattered themſelves with obtaining an eaſy admittance.

Henry accepted the invitation of being preſent at the tournament, but before the day arrived on which it was to be held the earl of Rutland, one of the principal conſpirators, went to Windſor, diſcovered the whole plot to the king, and obtained the promiſe of a pardon. On this diſcovery Henry immediately ſet out for London, where he was ſure of being ſupported by the citizens, and would therefore be in a condition of giving the rebels battle, in caſe they ventured to approach the capital. In the mean time the conſpirators, ſuſpecting their deſign diſcovered, marched immediately to Windſor, and ſurpriſed the caſtle, but were confounded when they found that Henry had made his eſcape. Henry appeared next day at Kingſton upon Thames, at the head of twenty thouſand men, moſtly drawn from the city; and the rebels, unable to reſiſt his power, diſperſed themſelves with a view of raiſing their followers in the ſeveral counties, where their intereſt more immediately lay. But they were ſo cloſely purſued by the royal party, that the earls of Kent and Saliſbury were ſeized at Cirenceſter by the inhabitants, and beheaded the next day without farther ceremony. The earl of Huntingdon and ſeveral other noblemen were taken priſoners, and ſuffered death by the expreſs commands of the king. As for Maudlin, after being publicly expoſed on the pillory to the inſults of the populace, he was taken out half dead, and carried to the gallows, where he was hung up by the heels till he expired.

As Henry was conſcious this conſpiracy had taken place from thoſe who were ſtrenuous advocates for the late king, he could not think himſelf ſafe while Richard was alive. That unhappy prince was ſtill in Pontefract Caſtle, where he was ſhewn ſome ſmall remains of royal reſpect. Sir Pierce de Exton (one of thoſe wretches who think nothing too barbarous for gratifying either their own ambition or that of their maſter) determined to deſtroy Richard, and free Henry from the uneaſineſs that he could not conceal. Accordingly he imparted his deſign to eight ruffians, who all agreed to diſpatch the unhappy prince, not doubting but they ſhould receive a noble reward, as the action was too deteſtible for the king to ſeem to command, and too dangerous for any but abandoned ruffians like themſelves to undertake. The horrid deſign being formed, Exton and his ruffians ſet out for Pontefract Caſtle, in order to execute their barbarous intentions. On the day of their arrival Richard perceived, at dinner, that his victuals was not taſted as uſual: enquiring the reaſon, he was told by the perſon who uſed to perform that ceremony, that the king had ordered it to be omitted; upon which Richard, loſing all patience, ſtruck the taſter on the face with his knife, ſaying, "The devil take Henry of Lancaſter and thee!" Exton coming in at the inſtant, with five of his attendants, attempted to lay hold of Richard, who, gueſſing their deſign, wreſted a pole ax out of the hands of one of them, and defended himſelf ſo bravely that he ſlew four of the ruffians; but at length Exton, getting upon a chair behind him, the villain diſcharged ſuch a blow with an ax upon his head, that he laid him dead at his feet. And thus fell, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, the unfortunate Richard II. king of England.

Henry well knew that the death of Richard, and the execution of thoſe diſtinguiſhed noblemen, who had been concerned in the late rebellion, muſt give riſe to animoſities injurious to the royal authority; and therefore determined, if poſſible, to gain the clergy over to his intereſt. To effect this, he cauſed a law to be paſſed by the parliament, whereby it was enacted, that when any heretic, who refuſed to abjure his opinion, was delivered over to the ſecular power, he ſhould be committed to the flames by the civil magiſtrate. This ſanguinary ſtatute was the ſource of additional diſtreſs to the people, who were already ſufficiently acquainted with misfortunes. Nor was it long before this execrable law was carried into execution. William Soutre, rector of St. Oſithe's in London, having embraced the doctrines of Wickliffe, was condemned by the ſynod of Canterbury, and committed to the flames for entertaining principles contrary to the eſtabliſhed religion.

A. D. 1401. Encouraged by the unſettled ſtate of the Engliſh government, one Owen Glandower, a deſcendant of the antient princes of Wales, made various incurſions into the Engliſh territories, and committed the moſt horrid depredations on the innocent inhabitants. This produced a troubleſome and tedious war, which the Welſh prince long ſuſtained by his valour and activity, aſſiſted by the natural ſtrength of that country, and the untamed ſpirit of the inhabitants. In one of the encounters between the Engliſh and Welſh, the earl of Marche, who (notwithſtanding what had before paſſed between Henry and himſelf) had armed his followers in defence of the king, was taken priſoner. But the ungrateful Henry ſuffered him to remain in captivity; nor would he permit the earl of Northumberland to ranſom him, though he owed his crown to the aſſiſtance of that powerful nobleman.

The Welſh were not the only people that made incurſions into the Engliſh territories. The Scots likewiſe took advantage of the unſettled ſtate of affairs in England, and committed dreadful ravages in the northern counties. The moſt conſiderable body, which conſiſted of twelve thouſand men,

was

was commanded by Archibald earl of Douglas. Hotſpur Piercy attacked the invaders at Haly-down-hill, and a deſperate battle enſued, but at length the Scots were defeated, and Piercy obtained a compleat victory. Above ſeven thouſand Scots were killed on the field of battle; and the earls of Douglas, Fife, Angus, Athol, and Montieth, with a great number of other officers of diſtinction, taken priſoners.

But this defeat, inſtead of being advantageous, was productive of very diſagreeable conſequences. Henry no ſooner received intelligence of the reduction of the Scots, than he immediately wrote a letter to the earl of Northumberland and his ſon, which was full of the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude for their ſervices; but at the ſame time ſtrictly enjoined them not to ranſom any of their priſoners. This injunction was conſidered as an arbitrary uſurpation of power, all priſoners being (by the military laws which then prevailed) the ſole property of thoſe by whom they were conquered.

A. D. 1402-3. Irritated at the proceedings of Henry, who, in a great meaſure, owed his crown to the Northumberland intereſt, the whole family conſpired againſt him, and reſolved, if poſſible, to wreſt out of his hands that ſcepter which they now thought him unworthy any longer to hold.

Thomas Piercy, earl of Worceſter, beſides the inſult offered by Henry on this occaſion, had other cauſes to excite his reſentment. He had been made vice-chamberlain and admiral by Richard; loved the perſon of his old maſter and benefactor while living, retained a grateful ſenſe of the benefits he had received after his death, and could not but deteſt Henry as the author of his murder, and the uſurper of his crown. He therefore joined his father and brother, to drive from the throne a perſon who had no title to fill it, and whoſe power was founded on the blood of his maſter.

The plan being concerted, preparations were accordingly made by the whole family of the Piercies for carrying it into execution. For this purpoſe an alliance was concluded with Owen Glendower; and Hotſpur offered earl Douglas his liberty without ranſom if he would join the Northumberland army, a propoſal which he readily accepted, having long borne an inveterate hatred to the whole houſe of Lancaſter.

In a ſhort time a very conſiderable army was aſſembled; but before the troops were ready to take the field, the earl of Northumberland was ſeized with a ſudden illneſs at Berwick, in conſequence of which the chief command devolved upon Hotſpur Piercy, who led his forces to Shrewſbury, in order to join the troops of Glendower.

It happened at this time that Henry had a conſiderable body of forces which were collected together for the purpoſe of marching againſt the Scots; and therefore no ſooner did he hear of the proceedings of the Piercies, than he immediately quitted London, at the head of his troops, and marched to oppoſe them. On his approach near Shrewſbury, Piercy, who did not ſo ſoon expect to be oppoſed by a royal army, was obliged to abandon the ſiege of that place, which he had juſt inveſted, and prepare for an engagement. He accordingly encamped at Hartlefield near Shrewſbury, where he reſolved to hazard a battle, though he was not then joined by the Welſh forces commanded by Glandower.

The two armies having made the neceſſary preparations, the battle was begun, and the ſhock was at once both dreadful and bloody. Henry's infantry at firſt gave way, and the whole army would have been thrown into confuſion, had not the impetuous valour of Piercy and Douglas given the royaliſts an opportunity of rallying. Theſe two chiefs fought ſide by ſide, and opened themſelves a paſſage to the ſpot where the royal ſtandard was erected, and where they knew Henry fought in perſon, both contending who ſhould have the honour of encountering the royal warrior. Piercy ſupported that renown which he had acquired in ſo many bloody combats; and Douglas, his antient enemy, and now his friend, ſtill appeared his rival amidſt the horrors and confuſion of the battle. Their ardor, however, proved fatal to their cauſe; they charged with ſuch deſperate fury, and pierced with ſuch rapidity the ranks of the enemy, that few of their men could follow them. They performed ſuch prodigies of valour, that they ſoon found themſelves amidſt heaps of dead bodies, and the royal ſtandard was thrown to the ground. Nor did Henry flinch from the heat of battle; he expoſed his perſon in the thickeſt of the fight. His gallant ſon (whoſe military atchievements afterwards became ſo famous) followed the example of his father; and even a wound which he received in his face with an arrow, did not oblige him to quit the field. Henry, however, in order either to elude the attacks of the enemy upon his perſon, or to encourage his own men by the belief that he was preſent every where, had dreſſed ſeveral perſons in the royal garb; and the ſword of Douglas, who ſeemed determined that the king of England ſhould fall by his arm, rendered that intended honour fatal to moſt of thoſe who appeared in the royal attire.

But while the two armies were ſtrenuouſly contending for the palm of victory, the fall of Hotſpur Piercy, by an unknown hand, decided the fortune of the day: the rebels were totally routed, and the royaliſts left maſters of the field. About two thouſand five hundred gentlemen are ſaid to have periſhed in this ſanguinary conteſt; but the perſons of the moſt diſtinction in the royal army were the earl of Stafford, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir Nicholas Ganſel, Sir Hugh Mortimer, Sir John Maſſey, and Sir John Calverly. About 6000 private men were ſlain, of whom two thirds belonged to Piercy's army. The earls of Douglas and Worceſter were taken priſoners, the former of whom was diſmiſſed without ranſom on account of his diſtinguiſhed valour; but the latter, with ſeveral others, were beheaded at Shrewſbury.

During theſe tranſactions the earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his illneſs, was marching at the head of a very conſiderable body of troops to reinforce his ſon's army; but hearing that he was totally defeated and ſlain, and that the king was advancing againſt him at the head of his victorious troops, he immediately diſbanded his forces, and ſhut himſelf up in Warkworth caſtle. Soon after the king arrived at York, whither the earl of Northumberland, attended by a ſmall retinue, immediately repaired, in order to apologize for his conduct. Being admitted into the preſence of Henry he pretended that his ſole intention in raiſing an army was to mediate a peace between the contending parties: this was certainly a very frivolous excuſe; but the king, unwilling to drive ſo powerful a nobleman to deſpair, admitted his apology, and granted him a pardon.

A. D.

A. D. 1404. The rebellion being totally ſuppreſſed, Henry returned with his forces to London, whither he had not long arrived when a circumſtance happened which gave him freſh alarms. A report was circulated that Richard was ſtill alive, and this report ſeemed to gain univerſal credit. It was propagated by one Serle, formerly a domeſtic to Henry, who wrote letters to different perſons in England, aſſuring them that Richard was then in being, and in good health. But this impoſition was ſoon diſcovered, as alſo the author of it, by means of Sir William Clifford, governor of Berwick, who, in order to make up a former breach with the king, delivered Serle up to juſtice; in conſequence of which he was tried, condemned, and executed, as a traitor to his country, and a public diſturber of the peace of the kingdom.

In the month of July Henry concluded a truce with the Scots, which was to continue in force till the Eaſter following.

A. D. 1405. Henry now thought it adviſeable to take ſome meaſures for ſuppreſſing the inroads of the Welſh, who had continued their depredations on the Engliſh territories. He accordingly raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, and gave the command to the prince of Wales, who marching againſt them routed the greater part of their army. He then advanced farther into the country, and ſoon after fought another battle in Monmouthſhire, againſt a body of eight thouſand men, commanded by Griffith, eldeſt ſon of Glendower, whoſe army was routed, himſelf taken priſoner, and his uncle Tudor killed on the ſpot.

The victorious arms of the prince of Wales might probably have quelled the rebellious Welſh, had they not been encouraged by the French, from whom they expected a very powerful aſſiſtance. The duke of Orleans, who bore great ſway in that kingdom, regardleſs of the truce ſubſiſting with England, ſent an army into Guienne, which reduced ſeveral places belonging to the Engliſh. Theſe were circumſtances that greatly alarmed Henry, and he was deſirous, if poſſible, of ſuppreſſing the Welſh rebellion before they could receive any aſſiſtance from the perfidious French. To effect this he called a council of the nobility, prelates as well as laity, in order to ſolicit a ſubſidy, which, from a liberal ſupply a ſhort time before granted, he could not in reaſon demand of the parliament. But, to his great mortification, he met with an unanimous repulſe; ſo that, for the preſent, his deſigns againſt the Welſh were entirely fruſtrated.

Soon after this another inſurrection took place, and a powerful party was formed againſt Henry's perſon and government. The earl of Nottingham (ſon to the duke of Norfolk, whom Henry, while only earl of Hereford, had accuſed of high treaſon, and by that means procured his perpetual baniſhment) and Richard Scroope, archbiſhop of Canterbury (brother to the earl of Wiltſhire, whom Henry, when duke of Lancaſter, had cauſed to be beheaded) continued to harbour the moſt implacable rancour againſt that prince, and they now reſolved, in conjunction with the earl of Northumberland, to wreak their vengeance on the enemy of their families. They were farther encouraged in their deſign by the junction of the lords Bardolf, Haſtings and Fauconbridge, together with a great number of gentlemen of figure and fortune in their reſpective counties.

The conſpirators, having gathered together their forces, marched to York, where they publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the king, containing nine articles, the moſt important of which were theſe: That Henry, when he arrived in England, had proteſted and ſworn, that he came for no other purpoſe, but to recover his private eſtate, without having any pretenſions to the crown, which he had, nevertheleſs, uſurped: that, like an arch-traitor, he had impriſoned his ſovereign, compelled him to reſign his royal dignity, and then put him to death in a very barbarous manner: that ſince the death of Richard, he had unjuſtly detained the crown from Edmund Mortimer earl of Marche, to whom it lawfully belonged; and that, notwithſtanding the repeated ſolicitations of his clergy, he had refuſed to pay the ranſom of the earl of Marche, falſly charging that nobleman with having voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf priſoner to Owen Glendower. That theſe were the cauſes which induced them to take up arms, in order to deliver the nation from the oppreſſion of ſuch a tyrant, and ſet the lawful heir upon the throne of England. This manifeſto was circulated through moſt parts of the kingdom, by emiſſaries, who had been induſtriouſly and numerouſly employed for that purpoſe.

The earl of Weſtmoreland (who had been appointed to watch the Scottiſh marches) no ſooner heard of this inſurrection, than he immediately advanced at the head of his forces, hoping to ſurprize the rebels before they were prepared for defence. In this, however, he was deceived; for, on reaching Shipton-Moor, in the neighbourhood of York, he perceived the inſurgents, amounting to 17,000 men, drawn up in excellent order, and ready to engage. Knowing his army to be greatly inferior, in point of numbers, to that of the inſurgents, he had recourſe to ſtratagem, which, however unpromiſing in appearance, was, nevertheleſs, attended with the deſired ſucceſs. He prevailed on the earl of Nottingham and the archbiſhop of Canterbury to favour him with a conference between the two armies, when he heard their complaints with great patience, ſeemed heartily to concur with them in taking meaſures for the welfare of the nation, and even undertook to promiſe that Henry, ſhould give them entire ſatisfaction.

This artful behaviour had the wiſhed-for effect. The earl of Weſtmoreland eaſily prevailed on the two confederate leaders to diſmiſs their followers, who were no ſooner out of ſight, than the earl's guard ſeized the earl of Nottingham and archbiſhop of Canterbury before they could receive any ſuccour from their adherents. As ſoon as this piece of treachery was known, and that two of their principal leaders were in cuſtody, the inſurgents were ſeized with the utmoſt conſternation, and conſulted their own ſafety by immediately laying down their arms, and betaking themſelves to flight.

The earl of Weſtmoreland marched with his noble priſoners to York, whither the king ſoon after arrived, and, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the earl, determined to make them feel his reſentment. Henry knew the trial of the archbiſhop, if conducted in the uſual form, would prove both troubleſome and tedious; therefore determined to follow the ferocious cuſtoms of the age, by putting the primate to death without the form of a trial. He accordingly applied to William Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, to paſs the ſentence of high-treaſon on the archbiſhop: but he refuſed to act contrary to the laws of his country. Sir William Fulthorpe was, therefore, appointed a

judge on this occaſion, who, without any indictment, trial, or defence, condemned the prelate to ſuffer death, and the ſentence was immediately carried into execution. This was the firſt inſtance in England of a capital ſentence being inflicted on a dignitary of the church. The earl of Nottingham ſuffered the ſame fate with the archbiſhop, and heavy fines were impoſed on ſeveral others who had been engaged in the inſurrection.

As for the earl of Northumberland, he no ſooner heard of the fate of Nottingham and the archbiſhop, than he immediately ſought his ſafety by flying to Scotland, accompanied by lord Bardolf. But the unfortunate earl did not long enjoy the benefit of this aſylum; an event ſoon after happened which obliged him to ſeek his ſafety on the continent. Robert III. king of Scotland, was by no means qualified to hold the ſceptre in theſe ferocious times. He was a prince of a ſlender capacity, but very innocent and inoffenſive; virtues which were then ſo far from being admired, that they rendered him contemptible. His brother, the duke of Albany, a prince of a more violent and boiſterous diſpoſition, aſſumed the reins of government; and, deſirous of rendering his power perpetual, threw David, the eldeſt ſon of Robert, into priſon, where he was inhumanly ſtarved to death. James, a younger brother of David, was now the only obſtacle that oppoſed the tyrant from mounting the throne on the death of his brother. Senſible of his ſon's danger, Robert embarked him on board a ſhip, in order to ſend him into France, not doubting but he would there find ſufficient protection. But Robert was deſtined to misfortunes: the ſhip was taken by the Engliſh, and Henry, notwithſtanding the truce which ſubſiſted between the two crowns, refuſed to reſtore the young prince to liberty. Worn out with grief and infirmities, Robert was unable to ſupport this laſt misfortune. He ſunk under the weight of his diſtreſs, and left the government in the hands of his brother. Henry now ſaw all the importance of his acquiſition: the duke of Albany was entirely dependent on the Engliſh monarch; becauſe a ſingle attempt to prejudice the intereſt of Henry would be ſufficient to pull him from the throne. James was about nine years of age when he was firſt brought to London; and if any thing could atone for this breach of faith, it was the excellent education which Henry beſtowed upon him, and which afterwards qualified him for filling the throne of his anceſtors with honour to himſelf and happineſs to his people. From theſe circumſtances it is little to be wondered at that the duke of Albany ſhould refuſe protection to a nobleman ſo obnoxious to Henry as the duke of Northumberland: he therefore inſiſted upon his immediately quitting his dominions, with which the earl readily complied, and retired to France.

A. D. 1407. The only remarkable circumſtance that happened this year worthy of recording was, the death of the famous Sir Robert Knolles, who had acquired ſuch military renown during the reign of Edward III. He died at his country ſeat in Kent, and was buried in White Friars church, which himſelf had built. He likewiſe built Rocheſter bridge, and founded a college for ſecular canons at Pontefract in Yorkſhire. He died at a very advanced age, after having retired privately many years, during which he lived univerſally beloved and reſpected for his benevolence and humanity.

A. D. 1408. The earl of Northumberland, who had retired to France, became now weary of his exile, and determined to make one more effort to remove Henry from the throne. He accordingly landed in the north of England with lord Bardolph, hoping his preſence would be ſufficient to rouſe the Engliſh to arms. This was far from being a chimerical conjecture, for he was immediately joined by a party of Scottiſh free-booters, and as he advanced, found his army daily increaſe. Pleaſed to find the inhabitants had not yet loſt their affections for his family, he continued his march, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral caſtles which had been reduced after the fatal battle of Shrewſbury, and appointed Thirſk in Yorkſhire as the place of general rendezvous for his army.

The government were were greatly alarmed at the ſucceſs which had attended the earl in this new inſurrection; but there was now no royal army ready to march againſt the rebels. However, Sir Thomas Rokeſby, ſheriff of Yorkſhire, thinking it his duty to ſtop the inſurgents, raiſed a conſiderable body of forces, and advanced to meet them. The earl of Northumberland was equally deſirous of coming to an action with the ſheriff, being perſuaded that if he could defeat Rokeſby's forces, he ſhould not only diſappoint Henry of ſo eſſential a reinforcement, but alſo engage the city and county of York to declare in his favour. He accordingly put his army in motion, and met Rokeſby on Barham Moor, where a bloody battle enſued, in which the rebels, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were totally routed, and both the earl of Northumberland, and lord Bardolf fell among the ſlain. This event, together with the death of Glendower, which happened ſoon after, freed Henry from all domeſtic enemies. No more attempts were made to tear the laurel from his brow, and he enjoyed the crown he had uſurped without any farther oppoſition.

A. D. 1409. The coaſts and commerce of England had, for ſome time, been greatly annoyed by a number of French corſairs; to prevent which Henry ordered a ſtrong fleet to be fitted out, under the command of the earl of Kent, who immediately directed his courſe to the town of Brehar, the rendezvous of the corſairs, and inveſted the place; but the earl was repulſed, after receiving a wound in his head, which proved mortal. This diſaſter ſo exaſperated the Engliſh, that they renewed the attack with the utmoſt fury, and in a ſhort time carried the place, put all they found in arms to the ſword, and brought the reſt priſoners to England.

A. D. 1410. The perſecutions which had been carried on againſt the Wickliffites, or Lollards, were far from producing the intended effect: they continued to encreaſe daily, and many of them held places of truſt and power under the government. The clergy, alarmed at their progreſs, determined to carry the laws againſt them into execution with the utmoſt ſeverity, and, by ſome diſtinguiſhed example, prevent them from extending that influence which threatened the foundation of the eſtabliſhed religion. One Bodby, a taylor, took upon him to exclaim violently againſt the abſurdity of the real preſence in the ſacrament. This perſon, therefore, was ſingled out by the clergy for exemplary puniſhment. He was accordingly tried, and condemned to the ſtake; and the prince of Wales had the curioſity to be a ſpectator of the execution. When the flames firſt reached the body of the criminal, he cried out in ſo horrid a manner, that the prince ordered the fire to be removed, and offered the man his life, together with a penſion out of his private purſe, (as

(as the flames had disabled him from following his business) on condition he would renounce his opinion. Bodby, however shocked when he first felt the flames, refused the offered pardon: he loved his opinions better than his life, and was accordingly committed again to the fire, in which he resigned his breath as a forfeit to his faith.

A. D. 1411. In the beginning of this year the Scots renewed their depredations on the northern borders of England; and with their cruizers interrupted the navigation and trade of the English. But they were soon stopped in their proceedings by the courage and abilities of Robert de Umfreville, vice-admiral of England, who entered the Frith of Edinburgh with ten capital ships, and not only destroyed the greater part of their naval force, but ravaged the whole coast, and brought off immense plunder.

The parliament this year met on the 12th of November, when they petitioned the king that a general amnesty might be passed in favour of all his majesty's subjects. Henry readily complied with their request, in consideration of which they very liberally granted him the necessary supplies. At the same time his three sons, John, Thomas and Humphry, were created dukes, the first of Bedford, the second of Clarence, and the third of Gloucester; and Henry's own brother was created duke of Dorset.

A. D. 1412. Henry had now neither foreign or domestic enemies to contend with, and tranquillity prevailed throughout his dominions. But the king could not enjoy that satisfaction which was possessed by his subjects. His days were embittered as a parent by the irregular courses of his eldest son the prince of Wales, whose court was the common receptacle for libertines, and every other character that could disgrace human nature. In short, he plunged himself, with the utmost violence, into all the extravagancies of debauchery, and blushed not for a conduct the most disorderly and licentious.

But these outrages proceeded less from a depraved disposition, than the natural violence of his temper; and many gleams of spirit and magnanimity were observed to break through the cloud which a wild conduct had thrown over his character, and of which the following is an instance. One of young Henry's favorites having been indicted for some misdemeanor, was condemned, notwithstanding all the interest the prince, who was present at the trial, could make in his favor. Young Henry was so incensed at the issue, that he struck Sir William Gascoigne, the judge, as he sat on the bench. But the magistrate was not to be intimidated; he acted with a spirit suitable to his character, and instantly ordered the prince into custody. This sally of passion in the prince was immediately succeeded by a sudden return of reason; he suffered himself, with the utmost resignation, to be conducted to prison by the officers of justice. When the king was informed of this transaction, he said, "I thank God I have a judge possessed of so much courage to execute the laws, and a son endowed with so much obedience as to submit to such chastisement."

But notwithstanding this instance of modesty and submission in the prince, Henry, who was naturally of a jealous and suspicious disposition, too readily listened to the base suggestions of some officious courtiers, who insinuated that his eldest son had formed unnatural designs against his crown and life. These insinuations filled his mind with anxious fears, and he might probably have proceeded to some extremities, in order to secure his safety on the throne, had not his suspicions been removed by the prudent conduct of the prince.

Young Henry was no sooner informed of these base and treacherous aspersions, than he immediately dressed himself in a mourning habit, and repaired to court, in order to request a private audience of the king. Being admitted into his father's presence, he immediately fell on his knees, and addressed him in words to this effect: "Most dread sovereign, and honoured father! It gives me the greatest concern to find that I am suspected by your majesty of an unnatural design against your crown and person, which I, more than any other subject, am bound to reverence and defend. I confess, indeed, with shame and contrition, that my irregularities and excesses have given sufficient cause for your displeasure. But I call upon God (who knows the inmost secrets of the heart, and never fails to punish those who dare invoke him to sanctify a falsehood) to witness, that I never harboured a single thought inconsistent with that duty I owe your majesty as my sovereign and my father. Those who charge me with contrary intentions, seek only to disturb your tranquillity, and to alienate your affections from your son and successor. I would willingly remove those anxieties from your mind; I came for no other purpose. Let me beseech you, therefore, to let my actions be tried by the utmost rigor, with the same severity as if I was the meanest of your subjects; and if I am found guilty, in any respect, of the atrocious crime laid to my charge; if I have ever used any expression that indicated disloyalty or want of affection, let me be punished as the vilest miscreant that ever disgraced the name of son or subject. I will readily submit to any punishment you may think proper to inflict. I again, therefore, beseech you with the utmost humility, both for the ease of your own mind, and the vindication of your injured son, to issue the necessary orders for making the rigorous scrutiny I now demand."

It is little to be wondered at that so ingenuous and pathetic an address should greatly affect the king. He was unable, for some time, to speak, but at length, recovering himself, raised the prince from the ground, embraced him with tears, and assured him, that all his suspicions were entirely removed, and that he would never, for the future, harbour a thought prejudicial to his honour and loyalty.

A. D. 1413. But Henry did not long survive this affecting interview. His health had, for some months, been violently declining, and he was greatly afflicted with fits, which returned at certain intervals, and for a time, bereaved him of his senses. In consequence of this dangerous complaint, (together with some scruples of conscience concerning the means he had employed to obtain the crown, and an idle prophecy, implying that he should die in Jerusalem) Henry wholly dedicated his time to devotional duties, and assumed the cross, resolving to consecrate the remainder of his days to a war against the infidels. He imparted his resolution to a grand council assembled for that purpose, and began to make preparations for the expedition, when his fits increased to so violent a degree, that he was obliged to decline his resolution, and prepare himself to take a final leave of the world.

Henry had been so frequently in danger of losing his crown, that his imagination seems to have

have been ſtrongly impreſſed with that idea, which increaſed, as his ſtrength and reaſoning faculties decayed, even to a degree of childiſh anxiety. He would not ſleep unleſs the royal diadem was laid on his pillow. One day he remained ſo long in a ſwoon, that his ſervants thought him actually dead; and the prince took the crown from the pillow, and carried it into his own apartment. The king recovering the uſe of his ſenſes, and obſerving the diadem was removed, aſked who had dared to take it from his pillow? and being told, he ordered the prince to brought into his preſence. When young Henry appeared, the king with an angry countenance, ſaid, "What! would you deprive me of my crown before my death?" "No," replied the prince, "I took it, thinking your majeſty was really dead, as my lawful inheritance; but now, happily perceiving my miſtake, return the diadem with far greater pleaſure than I took it." He accordingly re-placed the crown on the king's pillow; and having receiv'd his father's benediction, retired.

A few days after this Henry was ſeized with a more violent fit than ever while at his devotion before the ſhrine of Edward the Confeſſor in Weſtminſter-abbey, from whence he was removed to the Jeruſalem Chamber. As ſoon as he had a little recovered, finding himſelf in a ſtrange place, he deſired to know where he was, and being informed, immediately concluded that his diſſolution was at hand, and that the prophecy relative to his dying in Jeruſalem would be, in ſome degree, fulfilled. Poſſeſſed with this notion, he deſired to ſee the prince of Wales, to whom he gave ſeveral important inſtructions relative to his future government, and having recommended him to the protection of heaven, ſoon after expired, on the 20th of March, in the 46th year of his age, and 14th of his reign. His remains were interred in the cathedral at Canterbury.

Henry was in perſon of a middling ſtature, well proportioned, and had a graceful and pleaſing countenance. He was of a very ſedate but at the ſame time, eaſy diſpoſition, being neither elated with proſperity, or dejected by adverſity. His perſonal courage and military proweſs were indiſputable, and he poſſeſſed a ſolid judgment, with a deep penetration into human nature. In a word, except the circumſtances of his uſurpation, and the murder of Richard, he ſeems to have been qualified for the high ſtation to which he was exalted; and had he obtained the crown by a juſt and lawful title, might have paſſed his life with as much honour to himſelf, and as much advantage to the nation, as any other monarch that ever filled the Engliſh throne.

Remarkable Occurences during the reign of Henry IV.

A. D.

1407 A great plague broke out in London, which raged with ſuch violence, that, in a ſhort time, it carried off no leſs than 30,000 of the inhabitants.

1408 A little before Chriſtmas began a violent froſt, which laſted fifteen weeks, and being accompanied with abundance of ſnow, prodigious numbers of birds periſhed with cold and hunger.

1409 This year a play was acted at Skinner's-well, near Clerkenwell, London, repreſenting the principal tranſactions that had taken place in the world ſince the creation. It laſted eight days, and the greater part of the nobility and gentry of England were preſent.

1411 The Guildhall in the city of London, which was but a mean place before, was this year rebuilt, as it now appears, at the expence of the city.

BOOK X.

From the Acceſſion of Henry V. to the Death of Henry VII.

CHAP. I.

HENRY V. ſurnamed of MONMOUTH.

Acceſſion and coronation of Henry V. Prudent conduct of the king. Sir John Oldcaſtle is condemned to the flames for favouring the principles of the Lollards. He makes his eſcape from the Tower, but is afterwards taken and hanged as a traitor. Diſtractions in the court of France. A conſpiracy againſt the king. Henry goes over to the continent with a powerful army. Battle of Agincourt, and conſequences thereof. Henry returns to England, but ſoon after goes again to the continent, and lays ſiege to Rouen. Marches to Paris, and obliges the court to move to Troyes. Makes a treaty with the French, by which he obtains the ſovereignty of France, and marries Catharine, the daughter of Charles VI. Henry returns to England, in order to obtain a ſupply from the parliament. Goes again to the continent with a large army, to oppoſe the meaſures of the dauphin. Lays ſiege to Meaux, reduces it, and hangs the governor for his cruelty to the Engliſh. Is ſeized with the bloody flux while in France, and finding his end approaching, gives ſome particular inſtructions to his attendants. His death and character.

A. D. 1413. ON the death of Henry IV. his eldeſt ſon, Henry, ſurnamed of Monmouth, was immediately proclaimed king, and on the 9th of April following, was crowned at Weſtminſter, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people, who, notwithſtanding the looſe he had given to his paſſions during the latter part of the late reign, formed great expectations of happineſs under his government.

Nor were their expectations ill founded; for no ſooner did the young king aſſume the reins of government than he ſo changed his conduct, as to prove himſelf worthy of the high ſtation to which

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HENRY V.

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born *Anno. 1388.* | *Crowned* *April 9. 1413.* | *Died* *August 31. 1422.*

1954
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he was advanced. He immediately diſcarded all his profligate companions, but at the ſame time allowed them liberal penſions for their future ſubſiſtence. He publiſhed a general amneſty for all crimes that had been committed, except rapes and murders; choſe a new council compoſed of the wiſeſt and beſt men in the kingdom; and made a thorough reform in the courts of juſtice, by removing ignorant and corrupt judges, and ſupplying their places with men of real abilities and integrity. Sir William Gaſcoigne, the chief juſtice, was received with particular marks of eſteem, and, inſtead of reproaches (as he had expected for his conduct in the late reign) was loaded with favours, for his ſtrict and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice.

Young Henry gave convincing proofs of the deep ſorrow he felt for the fate of the unhappy Richard II. whoſe remains he cauſed to be removed from Langley to Weſtminſter-abbey, where they were ſolemnly interred by thoſe of his queen, Anne of Luxembourg, Henry himſelf walking as chief mourner. He afterwards, by way of atonement for his father's uſurpation, founded three monaſteries near Shene (now Richmond) in Surry, in which prayers were to be read, at certain times, for the ſoul of Richard.

In order to make ſome recompence to the unfortunate earl of Marche, who had been ſo ill treated by his father, Henry paid him ſo much reſpect, that he almoſt forgot his right to the ſceptre of England, to which he had, by birth, an undoubted title; and for which kindneſs that nobleman ever after ſerved him with ſincere loyalty. Henry likewiſe expreſſed a generous concern for the Piercy family, and invited the ſon and heir of Hotſpur to come from Scotland, that he might be reſtored to the honours and eſtates of his anceſtors. In ſhort, Henry ſeemed deſirous of burying all animoſities in the grave of oblivion, and of approving himſelf at once the king and father of his people.

The firſt act of a public nature that took place after Henry's acceſſion to the throne was, the farther proſecution of the Lollards, who, notwithſtanding the ſeverities that had been exerciſed againſt them in the late reign, were every day increaſing in the kingdom, and not only appeared exceeding dangerous to the church, but even formidable to the civil power. The convocation of the clergy unanimouſly agreed, that the only method to extirpate theſe ſchiſmatics would be to make examples of the principal propagators of their doctrines, and therefore determined to begin with Sir John Oldcaſtle, ſtiled, in right of his wife, Lord Cobham, who was conſidered as the head of the Lollards. This nobleman was remarkable for his perſonal courage and military proweſs; and had, by his gallant behaviour, greatly recommended himſelf to the favour of Henry. The archbiſhop of Canterbury was no ſtranger to the ſituation of Cobham, and therefore thought it adviſeable to wait on the king, and (after repreſenting to him the public injuries which aroſe from Cobham's protection of the Lollards) requeſt his permiſſion to proceed againſt him as an heretic. Henry, who was no friend to eccleſiaſtical ſeverity, repreſented to the primate, that reaſon and perſuaſion were the beſt means of ſupporting truth, and correcting error: that every gentle method ſhould be uſed in order to bring back thoſe deluded people to the boſom of the church; and that himſelf would endeavour to reconcile Cobham to the catholic faith. Henry, however, found all his arguments fruitleſs: Cobham, though greatly attached to his ſovereign, would not ſacrifice his principles to conciliate the favour of majeſty; on which the king gave the primate permiſſion to proceed againſt him with the utmoſt ſeverity.

The violence of eccleſiaſtical authority was now exerted, and the primate, aſſiſted by his three ſuffragans, the biſhops of London, Winchefter and St. Davids, tried Cobham as an heretic, and condemned him to the flames. He was accordingly committed priſoner to the Tower of London; but before the day arrived, which was fixed for his execution, he found means to effect his eſcape.

Irritated at this ſevere treatment, Cobham was no ſooner at liberty than he formed a deſign of ſeeking revenge on his enemies. He aſſembled his partizans, who were exceeding numerous, and began an open rebellion againſt the government; but by the vigilance of Henry all his deſigns were rendered abortive. The conſpirators aſſembled in St. Giles's fields near London, whither Henry marched with a ſmall body of forces, and ſoon obliged them to diſperſe. Great numbers of the Lollards were ſeized, tried, hanged and burnt on the ſpot where they aſſembled; among whom were Sir Roger Acton, and one Beverly their preacher. Lord Cobham made his eſcape and fled to Wales, nor was he taken till about four years after, when he was firſt hanged as a traitor, and afterwards burnt as an heretic. purſuant to the ſentence which had been paſſed on him by the convocation of the clergy *.

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* The perſecutions againſt the Lollards, which took place in this and the late reign, gave riſe to thoſe horrid cruelties which were afterwards exerciſed on the Proteſtants in England; for a full account of which the reader is referred to an excellent book lately publiſhed, intitled,

"The Rev. Dr. SOUTHWELL's
NEW BOOK OF MARTYRS;
Or, Complete Chriſtian Martyrology. Containing an authentic and genuine Hiſtorical Account of the various Perſecutions againſt the Church of Chriſt, in ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD, by Pagans, Papiſts, Turks, Jews and Others; from the earlieſt Ages of the Church to the preſent Period. Including the Life, Sufferings and Martyrdom of our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. The Martyrdoms of the Apoſtles, Evangeliſts and other Primitive Chriſtians. The ten great Perſecutions under the Roman Emperors. The Perſecution in Perſia under Sapores; and the Perſecutions under the Roman Vandals.—The horrid Perſecutions under the Papacy; particularly the Martyrdom of the Waldenſes and Albigenſes in France; the Perſecutions in Germany and Poland; the Cruelties exerciſed in Bohemia, and Luſatia; and the Martyrdoms in Italy.—The ſhocking Barbarities practiſed by the Inquiſition of Spain, Portugal, &c. and the Popiſh Perſecutions of the Proteſtants during the Maſſacre of Paris.—A full Account of all the Engliſh Martyrdoms, particularly thoſe in the Times of King Henry VIII. and Queen Mary.—The Perſecutions in Holland, Flanders, Scotland, &c.—The bloody Iriſh Maſſacre.—The Gunpowder Plot; and the horrid Conſpiracies in 1678.—The Martyrdom of the Miſſionaries in China; the Perſecutions in the Eaſt-Indies; the Barbarities exerciſed in America; the Cruelties practiſed on the Chriſtians of Abyſinia and Georgia, &c. &c.

Embelliſhed with a great Number of Copper-plates, repreſenting the various Modes of cruelly torturing Chriſtians for their Conſtancy, and putting them to Death for their Faith: alſo diſplaying ſome general Scenes of Pagan Barbarity and Popiſh Cruelty, the whole taken from the Paintings and Drawings of the moſt ingenious Maſters.— This admirable Work, which makes a handſome Volume in Folio, may be had of J. COOKE, No. 17, *Pater-noſter-Row*; Price One Pound Six Shillings, neatly bound in Calf and lettered; or, in forty Numbers, price Six-pence each, ſo that thoſe who do not chuſe to purchaſe the whole at once may have it by One or more Numbers at a time, as may beſt ſuit their convenience.—Every One of the Numbers being enriched with One or more beautiful Copper-plates.

The king, not ſatisfied with having ſuppreſſed this rebellion, procured the parliament to paſs ſome very ſevere laws againſt the Lollards. Among others, it was enacted, that none ſhould, under pain of loſing life and fortune, read the ſcriptures in Engliſh, and that thoſe who did ſhould have no benefit of ſanctuary.

A. D. 1414. Henry had, ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne, formed the deſign of engaging in a war with France, and from the confuſed ſtate of that kingdom, determined now to make preparations for carrying it into execution. Charles VI. had been ſeized with a fit of phrenzy, which rendered him incapable of exerciſing his authority; and though he recovered from this diſorder, he was ſo ſubject to relapſes, that his ſenſes were gradually but inſenſibly impaired; ſo that he was incapable of purſuing any ſettled plan of government. This misfortune gave a full career to the rage of parties. The duke of Orleans, the king's brother, and the duke of Burgundy, his couſin-german, (after maintaining the moſt violent quarrels, by which the country had been deluged with the blood of its inhabitants) agreed to enter into a ſtrict friendſhip, and ſwore at the altar to the ſincerity of their intentions. But little regard was paid to this ſolemn engagement: the duke of Orleans was ſoon after aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Paris by order of the duke of Burgundy, who had even the inſolence to avow openly and defend the juſtice of the action. The dreadful conſequences of this horrid deed were ſoon diſplayed. It was utterly impoſſible to effect a reconciliation between the adherents of the deceaſed duke and his aſſaſſin, and the whole kingdom formed a general ſcene of anarchy and confuſion.

In the mean time Henry, in order to conceal his real deſigns againſt France, ſent over a ſplendid embaſſy to that court, propoſing a laſting peace, and an alliance between the two crowns. To effect this he demanded the French king's daughter in marriage, with two millions of crowns for her portion. He likewiſe demanded the payment of one million ſix hundred thouſand pounds as the arrears of the late king John's ranſom; as alſo the immediate poſſeſſion and full ſovereignty of Normandy, and the other provinces, which Philip Auguſtus had wreſted from the crown of England, together with the ſuperiority of Britany and Flanders.

But the finances of France were in too impoveriſhed a ſtate, and the kingdom in too much confuſion, for the French court to comply with the demands of the Engliſh monarch. They, however, offered, to give him the princeſs in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred crowns; to inveſt him with the entire ſovereignty of Guienne, and to annex to that province thoſe of Perigord, Bouvergne, Angoumois, and other territories.

Theſe were terms far greater than might have been expected; but they were peremptorily rejected by Henry, who publickly declared his intentions of erecting his ſtandard in the fields of France. The parliament granted him very liberal ſupplies for this purpoſe, and ſeveral of the principal noblemen raiſed a number of troops at their own expence; ſo that Henry ſoon found himſelf at the head of a very conſiderable army.

While Henry was making the neceſſary preparations for his expedition to the continent, a horrid conſpiracy was formed to rob him of the Engliſh diadem. The principal perſons concerned were, Richard, earl of Cambridge, younger brother to the duke of York; the lord Scroop, treaſurer of England, and Sir Thomas Grey, a knight of Northumberland. The deſign of theſe conſpirators was, to place the earl of Marche on the throne, as ſoon as Henry was embarked for France with his army. But the plot being diſcovered before it was ripe for execution, the conſpirators were ſeized, and tried by a ſpecial commiſſion directed for that purpoſe to the duke of Clarence, as lord-high ſteward of England. The priſoners were all found guilty on the cleareſt evidence, and immediately received ſentence of death. The earl of Cambridge and Sir Thomas Grey were beheaded; but lord Scroop (having received particular marks of favour from Henry, and thereby added ingratitude to his crime) was ſentenced to be drawn, hanged and quartered.

A. D. 1415. The conſpiracy being effectually quelled, Henry continued his preparations for invading France with the utmoſt alacrity; and on the 11th of Auguſt embarked with his forces (which conſiſted of 50,000 men) at Southampton, leaving his brother, the duke of Bedford, regent of the kingdom. After a ſhort and ſafe paſſage, he landed at the mouth of the Seine in Normandy, a few miles from Harfleur, whither he immediately marched with his army, and inveſted the place. The garriſon, for ſome time, made a reſolute defence, but as they were weak in numbers, and the fortifications in bad repair, they were obliged to capitulate, on condition of ſurrendering on the 18th of September, if not relieved in the interim. A detachment under the command of the marſhal d'Iſle d'Adam, made an attempt to ſuccour the town, but were repulſed; ſo that the time preſcribed being expired, the garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war, and Henry immediately took poſſeſſion of the place.

While Henry was inveſting Harfleur, the French were buſily employed in collecting an army to check the progreſs of the Engliſh monarch. Private animoſities were laid aſide, and all parties joined in endeavouring to oppoſe an army that threatened deſtruction to the ſtate. The dauphin himſelf took the field in perſon, at the head of an army of 14,000 men at arms, and was ſoon joined by the new duke of Orleans, the dukes of Berry, Bourbon and Brabant, the conſtable d'Albert, the counts of Nevers, Vendome, and Richemont, the flower of the French nobility, and above 40,000 men, all of whom ſeemed eager to ſignalize themſelves in the defence of their country.

The fatigues of the ſiege of Harfleur, and exceſſive heat of the ſeaſon, had greatly reduced the Engliſh army, no leſs than 2000 common ſoldiers, beſides many perſons of diſtinction, having been carried off by the bloody flux. But this was not the only calamity that befel Henry: his fleet had been diſperſed by ſtorms, and proviſions began to grow ſcarce in his camp, ſo that the only reſource he had for the ſafety of his forces was, to march by land to Calais. He accordingly moved towards that place, but met with many difficulties in his march, all the bridges over the Somme being broken down, and all the paſſages defended by ſtrong detachments of the enemy. He, however, at laſt effected a paſſage near St. Quintin, and directed his rout towards Blagney, from the heights of which he beheld the whole French

army

army drawn up on the plains of Agincourt to oppoſe his paſſage.

Henry now ſaw himſelf in the moſt imminent danger, and began to repent of the raſhneſs of his conduct. His army was reduced to almoſt half the number that landed near Harfleur, and even theſe were diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, and many of them debilitated by ſickneſs and continual duty. In this alarming ſituation, Henry diſpatched a meſſenger to d'Albert, the conſtable of France, offering to give up his conqueſt of Harfleur for a ſafe conduct to Calais; but the French generals prided themſelves ſo much on the ſuperiority of numbers, that they rejected his propoſals with contempt, and ſent an herald to inform him, they ſhould engage the Engliſh army on the 25th of October.

Finding it impoſſible to avoid an action, Henry accepted the challenge, and gave a pecuniary compliment to the herald. During the interval, which was three days, Henry employed every means, which prudence could ſuggeſt, in order to prepare his men for the approaching combat. He procured them the beſt refreſhment their ſituation would afford; ordered their weapons and armour to be repaired; rode almoſt the whole day through the ranks of his army to animate his ſoldiers, and ſuperintend the regulation of his camp. He reminded the men of the renown of their forefathers, and gave them plainly to underſtand, that they had no reſource from death or captivity, but in the extraordinary efforts of their own valour. This produced the deſired effect: the ſpirits of the Engliſh were raiſed to the higheſt pitch; they ſeemed to have forgot the ſuperiority of numbers in the enemy, and only wiſhed for the opportunity of ſignalizing their courage, and proving themſelves Engliſhmen. This was evinced in the anſwer given by one of them to the king, who had ſent him to take a private view of the enemy, and to bring him an account of what he thought might be their number. When the man returned, and the king aſked him the queſtion, he replied, "there are enough to be killed, "enough to be taken priſoners, and enough to "run away."

When the important day arrived that was pitched on to determine the conteſt, both armies made the neceſſary preparations for battle. The French troops were divided into three lines, the firſt of which, beſides a great number of other troops, was compoſed of eight thouſand gentlemen, commanded by the conſtable d'Albert, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome and Richemont, the famous marſhal Boucicaut, David Rambure, grand-maſter of the croſs-bowmen, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The ſecond line was led by the duke of Alençon, aſſiſted by the duke of Barre, the counts of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, and Grand Pré. The third body was under the command of the counts of Marle, Dampmartin, Fauquenberg, and the ſieur de Lannoy.

While the French officers were employed in drawing up their troops, Henry detached 400 men with lances to take poſt in a wood on the right; as alſo a party of 250 archers to lay in ambuſh on the left, in a low meadow covered with buſhes. The right wing of Henry's army was commanded by the duke of York, aſſiſted by the lord Beaumont, Willoughby and Stanhope. The center was commanded by Henry in perſon, attended by his brother the duke of Glouceſter, the earl-marſhal, the earl of Oxford, and the young earl of Suffolk. The rear, which conſiſted wholly of archers, and ſuch as were armed with ſpears, halberts, and bills, was led by the earl of Dorſet. The chief ſtrength of the Engliſh army conſiſted of infantry; and Henry, fearing that the French horſe would break them by the fury of the firſt charge ordered the archers to fix into the ground piles, or ſtakes, pointed at both ends with iron, and ſix or ſeven feet long, in their front, and alſo on their flanks, or intervals between the horſe and foot. Theſe formed a kind of temporary fortification, behind which the archers were not only ſecure themſelves, but had the opportunity of annoying the enemy as they advanced.

In theſe ſituations the two armies remained for ſome time, without coming to action, the Engliſh not caring to advance, leſt they ſhould loſe the advantage of the grouud; nor the French, for fear of being more crowded than they were already. At length Henry advanced at the head of his main diviſion, the two wings moving at the ſame time, till he came very near the village of Agincourt; when the French horſe moved forwards to attack the Engliſh archers. Upon this the latter halted, pitched their ſtakes, interweaving them together, and bending them a little toward the enemy. Guarded by this fence, they diſcharged a ſhower of arrows which nothing could reſiſt: the ranks of the enemy were thinned, and the line thrown into great diſorder. The archers who lay in a meadow, charged the French in flank, and made a dreadful ſlaughter. The Engliſh infantry took advantage of the enemy's diſorder, fell upon them with their battle-axes, and cut them to pieces, almoſt without reſiſtance. The conſtable of France, perceiving the diſtreſs of his advanced party, haſtened to their aſſiſtance, but under terrible diſadvantages; for the ſoil being wet and miry, both horſe and foot moved with the greateſt difficulty; and continuing ſtill to preſs more cloſely upon one another, preſented a defenceleſs front to the Engliſh, who ſoon threw the whole line into irretrievable diſorder; and their buſineſs was rather that of executioners than ſoldiers. The field was now covered with the diſmounted, the ſlain, and the wounded; men and horſes were blended in one dreadful confuſion. The whole body was totally defeated, and the conſtable himſelf, together with the principal commanders of the firſt line, fell among the ſlain.

No ſooner did the duke d'Alençon, who commanded the ſecond line perceive the route of the firſt diviſion, than he immediately advanced to repair the diſgrace of his countrymen. Henry met him at the head of his center, and a dreadful conteſt enſued. D'Alençon, in order, if poſſible, to ſnatch the victory from the enemy, commanded eighteen French knights of approved valour to watch attentively the motions of the Engliſh monarch, and uſe their utmoſt efforts either to kill, or take him priſoner.

But the genius of Henry ſaved him from this imminent danger. Animated with the amazing ſucceſs of his archers, and deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by actions worthy of an Engliſh monarch, he alighted from his horſe, and advanced at the head of his diviſion, with a confidence which ſeemed to inſure the victory. He charged the enemy with ſuch fury as was almoſt irreſiſtible, and was met by d'Alençon with a ſpirit worthy of his rank. He received the attack with a firmneſs that deſerved a better fate. The French knights, who had

had never loſt ſight of Henry, cut themſelves a paſſage to the ſpot where he fought in perſon; and ruſhing upon him with the utmoſt violence, would, probably, have made themſelves maſters of his perſon, had not David Gam, a Welſh captain, and two other officers, perceiving the danger that threatened their ſovereign, flown to his aſſiſtance; and all the eighteen knights ſoon fell, breathleſs on the field; but Gam, and his two gallant countrymen, were alſo mortally wounded. Henry now darted into the thickeſt part of the battle; but his ardour and impetuoſity again involved him in the moſt imminent danger. His brother, the duke of Glouceſter, who had fought by his ſide, was ſtruck to the ground, and the enemy preſſed in crowds to avail themſelves of the incident. Henry was again ſurrounded by a hoſt of foes, but being a ſtranger to fear, he covered the body of his brother with his ſhield, and defended him with his ſword. In this ſituation he received ſo violent a blow on his helmet with a battle-axe, that he fell on his knees, and would, poſſibly, have been ſeized by the enemy, had not the duke of York advanced to his aſſiſtance, at the head of a freſh body of troops. This intimidated the enemy; they fell back, and Henry and his brother had time to recover from their alarming ſituation. Another reinforcement immediately followed that led by the duke of York; and Henry again attacked the French with ſuch fury, that they were unable to ſupport the ſhock; they fell into diſorder, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued.

D'Alençon, driven to deſpair at ſeeing the defeat of his diviſion, determined to make one furious effort, and either retrieve the battle, or ſpare himſelf the mortification of ſurviving the diſgrace of his country. He therefore put himſelf at the head of a choſen band of volunteers, and, cutting his way to the ſpot where Henry fought in perſon, ruſhed upon the monarch, killed the duke of York by his ſide, and, with a furious ſtroke of his ſword, cleft the crown on Henry's helmet. The Engliſh monarch returned the blow with ſuch violence, that d'Alençon fell to the ground, and was immediately diſpatched; the conſequence of which was that the French forces, who had been under his command, immediately conſulted their ſafety by a precipitate flight.

The third line of the enemy, which ſtill ſtood firm, were more numerous than the whole Engliſh army, and might have renewed the battle with ſome proſpect of ſucceſs, had they not been ſeized with a general panic. But the deſtruction of their countrymen had deprived them of all thoughts of reſiſtance,: they refuſed to obey the command of their generals, and, inſtead of advancing to the charge, retired, leaving Henry ſole maſter of the field. The ſcattered remains of the two firſt lines had now rallied themſelves, and ſeemed to advance with a reſolution of making another effort for the palm of victory. At the ſame time, ſome gentlemen of Picardy having collected about ſix hundred peaſants, had fallen on the Engliſh baggage, and were deſtroying the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. Henry, on ſeeing the enemy both in front and rear, began to entertain apprehenſions leſt his priſoners ſhould alſo join in the attempt to tear the wreath of laurel from his brow; and therefore thought it neceſſary to iſſue general orders for putting them to death. Having done this he marched towards the enemy, who, on his approach, fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and Henry, perceiving there was no further danger to be apprehended, immediately put a ſtop to the ſlaughter.

This battle proved fatal to the French nobility, many of whom were ſlain, and others taken priſoners. Among the former was the conſtable d'Albert, the dukes of Brabant, Barre, and Alençon, the count of Marle, and the archbiſhop of Sens. Among the priſoners the moſt remarkable were, the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the counts of Eu, Vendome, and Richemont, and the marſhal de Boucicaut. Ten thouſand of the French are ſaid to have been ſlain in this battle, and as the ſlaughter fell chiefly on the cavalry, it was computed that eight thouſand were gentlemen. The loſs of the Engliſh was very inconſiderable; and the only perſons of note that fell were, the duke of York, and the earl of Suffolk.

After a public thankſgiving had been held in the Engliſh camp for this ſignal victory, Henry ſent for Montjoy, a French herald, who had been diſpatched from the dauphin to obtain permiſſion to bury the dead, and deſired to know the name of a caſtle, to which he pointed with his hand. Being told it was called the Caſtle of Agincourt, he ſaid, "Let this action be hereafter remembered by the name of, The Battle of Agincourt."

Though Henry had, by this conqueſt, obtained great advantage over the French, yet he did not think proper to profit any farther by his victory. He purſued his route, by eaſy marches, to Calais, without meeting with any obſtruction in his way. Having ſtaid there about three weeks to recruit his troops, he embarked for England, on the 16th of November, and landed the ſame evening at Dover. The next morning he ſet out for London, where he was joyfully received amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people.

A. D. 1417. Though the diſturbances in France had been diſcontinued on Henry's invading that kingdom, he no ſooner left it, than the factions were renewed with more violence than ever. All the principles of honour, and all the motives of intereſt, were ſacrificed at the altars of ambition and revenge. The duke of Burgundy redoubled his efforts to reinſtate himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the government. Iſabella of Bavaria, (wife of the unfortunate Charles VI.) deteſtable in her character, and capable of the greateſt crimes, having been baniſhed to Tours, entered into a ſtrict alliance with him againſt the dauphin, who was attached to the oppoſite party. The duke of Burgundy entered France at the head of an army, reduced ſeveral ſtrong places, releaſed the queen from her confinement, and made himſelf maſter of the king's perſon.

A. D. 1418. The whole kingdom of France was now in the moſt horrid ſtate of confuſion: the metropolis itſelf was deluged with blood, and nothing but an invaſion from England was wanting to complete the ruin of that divided kingdom. Nor was this long delayed; for, on the 28th of July Henry again embarked with a large army for the continent, and, on the firſt of Auguſt, landed at Beville in Normandy.

Having ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of Falaiſe, Cherbourg, Evreaux, and Caen, Henry laid ſiege to the city of Rouen; but the place being defended by a numerous garriſon, he was obliged to turn the ſiege into a blockade. While Henry laid before Rouen, ſeveral negotiations for a peace were carried on between him and the leaders of the French factions, but neither of them turned to any advantage.

A. D. 1419. The garriſon of Rouen having held out till the beginning of this year, were reduced to ſuch extremity by famine, that they deſired to capitulate. Henry very readily liſtened to their propoſals; and it was agreed, that on paying a ſtipulated ſum, the city ſhould be preſerved from plunder, and the garriſon walk out with all the honours of war.

The ſurrender of Rouen was followed by that of all the towns and fortreſſes in Upper Normandy. But a ſudden reconciliation taking place between the dauphin and the Burgundian faction, greatly checked, for a time, Henry's expectations of farther ſucceſs. This reconciliation, however, was ſoon blaſted; for the duke and dauphin having agreed to an interview on the bridge of Montereau, the former was there aſſaſſinated by ſome noblemen in the train of the latter, who had embraced this opportunity of revenging the aſſaſſination of the duke of Orleans. This deſperate act was followed by the moſt dreadful conſequences. The dauphin was accuſed of the crime, becauſe it was perpetrated in his preſence, and by his moſt intimate friends. The new duke of Burgundy and the queen threatened the prince with deſtruction, and conſpired the ruin of the kingdom. In ſhort, every ſentiment of honour, patriotiſm, and even perſonal intereſt, gave way to the fury of revenge.

During theſe tranſactions Henry made himſelf maſter of Pontoiſe and Giſon, and was marching with all expedition towards Paris, which ſtruck ſuch a terror in the French, that the court removed from the capital to Troyes. Amidſt theſe ſucceſſes Henry had the ſatisfaction to find, that the French, inſtead of uniting their joint efforts to oppoſe his progreſs, were ready to eſpouſe his cauſe, and to employ him as the inſtrument of wreaking their vengeance on each other.

While Henry lay with his army before Paris, the queen of France, in conjunction with the duke of Burgundy, ſent meſſengers to him with propoſals for a general peace. The terms being approved of by Henry, he immediately repaired to Troyes, accompanied by his two brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, where the treaty was concluded and ſigned on the 24th of December, in the preſence of the principal nobility of France.

The chief articles of this famous treaty were the following: 1. That Henry ſhould eſpouſe the princes Catherine: 2. That Charles, during his life, ſhould enjoy the title and dignity of king of France: 3. That Henry ſhould be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entruſted with the preſent adminiſtration of the government: 4. That the crown of France ſhould deſcend to his heirs: 5. That France and England ſhould be for ever united under one king; but ſhould ſtill retain their ſeveral uſages, cuſtoms, and privileges: 6. That all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities of France, ſhould ſwear, both that they would adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and alſo pay him preſent obedience as regent: And laſtly, 7. That Henry ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of Charles and the duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue the adherents of the dauphin; and that thoſe princes ſhould make neither peace nor truce with him, but by common conſent and agreement.

A. D. 1420. This treaty of peace was ratified by the parliament at Paris on the 21ſt of May, and the members ſwore obedience to Henry, who

aſſumed the reins of government as regent of the kingdom; and the treaty was ſent to England, to be recorded in the court of Exchequer at Weſtminſter.

On the 2d of June following, Henry married the princeſs Catherine, who was eſteemed one of the moſt beautiful women of her age. The ceremony was performed at Troyes, and celebrated with great magnificence. Henry was attended by forty Engliſh noblemen, and the royal bride by the duke of Burgundy and forty of the principal nobility of France. At this meeting the peace was again ſworn to by both parties, and the agreement between Henry and the duke of Burgundy mutually renewed. The duke promiſed to obey Henry as regent of France, and heir to the crown; while Henry engaged to deliver up into his hands all who could be found that had any concern in the murder of his father.

During theſe tranſactions the dauphin conducted himſelf with great ſpirit and reſolution. He had diſpatched the count of Vendonne to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the Scots, and thoſe people, wiſely conſidering that if Henry became abſolute maſter of France, Scotland would certainly be the next victim to his ambition, readily liſtened to his requeſt, and immediately ſent him a ſupply of 7000 men, under the command of the earl of Buchan. Aſſiſted by theſe forces, the dauphin made himſelf maſter of Pont de l'Eſprit and Niſmes, in Languedoc; and placed ſtrong garriſons in Melun, Montereau, Montargis, Meaux, and Compeigne.

Alarmed at the progreſs of the dauphin, Henry reſolved immediately to take the field, in order to oppoſe him. He accordingly marched againſt Sens, which ſubmitted after a very faint oppoſition. Montereau opened its gates at the firſt ſummons, and ſeveral ſmall towns followed the example. But the reduction of Melun was attended with ſome difficulty. Great part of that city was encompaſſed by the river Seine, and the whole defended by a ſtrong wall, flanked with bulwarks and towers. De Barbaſon, one of the beſt officers in France commanded the garriſon, and made a noble defence. The place was inveſted on the 12th of July, and did not ſurrender till the 18th of November, when famine compelled the garriſon to ſubmit. Henry promiſed to ſpare the lives of all, except ſuch as had been concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy. The governor himſelf was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having been one of the aſſaſſins, and the then duke inſiſted on his being immediately put to death; but by the interceſſion of Henry, his life was ſpared, and he was ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment.

A. D. 1421. Henry's coffers being now almoſt exhauſted, and the ſupplies granted by the ſtates of France not ſufficient to anſwer the complicated exigencies of the ſtate, Henry found it neceſſary to return to England, in order to procure a ſupply from the parliament. Having, therefore, placed Engliſh governors in the fortreſſes he had reduced, and committed the government of Paris to his uncle the duke of Exeter, and the command of the army to the duke of Clarence, he embarked towards the latter end of January with his young queen, who, on the 9th of February following, was crowned at Weſtminſter with great magnificence.

Soon after Henry's arrival in England he received advice of a diſaſter which obliged him with all expedition to return to the continent. The

dauphin, assisted by the Scots under the command of the earl of Buchan, engaged the English forces at Baugé in Anjou, and obtained a compleat victory. The duke of Clarence was slain in the battle, and the earls of Somerset, Huntingdon and Suffolk were taken prisoners. This was the first action that terminated in favour of the dauphin, who, in order to attach the Scots more firmly to his interest, and reward the bravery of the earl of Buchan, created that nobleman constable of France.

Alarmed at this advantage gained by the dauphin, Henry, having obtained the necessary supplies from his parliament, went over to the continent with an army of four thousand men at arms, and twenty-four thousand archers. He landed at Calais, and immediately marched to the metropolis, which he entered amidst the shouts and acclamations of the people, who seemed to be heartily reconciled to the English government.

On Henry's return to the continent, the dauphin, knowing it would be madness to meet him in the open field, retired beyond the Loire, with the resolution of acting on the defensive. Henry soon recovered the places he had lost during his stay in England, and made himself master of Dreux, Tilliers, and several others castles, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis.

The garrison of Meaux had, for some time, greatly harrassed the inhabitants of Paris, at whose particular request Henry invested that place, which was strongly fortified, and defended by a numerous garrison under the command of the bastard of Vaurus. This siege lasted upwards of seven months, at the expiration of which the garrison were compelled to surrender at discretion, and Henry took possession of the place. The governor was equally remarkable for his courage and cruelty against the English, being accustomed to hang, without distinction of age or quality, all the English who unfortunately fell into his hands. Henry, therefore, highly incensed at such a horrid and barbarous practice, determined to inflict that punishment on him which his cruelty justly merited; and accordingly ordered him to be hanged on the same tree which he had made the instrument of his inhuman executions.

After the reduction of Meaux Henry made himself master of Compeigne, St. Valery, and most of the principal places on that side of the Loire next the capital; having done which he returned to Paris, and put his army into winter quarters.

Henry's affairs were now in a most prosperous situation. By his mild and gentle government he had secured the internal tranquillity of England: by keeping the young king of Scots in his custody, he prevented those people from making incursions into the northern counties: by his undaunted valour, and a concurrence of favourable circumstances, he had subjected, in a short space of time, the greatest part of the extensive kingdom of France; and to consummate his felicity, and perpetuate his glory, his queen was delivered of a prince on the 6th of December at Windsor, who was baptized by the name of Henry, and lived to succeed his father on the English throne.

A. D. 1422. But the glory of Henry had now nearly reached its summit: the king of terrors interrupted him in his career, and all his mighty projects vanished into air. The dauphin had laid siege to Cosne, and Henry marched with his forces to the relief of the place; but being seized with a violent flux at a place called Soulis, he returned to Vicennes, where his disorder continuing to increase, he was soon reduced to such a state, that there were no hopes of his recovery. Finding his end approaching, he sent for his brother the duke of Exeter, the earl of Warwick, and the English nobility who happened to be near him. As soon as they surrounded his bedside, he delivered to them, with great tranquillity, his last instructions, the substance of which was to the following effect:

He began with observing, that though his life had been short, it had been replete with glory, and employed in promoting the happiness of his people; that though his pretensions to the crown of France had proved the destruction of many thousands, yet those calamities ought not to be imputed to him, but to those whose obstinacy and injustice had forced him to have recourse to arms, by refusing to accept of a reasonable peace: that he should have beheld the approach of death without concern, had not his last moments been somewhat embittered by the reflection, that he had not been able to finish a war he had so happily begun; but hoped they would continue toward his infant son the same fidelity and attachment which they had professed during his life, and which had been cemented by so many mutual good offices. He added, as his last advice, that if they found themselves unable to place his son on the throne of France, they would never at least make peace with that kingdom, unless the dutchy of Normandy was for ever annexed to the crown of England; and earnestly requested that they would assiduously cultivate the friendship of the duke of Burgundy, and never give liberty to the French princes taken at the battle of Agincourt, till his son was of age, and able to hold the reins of government. He left the regency of France to his eldest brother the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger brother the duke of Glocester, and the care of his son's person to the earl of Warwick.

Having thus delivered his instructions concerning the management of public affairs, and received a promise of their being faithfully fulfilled, Henry enquired of his physicians how long they thought he could live? when one of them falling on his knees by the bed-side, with tears in his eyes, declared, that without a miracle two hours would put an end to his life. This alarming information he heard with the greatest apparent serenity of mind, and made immediate preparations for his approaching dissolution. Having conversed some time with his confessor, he ordered his chaplain to recite the seven penitential psalms; and when he came to that passage, "Build thou the walls of Jerusalem," he interrupted him, declaring on the word of a dying prince, the design he had formed of engaging in a crusade against the infidels, as soon as he should have established a solid peace with France.

Soon after performing this exercise of devotion, Henry paid the debt of nature, on the 31st of August, in the 34th year of his age, and tenth of his reign.

His remains were brought over to England, and interred with great pomp in Westminster-abbey, near the tomb of Edward the Confessor. His queen, to perpetuate the memory of so illustrious a consort, erected over him a monument of grey marble, and on it was placed his statue in silver as large as life, and which remained there till about the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII.

Henry V. was in person tall and slender, had an engaging aspect, and limbs delicately proportioned.

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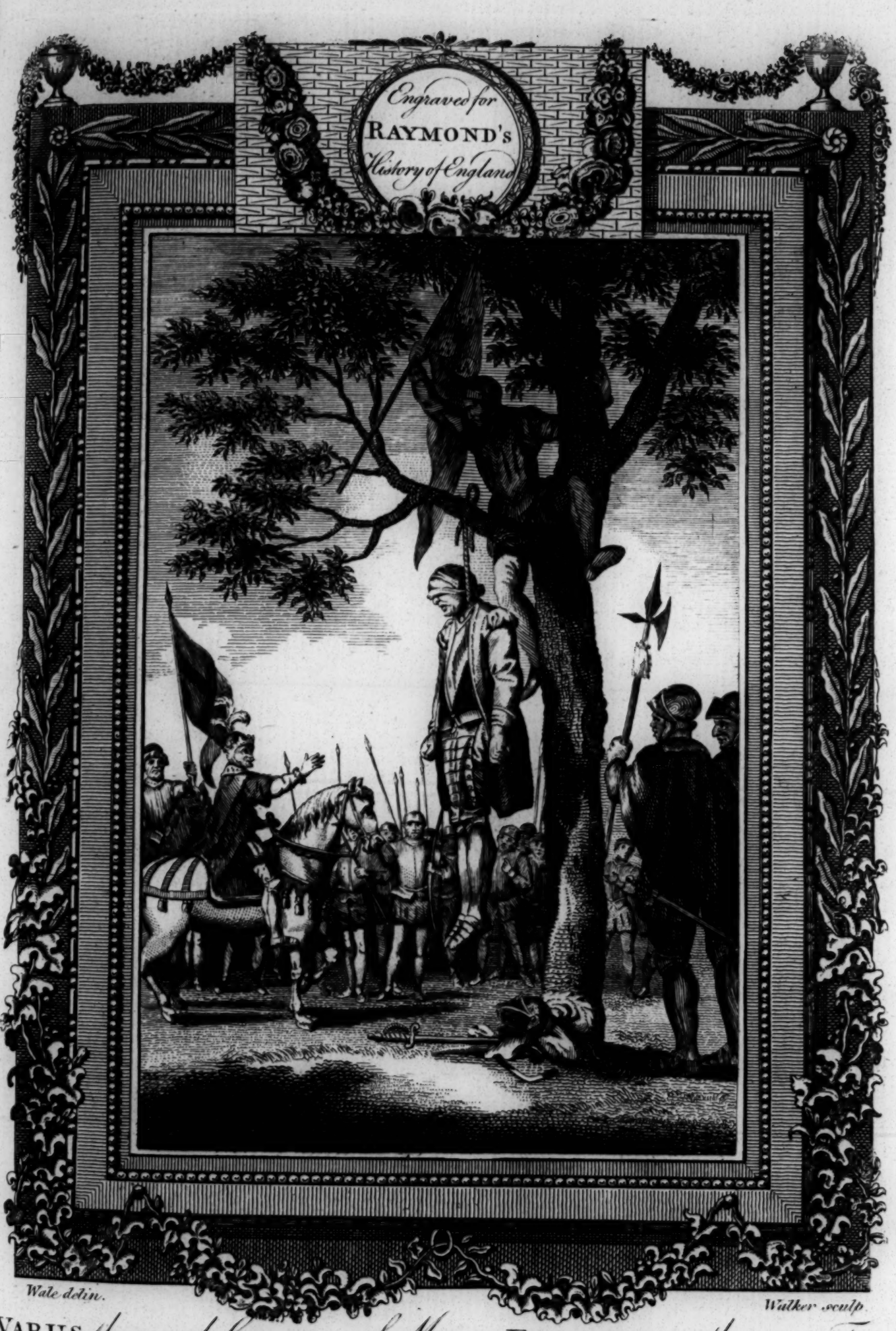

VARUS *the cruel Governor of Meaux* EXECUTED, *on the same Tree whereon he used wantonly to* HANG *his* ENGLISH PRISONERS. *in the Reign of Henry 5.*

JAN

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Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

HENRY VI

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Windsor Dec.r 6. 1421. | *Crowned at Westminster Nov.r 6. 1429.* | *Crowned at Paris Dec.r 17. 1430.* | *Died June 20. 1471.*

tioned. He excelled all the youth of his age in agility and the exerciſe of arms; was hardy, patient, laborious, and more able to endure cold, hunger and fatigue than any general in his army. His valour was ſuch as no danger could ſtartle, and no difficulty oppoſe: nor was his policy inferior to his courage. He managed the diſſentions among his enemies with ſuch addreſs as made him conſummate in the arts of the cabinet. He fomented their jealouſies, and converted their mutual reſentment to his own advantage. He poſſeſſed a ſelf-taught genius, which blazed out at once without the aid of inſtruction or experience; and a fund of natural ſagacity that made ample amends for thoſe defects. He was chaſte, temperate, modeſt and devout; ſcrupulouſly juſt in his adminiſtration, and ſeverely exact in the diſcipline of his army, upon which he knew his glory and ſucceſs, in a great meaſure, depended. In a word, it muſt be acknowledged that Henry V. was without an equal in the art of war, policy and government.

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Henry V.

A. D.

1414 This year the greateſt part of the city of Norwich was reduced to aſhes by an accidental fire.

1416 On the 30th of November this year ſeven dolphins were ſeen in the river Thames, four of which were taken and preſented to the king.

1417 That part of the city of London, now called Holborn, was this year paved by order of the king.

1420 The officer, entitled, Garter King at Arms, firſt appointed.

The firſt commiſſion of array, which occurs in the Engliſh hiſtory, was iſſued in the courſe of this reign. The military part of the feudal ſyſtem was then aboliſhed, and could no longer ſerve for the defence or ſecurity of the kingdom. For this reaſon, when Henry went to France in the year 1415, he empowered certain commiſſioners to take a review of all the freemen in each county able to bear arms, to form them into companies, and to keep them in conſtant readineſs to oppoſe any attempts that might be made by an enemy.

It was during this reign that the dreadful ſchiſm, which had ſo long diſturbed the Roman church was terminated by the council of Conſtance, who depoſed John XXIII. for his crimes, and elected Martin V. in his place. The authority of a general council over the pope was eſtabliſhed in this aſſembly; and John Huſs, and Jerome of Prague, who had adopted the opinions of Wickliffe, were burnt alive as heretics, notwithſtanding they had received a ſafe-conduct from the emperor of Germany. This act of cruelty and treachery occaſioned a bloody war in Germany, where Ziſca, general of the Huſſites, rendered himſelf remarkably diſtinguiſhed for his great abilities as a man, and his courage as a warrior.

CHAP. II.

HENRY VI. ſurnamed of WINDSOR.

Henry VI. ſucceeds his father on the throne of England. Is proclaimed king of France at Paris. Prudent conduct of the duke of Bedford. Battle of Vernueil. The duke of Glouceſter eſpouſes the counteſs of Hainault. The war carried on in France with various ſucceſs. The remarkable ſiege of Orleans, with the conſequences thereof. Young Henry crowned in the church of Notre Dame at Paris. Unhappy fate of the Maid of Orleans. The Engliſh loſe the advantages they had gained in France. Diviſions in the Engliſh council. The duke of Orleans ranſomed. A truce with France. Henry marries Margaret, daughter of Regnier, duke of Anjou. Death of the duke of Glouceſter. Charles VII. of France recovers moſt of the places which had been taken by the Engliſh, and annexes Normandy to his dominions. Diſturbances in England. The duke of Suffolk tried for high-treaſon, and condemned to baniſhment; but on his paſſage to the continent is beheaded in a long-boat near Dover. Jack Cade's rebellion. Diſputes relative to the pretenſions of the houſes of Lancaſter and York. The duke of York enters England at the head of a powerful army. An accommodation takes place between him and the king. The duke of York is admitted into the council, and appointed protector of the kingdom; but ſoon after removed from his office. He retires to Wales, raiſes a conſiderable body of forces, and returns to England. Battle of St. Alban's. Civil wars. Queen Margaret leads an army againſt the duke of York, who is defeated and ſlain. She engages and defeats the earl of Warwick, after which ſhe retires into the north. Henry VI. is dethroned, and Edward, duke of York, choſen to the ſovereignty.

A. D. 1422. AS ſoon as the Engliſh parliament received advice of the death of Henry V. they immediately cauſed his ſon, then an infant, to be proclaimed king; and proceeded to take ſuch meaſures as they thought moſt adviſeable for the good order and government of the nation. They did not, however, comply with the verbal will of the late king, who had deſired that the duke of Glouceſter might be made regent of the kingdom; for, inſtead thereof, they appointed his elder brother the duke of Bedford (then in France) to that office, and changed his title from regent to that of Protector, though at the ſame time, they permitted the duke of Glouceſter to act in his abſence. Nor did they think it prudent to truſt this power wholly in the hands of either; they therefore appointed a council, without whoſe advice and concurrence no meaſures of importance could be determined; and the care of the infant king was entruſted to the biſhop of Wincheſter.

About two months after the death of Henry V. his father-in-law the unfortunate Charles VI. of France paid the debt of nature; in conſequence of which the young prince, his ſon, then about twenty years of age, was proclaimed and crowned king at Poictiers, the city of Rheims, where that ceremony was uſually performed, being then in the hands of the Engliſh.

This circumſtance greatly increaſed the numbers of the French king's partiſans, which being obſerved by the duke of Bedford, he took every method that human prudence could ſuggeſt to prevent the conſequences. He immediately proclaim-

ed Henry VI. king of France, and himſelf aſſumed the title of regent of that kingdom. He aſſembled all the nobility attached to the Engliſh intereſt at Paris, and exhorted them to acknowledge young Henry for their ſovereign. They readily complied with his requeſt, ſwore allegiance to Henry as king of France, and did homage to the duke as repreſentative of the young monarch.

The duke of Bedford was one of the moſt accompliſhed princes in Europe, whether conſidered as a ſoldier or a ſtateſman. He well knew that every foreign aſſiſtance would be neceſſary, before an Engliſh regent could hope to complete the conqueſt of France. He accordingly applied himſelf with great diligence to increaſe the number of his friends on the continent, and for that purpoſe entered into alliances with the dukes of Burgundy and Britany, with the former of whom he added private to political intereſt, by marrying one of his ſiſters.

A. D. 1423. The firſt military expedition of the French monarch after the death of his father was, againſt the town of Meulan, which he took by ſurprize. As this place lay in the neighbourhood of Paris, the duke of Bedford was highly irritatd, and reſolved to retake it at all events. He accordingly inveſted the place, which was reſolutely defended for ſome time, till at length the garriſon, finding themſelves too weak, and being diſappointed of receiving a reinforcement from Charles, as they had reaſon to expect, delivered up the place; the ſurrender of which was followed by ſeveral other fortreſſes in the neighbourhood of the capital.

During theſe tranſactions the Engliſh miniſtry, in order to ſtrengthen the intereſt of Henry in France, propoſed to releaſe from confinement James, the young king of Scotland, who had remained a priſoner in London ever ſince the reign of Henry IV. They communicated their intentions to the duke of Bedford, who highly approved of the plan, imagining that much might be expected from James's friendſhip when laid under this obligation for his crown and liberty. Accordingly, conferences were opened at York in the beginning of September, when the commiſſioners of both nations ſigned a truce for ſeven years, and the Scottiſh king was reſtored to his liberty and crown, on condition of promiſing, as ſoon as poſſible, to recall his troops from the French ſervice.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the French monarch received conſiderable aſſiſtance from the duke of Milan, who ſent him a reinforcement of a thouſand men at arms and five hundred lances; but his chief reliance was upon the Scottiſh auxiliaries, whom he called his guardians, and of whom he had no leſs than fifteen thouſand in his ſervice.

A. D. 1424. In the month of June this year the duke of Bedford received advice that one of Charles's partizans had reduced Ivri on the frontiers of Picardy. As this was a place of very conſiderable importance, the duke determined, if poſſible, to regain it, and accordingly marched at the head of his army, and inveſted the place. The governor, perceiving it would be impoſſible to defend the town for any length of time, agreed to capitulate, if not relieved by a certain day. This propoſal was accepted, and no army appearing within the limited time, the place was delivered up to the beſiegers. Charles had not, however, neglected the neceſſary means for ſuccouring a place of ſo much importance. He had diſpatched the earl of Buchan, conſtable of France, aſſiſted by the earl of Douglas, and ſeveral French noblemen, at the head of a detachment of twenty thouſand men, to relieve Ivri; but before they reached the neighbourhood of that place, the term had been, for ſome days, expired, and the town was in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

Knowing that an attempt to retake the place muſt prove fruitleſs, the earl of Buchan marched at the head of his army to Vernueil, which the inhabitants delivered up to him in ſpite of the garriſon. The duke of Bedford, anxious to make the beſt uſe of his time, immediately followed him at the head of 15000 men; and on his arrival near the camp of the enemy took poſſeſſion of an advantageous ſpot of ground flanked by a hill, on which he poſted a body of two thouſand archers and furniſhed all his infantry with ſharp ſtakes, like thoſe uſed with ſo much ſucceſs at the battle of Agincourt, to check the fury of the French cavalry.

The earl of Douglas, having ſurveyed the diſpoſition of the Engliſh camp, called a council of war, and declared that, in his opinion, the French army ſhould ſtand upon the defenſive, and not begin the battle, as the enemy had choſen their own ground, where they could not be attacked without great diſadvantage. This prudent advice, which was highly approved of by Buchan and every officer of experience in the army, appeared to Aymer, viſcount of Narbonne (an headſtrong, imprudent man) as the effect of timidity; nor did he fail to upbraid the commanders, in expreſs terms, with puſillanimity, and of diſhonouring, by their meanneſs, the arms of France. No anſwer being made to theſe invectives, Norbonne was ſo highly exaſperated, that, ſnatching up one of the ſtandards, he exclaimed, "Let all thoſe "who love their ſovereign follow me;" and ruſhing from the council, accompanied by thoſe young noblemen who approved his advice, drew up his men in order of battle, and commanded them to advance to the charge.

Douglas and Buchan, finding their advice deſpiſed, and ſeeing the general confuſion that prevailed in their army, determined to follow the raſh example of Narbonne, and accordingly followed with their troops, though they were conſcious that nothing but deſtruction could be the conſequence of ſuch headſtrong raſhneſs.

The duke of Bedford had given orders for all his cavalry to diſmount and to place their horſes in the rear, forming round them a kind of barricade with the carriages of the army. The attack of the enemy, though made in the utmoſt diſorder, was ſo furious, that a body of the French horſe on the right wing, broke the oppoſite wing of the Engliſh, and advanced to the barricade which ſurrounded their horſes, and behind which were placed a body of archers. Theſe diſcharged ſuch a ſhower of arrows at the French horſe that they were obliged to fall back, after ſuſtaining conſiderable loſs; and that party of archers, who had been poſted on the hill, ſo galled thoſe who were marching up in another line, that they fled with the utmoſt precipitation.

In the mean time the main bodies of both armies maintained the fight with ſuch equal courage and obſtinacy, that the victory for the ſpace of three hours, remained doubtful, when the reſerved body of archers coming up to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, put an end to the conteſt. The French horſe were driven back upon their foot, and a dreadful ſlaughter enſued. Douglas and Buchan, perceiving their defeat inevitable, determined

mined not to ſurvive the diſgrace, and ruſhing into the thickeſt of the battle, together with the headſtrong Narbonne, fell among the ſlain. The other general officers were ſo dangerouſly wounded, that they could no longer exerciſe command; ſo that the ſoldiers, being deſtitute of their leaders, fought at random, until they were entirely routed, with a moſt terrible ſlaughter. Upwards of four thouſand Scots and French fell in this action, and great numbers were wounded and taken priſoners, among the latter of whom were ſeveral perſons of the firſt diſtinction.

The next day the duke of Bedford laid ſiege to Vernueil, which, after a reſiſtance of three days, ſurrendered on capitulation. In this place the Engliſh found all the baggage belonging to the French and Scottiſh generals, together with the money deſtined for the ſoldiers.

The French monarch was now in the moſt deplorable ſituation. He had loſt the braveſt of his troops, and the flower of his nobility, in the fatal battle of Vernueil. His party was diſpirited, and he had hardly money ſufficient to purchaſe the neceſſaries of life, much leſs to pay an army; nor could he raiſe any among his ſubjects without exciting a general diſcontent, which, in his then circumſtances, it was neceſſary to avoid.

But while every thing ſeemed to threaten the total ruin of Charles, an incident happened, which ſaved him from the impending danger, and deprived the Engliſh of a moſt favourable opportunity for completing the conqueſt of France. Jaqueline, counteſs of Hainault, having a violent antipathy to her huſband, the duke of Brabant (couſin-german to the duke of Burgundy) determined to diſſolve her marriage. She was a princeſs of a maſculine ſpirit, and had an uncommon underſtanding; and her huſband of a ſickly conſtitution, and weak intellects. She knew her huſband's family would exert all their power to prevent the pope from diſſolving the marriage; and therefore, to effect her purpoſe with more facility, repaired to England, and put herſelf under the protection of the duke of Glouceſter, who ſoon became enamoured both of her perſon and fortune. That prince, though poſſeſſed of many excellent qualities, was naturally of a very haſty and impetuous diſpoſition: he therefore, without waiting for a papal diſpenſation, or attempting to gain the conſent of the duke of Burgundy, married Jaqueline, and immediately repaired to the Low Countries, in order to take poſſeſſion of her paternal dominions.

The conduct of Glouceſter gave great offence to the duke of Burgundy, who perſuaded his couſin, the duke of Brabant, to oppoſe him by force of arms, prevailed on many of Jaqueline's ſubjects to eſpouſe the cauſe of that prince, and ſent a body of troops to his aſſiſtance; ſo that a war was immediately commenced in the Low Countries.

Theſe were circumſtances which gave great uneaſineſs to the duke of Bedford, who uſed his utmoſt efforts to reſtrain the impetuous temper of his brother; but all his endeavours were fruitleſs; nor was he able to ſoften the reſentment of the duke of Burgundy. To add to theſe diſagreeable circumſtances, the abſence of the duke of Glouceſter had occaſioned violent contentions among the Engliſh miniſtry; ſo that Bedford, inſtead of purſuing the advantages he had gained at Vernueil, left the continent, and embarked for England.

While the duke of Bedford was employed in adjuſting the differences that had taken place in the Engliſh council, Charles laboured aſſiduouſly to gain the friendſhip of the French princes of the blood, whoſe revolt had almoſt occaſioned the total ruin of that monarchy. The duke of Britany liſtened to propoſals made by Charles for an accommodation, and entered into alliance with him againſt the Engliſh; and the count of Richemont accepted of the dignity of conſtable of France.

A. D. 1426. As ſoon as the duke of Bedford received intelligence of the defection of the duke of Britany, and the perfidy of his brother the count de Richemont, he declared war againſt them by public proclamation, and diſpatched meſſengers to the continent with orders to the earl of Warwick immediately to take the field. Theſe orders were ſtrictly obſerved by the earl, who firſt laid ſiege to Pont Orſon which he carried by aſſault. He then took and fortified Beauvron, where he fixed his head quarters, and from thence extended his ravages over the adjacent country, to the very gates of Rennes.

In the mean time Richemont, having raiſed an army of twenty thouſand men, put himſelf at their head, and marched againſt Warwick. In conſequence of this, the earl, whoſe troops did not amount to more than eight thouſand, ſhut himſelf up in Beauvron, which the conſtable inveſted, and propoſed to reduce by famine. His deſign, however, was fruſtrated by means of Giac, prime miniſter to Charles, who, hating the conſtable, neglected to ſend him the neceſſary ſupplies of men and money. Irritated at this diſappointment, and vexed to think of being baffled in his firſt attempt, Richemont raſhly reſolved to make a general aſſault. The garriſon behaved with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſolution: the beſiegers were repeatedly repulſed; and the earl of Warwick, perceiving a general diſorder in the ranks of the enemy, ſuddenly ſallied out, fell upon their rear, cut the greater part to pieces, and obliged the reſt to ſeek their ſafety by a precipitate flight.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the earl of Warwick determined to undertake the ſiege of Montargis, as being a place of the utmoſt importance for facilitating the duke of Bedford's deſigns of carrying the war beyond the Loire. He accordingly inveſted the town, and reduced the garriſon to the utmoſt extremity, when the baſtard of Orleans reſolved to march to its relief. That general (who was natural ſon to that duke of Orleans who had been aſſaſſinated by the duke of Burgundy, and who afterwards acquired great renown under the title of the count de Dunois) boldly approached the Engliſh camp at the head of no more than ſixteen hundred men, and attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, that he not only forced his way into the place, but gave ſo ſevere a blow to the Engliſh, that the earl of Warwick was obliged to abandon the ſiege. This was the firſt diſtinguiſhed proof of the military genius of Dunois, and laid the foundation of that high character he afterwards attained.

A. D. 1427. During theſe tranſactions the duke of Bedford, having ſettled affairs in England to his ſatisfaction, returned to the continent, and immediately formed a plan, which was both wiſely concerted, and fortunately accompliſhed. He aſſembled a numerous army on the frontiers of Britany, and entered ſo unexpectedly into that province, that the duke, unable to oppoſe his progreſs, requeſted an interview with Bedford, which being complied with, a treaty of accommodation was formed and ſigned on both ſides. By this treaty

the duke of Britany renounced his alliance with Charles, promiſed to adhere to the treaty concluded at Troyes, owned Bedford as regent of France, and engaged to ſwear fealty to young Henry for his territories.

A. D. 1428. The next plan concerted by the duke of Bedford was of ſuch a nature as, if attended with ſucceſs, muſt have ſecured the total conqueſt of France. This was the taking of Orleans, a city of the utmoſt importance, as it was the only barrier that oppoſed his entrance into the ſouthern provinces. The management of this ſiege was committed to the earl of Saliſbury, one of the moſt able generals in the Engliſh ſervice. He marched from Paris about the latter end of July, at the head of 16,000 men, and was accompanied by the earl of Suffolk, the lord Talbot, Sir John Faſtolf, and other excellent officers. He advanced through the country of Beauſſe, and made himſelf maſter of all the towns that lay in his route to Orleans, paſſed the Loire, and inveſted the city on the 12th of October.

This important place was commanded by the count de Gaucort, an officer of great courage and experience, and inviolably attached to the family of Orleans. The troops that formed the garriſon were all veterans, and long acquainted with danger; and the citizens themſelves were well qualified to aſſiſt the regulars in the defence of the place. Many new fortifications were raiſed, the old ones repaired, and the greater part of the buildings in the ſuburbs pulled down, that they might not be uſed by the Engliſh in carrying on the ſiege.

The earl of Saliſbury began his operations againſt a ſtrong bulwark erected to cover the caſtle of Tourelles, which defended the head of the bridge over the Loire. The Engliſh artillery ſoon demoliſhed the parapets, and made a breach ſufficiently large for ſtorming it. The French took all the meaſures they could for defending the place, and the earl made every neceſſary preparation for reducing it. The firſt attempt did not ſucceed: the Engliſh were obliged to retreat, leaving two hundred and fifty men dead in the breach. But this repulſe ſerved only to encreaſe the ardour of the beſiegers, who continued to batter the place with ſuch fury, that it was ſoon abandoned by the French, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of it without farther oppoſition.

After this ſucceſs forts were erected above and below the bridge, for the better convenience of battering the city. But ſtill the place was inveſted only on one ſide: that towards the Beauſſe was entirely open; and the baſtard of Orleans found means to get into the city at the head of eight hundred men.

The earl of Saliſbury clearly perceived that while the city could be ſupplied with troops and proviſions, it would be impoſſible to reduce it. He therefore ordered ſixty ſmall forts, or redoubts, to be built at proper diſtances round the city; but while he was pointing out the proper ſpots where they ſhould be erected, a ball diſcharged from a cannon in the place put a period to his exiſtence.

In conſequence of this accident the command of the Engliſh army devolved on the earl of Suffolk, who, aſſiſted by the lord Talbot, puſhed the ſiege with the moſt unremitting vigour. Sallies were frequently made by the garriſon, and the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour daily performed both by the beſiegers and beſieged, though the former could not reap any real advantage, notwithſtanding they had received a conſiderable reinforcement of Engliſh and Burgundian troops.

A. D. 1429. The ſiege of Orleans had now been carried on near four months, when the duke of Bedford ſent from Paris a large quantity of ſalt-fiſh, herrings, and other proviſions of a ſimilar kind, for the uſe of the beſiegers during Lent. Theſe proviſions were convoyed by a guard of ſeventeen hundred men, under the command of Sir John Faſtolf, an officer of approved valour and great experience. Charles, who had advanced to Chinon (a town in Touraine, about eighty miles from Orleans) receiving intelligence of the march of this convoy, ſent the count de Cleremont at the head of three thouſand men, to attack the Engliſh in their route. The count came up with the convoy at a place called Rouvrai St. Denis on the 12th of February. Faſtolf, apprized of his approach, and knowing himſelf too weak to ſuſtain the ſhock of the French in the open field, drew up his men behind a barricade of his waggons, and in this poſition received the attack of the French, which was made with their uſual fury; but they were not able to force the temporary fortification. At the ſame time they met with ſo warm a reception, that they were thrown into the utmoſt diſorder. Faſtolf, perceiving this circumſtance, ſuddenly ſallied from behind the barricade, and routed the enemy with prodigious ſlaughter; ſo that the convoy reached the Engliſh camp, without meeting with any farther oppoſition. In this action, generally called "The Battle of the Herrings," no leſs than one hundred and twenty French noblemen and perſons of diſtinction loſt their lives, beſides a great number of common ſoldiers.

The French monarch was ſo diſcouraged at this diſaſter, that he began to give up all hopes of being able to retrieve his ruined fortune; but, not to neglect any expedient which might conduce to the preſervation of Orleans, he diſpatched a meſſenger to the duke of Bedford at Paris, with a propoſition that the city might be ſequeſtered into the hands of the duke of Burgundy, till the expiration of the war. This propoſal was treated with contempt by the duke, who obſerved, "that he was not in an humour to beat the buſhes while others ran away with the game;" at which ſarcaſtical expreſſion the duke of Burgundy was ſo offended, that he immediately recalled all his troops from the Engliſh ſervice. But notwithſtanding this defection, the place was every day more cloſely inveſted by the enemy. The utmoſt ſcarcity prevailed in the city; and Charles, giving way to deſpair, formed the reſolution of ſeeking his perſonal ſafety by retiring into Dauphine.

At this dangerous criſis, when the reſtoration of his affairs ſeemed almoſt impoſſible, and when, indeed, he had given up all deſigns of making any farther efforts, Charles unexpectedly received encouragement and aſſiſtance from the daughter of a peaſant, named Joan D'Arc, who laid the foundation of one of the moſt remarkable revolutions recorded in the annals of any country whatever.

Joan D'Arc (afterwards better known by the name of the Maid of Orleans) was born in the village of Dom. Remi, near Vaucoleures, on the borders of Lorraine. She was then about twenty years of age, of an irreproachable character, and had never been diſtinguiſhed for any ſingularity. She, indeed, poſſeſſed a genius ſuperior to moſt in her claſs of life, but had been wholly employed in country buſineſs. A continued recital of the cala-

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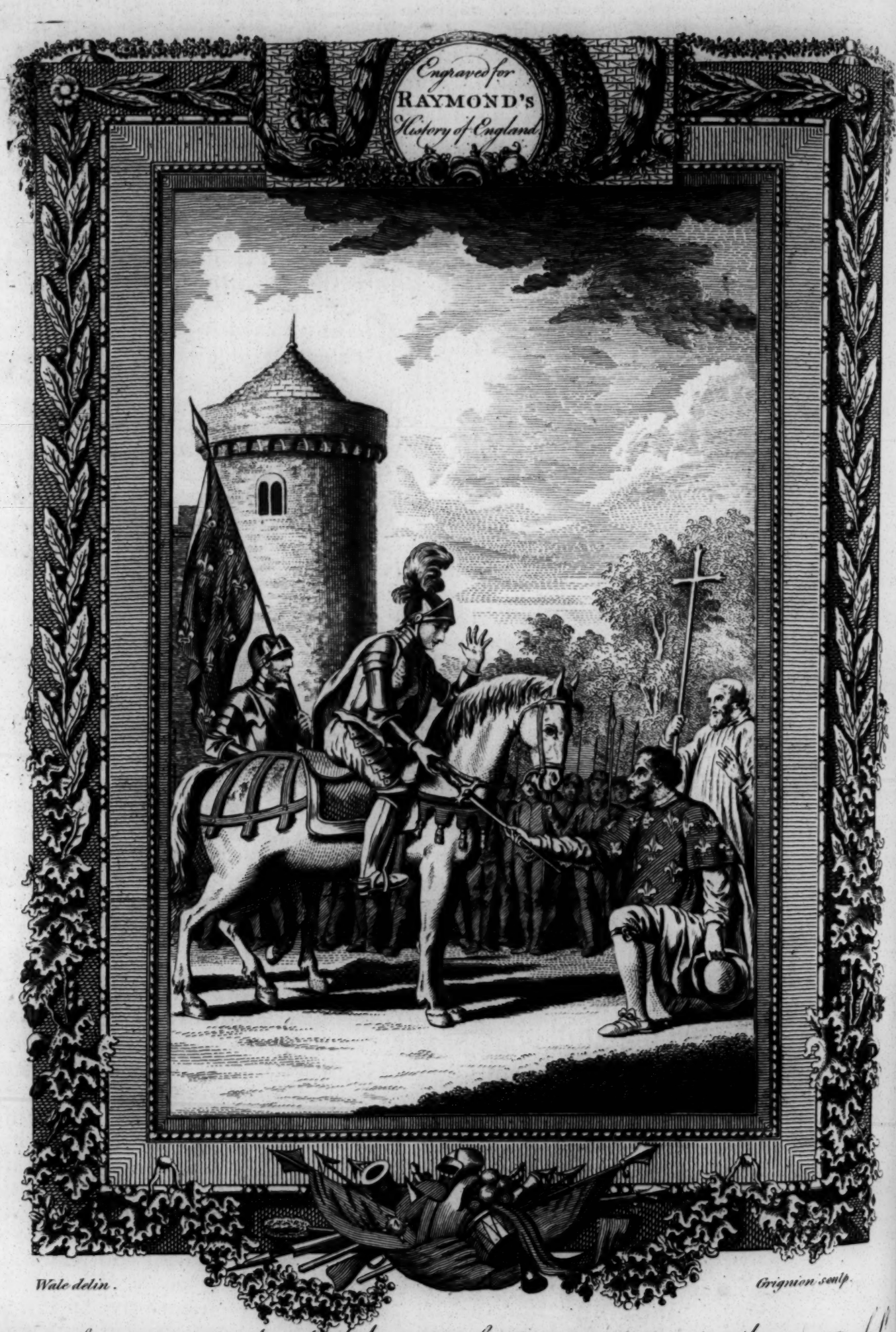

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

JOAN *of* ARC, *commonly called the* MAID *of* ORLEANS *(receiving the* SWORD *of St. Catherine) previous to raising the Siege of that City, and defeating the English Powers.*

calamities of France had made ſo deep an impreſſion on her mind as to make her fancy ſhe heard angelic voices, and doubted not but ſhe was called upon by heaven to undertake the defence of her country.

Poſſeſſed with theſe notions ſhe repaired to Vaucoleures, and communicated her viſions to the governor of that place, who at firſt treated her with neglect; but, on her repeated applications, he was prevailed upon to ſend her to the king. She ſupported before the court the character of an inſpired perſon with an aſtoniſhing candour and firmneſs; and an aſſembly of divines, who examined her on the ſubject of her miſſion, declared there was ſomething in her ſupernatural. She promiſed to deliver Orleans, and conduct Charles to Rheims, there to be crowned and anointed. She demanded of the king, as the inſtrument of her future victories, a particular ſword, which was preſerved in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, and which, though ſhe had never ſeen, it is ſaid ſhe deſcribed with ſo many particular circumſtances as plainly proved her ſupernatural knowledge.

It was conſidered as an object of policy by the French court to make Joan's predictions publickly known, and accordingly every method was taken for that purpoſe. This had the deſired effect: the minds of the vulgar were impreſſed with a conviction of the truth of her miſſion, and they believed her expreſly ſent from heaven to reſcue the kingdom from impending deſtruction. She was accordingly the object of univerſal adoration, and the ſoldiers were impatient to retrieve their honour under the auſpices of this diſtinguiſhed amazon.

In the mean time the ſiege of Orleans was puſhed with the utmoſt vigour, and the beſieged ſtill continued to make a noble reſiſtance; but the want of proviſion increaſing every day, it became abſolutely neceſſary to ſend the garriſon a ſupply, and Charles determined that this ſervice ſhould be Joan's firſt effort in war, and a proof of the truth or falſity of her miſſion. She was accordingly armed cap-a-pie, and mounted on a fine horſe richly capariſoned; and, according to her requeſt, the ſword of St. Catharine was ſent for, and delivered to her with great formality. Thus arrayed, ſhe immediately proceeded to Blois, where the proviſions for the relief of the garriſon were collected, and which was appointed as the place of rendezvous for the troops to convey them ſafe to Orleans.

Such was the infatuation of the people in favour of Joan, that in a few days an army was collected of twelve thouſand choſen men, at the head of whom ſhe marched to the relief of Orleans, carrying in her hand a conſecrated banner. As ſoon as ſhe approached the city, the count de Dunois, who commanded the garriſon, made a vigorous ſally on the Engliſh, in order to favour the entrance of Joan into the city. This had the deſired effect; for the French, animated with the confidence they entertained of the ſupernatural abilities of Joan, fell on with ſuch enthuſiaſtic fury, that the Engliſh, after a long reſiſtance, were defeated, and the convoy paſſed with ſafety into the city.

Joan was conſidered by the inhabitants of Orleans as a tutelar angel: the whole ſucceſs was attributed to her; and her preſence diſpelled every thought of danger. The garriſon believed themſelves invincible under her influence, and the frequent and ſucceſsful ſallies which they made completed the conſternation of the Engliſh, who, on the 12th of May, raiſed the ſiege of Orleans, and retired.

The Engliſh acted in a very indiſcreet manner after their departure from Orleans, of which the French did not fail to take advantage. Inſtead of keeping their forces together in one body to act powerfully againſt the enemy, they diſtributed great part of them into places near the Loire, which they had ſubdued when they firſt paſſed that river. Being thus ſeparated, the French met with little reſiſtance in the places they attempted to take. Joan d'Arc ſtill headed their troops; and wherever ſhe appeared, the Engliſh were ſtruck with a panic, while the French believed themſelves ſupported by an inviſible agent. Gorgeau, a ſmall fortreſs, into which the earl of Suffolk had been ſo imprudent to throw himſelf with only four hundred men, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion, and the earl himſelf was taken priſoner. Meulan ſuffered the ſame fate, as did alſo ſeveral other other towns and caſtles that had been garriſoned by the Engliſh.

On the impriſonment of the earl of Suffolk the command of the Engliſh forces devolved on lord Talbot, who found that his whole force did not exceed ſix thouſand men. He therefore endeavoured to avoid a general engagement with the enemy, who were at leaſt double that number: but being overtaken at a place called Potay, a battle became inevitable, and the event was what might have been expected. The Engliſh were totally defeated: above two thouſand fell in the action, and about two hundred were taken priſoners, among whom were the lords Talbot, Scales and Hungerford, with ſeveral other officers diſtinguiſhed for their military abilities.

Joan d'Arc, having fully executed the firſt part of her engagements, now determined to proceed in the execution of the ſecond, namely, that of conducting Charles to Rheims, in order to his being there crowned and anointed. Charles had never expoſed his perſon to danger, but he now ſuffered himſelf to be carried away by the torrent of his ſucceſſes, and the prevailing remonſtrances of the female warrior, with whom he marched, at the head of twelve thouſand men, through the midſt of his enemies, towards Rheims. Troyes, Chalons, and ſeveral other towns in his way, opened their gates at his approach. The inhabitants of Rheims no ſooner heard that he was advancing to that city, accompanied by Joan, than they immediately drove out the Engliſh garriſon, and ſent him the keys of their city, which he entered in triumph. The ceremony of his coronation was immediately performed in the preſence of Joan, who, on this occaſion, attended with her conſecrated banner in her hand. Thus was Charles in poſſeſſion of the city of Rheims, to which his ſubjects (who now looked upon him in a very reſpectable light) repaired from all quarters, and readily joined his ſtandard.

After the ceremony of Charles's coronation was over, Joan d'Arc (who had acquired the title of The Maid of Orleans) conſidering her commiſſion fully accompliſhed, was deſirous of returning to the place of her nativity, affirming that ſhe had executed the deſign of her miſſion; but her influence was ſo great over the troops, that count de Dunois prevailed on her to continue in the army till the Engliſh ſhould be entirely driven from the country.

During theſe tranſactions the duke of Bedford, who had remained in Paris, found means to renew his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, and having

ing raiſed a very powerful army, determined to take the field, in order to oppoſe the rapid progreſs of the French monarch. He accordingly advanced as far as Montereau, from whence he ſent an herald to Charles, offering to give him battle in any place he ſhould name, in order to put a final period to the war by a general engagement. But Charles, not chuſing to hazard his crown on the uncertain event of a ſingle battle, refuſed the offer, and continued with his troops in the neighbourhood of Rheims.

A. D. 1430. While theſe things were tranſacting on the continent, the Engliſh parliament reſolved to ſend young Henry into France, in order that he might be crowned at Paris. In conſequence of this reſolution, he embarked at Dover with a ſplendid retinue, and landed at Calais on the 19th of May. But the French army being then in the neighbourhood of Paris, it was thought adviſeable to conduct the young king to Rouen, till the enemy ſhould be removed farther from the capital.

To effect this purpoſe the duke of Bedford laboured aſſiduouſly to induce the duke of Burgundy to act with more vigour than he had done after recalling his troops from the ſiege of Orleans. He accordingly ceded to him all the places poſſeſſed by the Engliſh in Champagne and Bria; and the duke immediately entered France at the head of a powerful army. He ſoon reduced Troyes and Soiſſons, and, being joined by freſh reinforcements under command of the earl of Arundel, inveſted Compeigne, the garriſon of which was commanded by one Flavi, a brave and experienced general.

As ſoon as this enterprize was known, the Maid of Orleans, with Xaintrailles, a celebrated French officer, threw themſelves into the place, which gave freſh ſpirits to the garriſon. The next day Joan, at the head of a conſiderable body of forces, made ſo deſperate a ſally on the quarters of John of Luxemberg, the Burgundian general, that he was driven from his poſt. But the fury of that enthuſiaſtic leader carried her too far: her retreat was cut off, and, after making the moſt deſperate reſiſtance, ſhe was taken priſoner, and delivered up to the Burgundian general, who ſent her under a proper guard to the duke of Bedford. The garriſon of Compeigne, however, continued to make a noble defence, and a large detachment arriving from Charles's army, the Engliſh were obliged to abandon the ſiege.

The Engliſh monarch had, during theſe tranſactions, continued at Rouen; but it was now determined to perform the ceremony of his coronation. He accordingly repaired to Paris, attended by the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, and a ſplendid train of nobility of both nations. Sunday, the Seventeenth of December, was appointed for the ceremony, which was accordingly performed with great magnificence in the church of Notre Dame, when the cardinal of Wincheſter placed the crown on the head of Henry, and the French nobility ſwore allegiance to his perſon and government.

A. D. 1431. The firſt ſtep taken by the duke of Bedford after young Henry's coronation was, to diſpoſe of the perſon of the Maid of Orleans, who was then his priſoner. As this woman had been the cauſe of that aſtoniſhing revolution, which almoſt ruined the affairs of the Engliſh in France, the duke determined to undeceive the world with reſpect to the divinity of her miſſion, hoping, by theſe means, to revive the drooping ſpirits of his countrymen, and deprive the enemy of thoſe advantages that had reſulted from this ridiculous but ſucceſsful deluſion. To effect this he ſent Joan to Rouen, in order to be tried for witchcraft; and, after a tedious examination, the eccleſiaſtical judges condemned her as an heretic, to do penance all the reſt of her life on bread and water. Soon after the ſame judges, on pretence that ſhe had relapſed into her former errors, delivered her over to the ſecular power to be burnt alive, which cruel ſentence was executed in the old market-place of Rouen on the 30th of May.—Such was the end of the famous Maid of Orleans, whoſe actions had ſtruck the Engliſh with terror, and who ſaved her country from impending deſtruction.

A. D. 1432. The Engliſh monarch, after his coronation at Paris, left that city, and returned to Rouen; where he continued till ſome time after the execution of the famous Maid of Orleans. But thinking it now adviſeable to return to England, he proceeded to Calais, where he embarked, and arrived ſafe at Dover about the middle of February, from whence he immediately proceeded to London, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people.

A. D. 1433. It had been conjectured that the death of the Maid of Orleans would have enabled the Engliſh to recover thoſe advantages which they had loſt through her means. But they were ſtill unfortunate, and their affairs grew daily worſe and worſe. In this alarming criſis an event happened which gave a fatal blow to the hopes of the Engliſh. The ducheſs of Bedford, ſiſter to the duke of Burgundy, paid the debt of nature, and was buried in the church of the Celeſtines at Paris. This unfortunate event diſſolved the cloſe connection that had ſubſiſted between her brother and the duke; and the marriage of the latter, about four months after her death, with Jaqueline of Luxemburg, occaſioned a breach between them. The cardinal of Wincheſter endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation between theſe princes, and brought them both to St. Omers for that ſalutary purpoſe. But a point of honour rendered the whole abortive. Bedford expected the firſt viſit, as he had condeſcended to come into the duke of Burgundy's territories, in order to have an interview with him. But Philip, proud of his great power, and independent dominions, refuſed to pay this compliment, upon which the duke of Bedford retired with diſguſt.

A. D. 1434. In the beginning of this year Iſabella, queen dowager of France, obſerving the great ſucceſs of her ſon Charles, (againſt whom ſhe maintained an implacable hatred) and the declining ſtate of the Engliſh intereſt, died of grief at Paris, very little regretted by the French, who conſidered her as the principal cauſe of the ruin of their country.

The death of Iſabella was of very little conſequence to either party: but this was not the caſe with reſpect to that of the duke of Bedford, who expired in the caſtle of Rouen on the 14th of September univerſally regretted by the Engliſh, who conſidered him not only as the chief ſupport of the intereſt of France, but an honour to the country that gave him birth. It is difficult to determine whether this prince ſhone more in the field or the cabinet; whether he was the greater hero or politician: but, to add honour to his name, it is evident, that he was a truly honeſt man, and a ſincere lover of his country.

A. D. 1435. On the death of Bedford, the duke of York was appointed regent of France in his ſtead; but ſuch parties were formed in the Engliſh coun-

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

King HENRY *the Sixth* CROWNED *in the Cathedral Church of Notre Dame, in* PARIS.

cil that it was ſeven months before the commiſſion, (empowering him to hold that office,) paſſed the ſeals. In the mean time Charles took every advantage for extending his conqueſts, and had made a moſt rapid progreſs in eſtabliſhing his authority when the new regent arrived on the continent. The capital had been ſome time reduced, ſo that the territories of the Engliſh then chiefly conſiſted of Guienne and Normandy.

A. D. 1437. In the ſpring of this year Philip, duke of Burgundy (who had ſome time joined in alliance with Charles) attempted to reduce Calais with an army of 50,000 men, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſmall caſtles in the neighbourhood of that city. The Flemings (who were then much more famous for manufacture than war) vainly imagined that the appearance of their numerous army would be ſufficient to intimidate the garriſon, and the gates would be opened at their approach. But they ſoon found themſelves deceived; for the garriſon, inſtead of being intimidated, dreadfully harraſſed their camp with ſucceſsful ſallies.

In the mean time the duke of Glouceſter, at the head of fifteen thouſand men, landed at Calais, and ſent an herald to the duke of Burgundy, offering him battle. Philip accepted his challenge; but his Flemings had ſo ſeverely felt the effects of the valour of the Engliſh, that they could not be prevailed upon to meet them in the open field; they therefore quitted their camp, and made a precipitate retreat. Philip, fearing leſt the garriſon of Calais might take advantage of this confuſion in his army, drew up his regular troops to ſecure his retreat, and retired in good order to Gravelines, leaving all his baggage and artillery, which, of courſe, fell into the hands of the Engliſh.

Irritated at the proceedings of the duke of Burgundy, Glouceſter led his army into Artois, and after laying the whole country waſte with fire and ſword, returned to Calais loaded with plunder.

A. D. 1438—40. During the courſe of theſe three years the war was carried on by both parties in a very languid manner. The two nations were drained by the expences of the different campaigns, and their troops were at length obliged to ſubſiſt by plundering and oppreſſing the countries both of friends and enemies. Terms of peace were often propoſed and as often rejected; both parties inſiſting on ſuch as could not be granted. At the ſame time both the Engliſh and French courts were filled with factions. The duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter continually oppoſed each other, and the intereſt of the nation was ſacrificed to their perpetual enmities. The dauphin of France headed a faction againſt his father. He was of a reſtleſs and ambitious diſpoſition, and found means to bring over to his intereſt the dukes of Alençon and Bourbon, with the counts of Vendome and Dunois. Charles perceived his danger, and was deſirous of procuring the releaſe of the duke of Orleans (who had continued a priſoner in England, ever ſince the battle Agincourt) as the only perſon whoſe merit and rank could balance the credit of the dauphin's party. After a tedious negotiation, which was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the duke of Glouceſter, it was determined to ſet him at liberty on his paying a ranſom of thirty-ſix thouſand pounds. The duke of Burgundy diſplayed a noble inſtance of generoſity on this occaſion, by renouncing his former reſentments, and paying the ranſom of a prince, who had been his moſt inveterate enemy.

A. D. 1441. The diſſentions in England between the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal of Wincheſter ſtill continued with the utmoſt violence; nor could any thing leſs than the deſtruction of the former ſatisfy the malice and ambition of the latter. The cardinal, however, was unable to attack the duke in perſon, and therefore formed the moſt horrid plot that could be deviſed by human invention. He cauſed the ducheſs to be accuſed of witchcraft, and it was pretended that a waxen image of the king was found in her poſſeſſion, which ſhe and her aſſociates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a prieſt, and one Margaret Jordon, of Eye in Suffolk, melted before a ſlow fire, with a deſign of making Henry's force and vigour waſte away by the like inſenſible degrees. The accuſation was well calculated to effect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to gain credit among the illiterate people. The ducheſs and her ſuppoſed confederates were accordingly brought to trial, the two former of whom were acquitted, and the latter found guilty. She was condemned to do public penance for three days ſucceſſively, by walking barefooted and bareheaded, with a wax taper in her hand, from the Tower of London to St. Paul's cathedral, and then to be impriſoned for life; which ſentence was executed with the utmoſt rigour. But theſe violent and baſe proceedings did not produce the intended effect; for inſtead of making Glouceſter appear contemptible in the eyes of the public, it only increaſed their hatred againſt his enemies.

A. D. 1443. The cardinal of Wincheſter had been, for ſome time, averſe to continuing the war on the continent; and he now alledged the impoſſibility of the Engliſh either extending their conqueſts, or even retaining thoſe they then had in their poſſeſſion. He likewiſe obſerved, that the power of the French king was daily increaſing, and that it would be abſolutely neceſſary to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy's arms by a temporary ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, which would allow the Engliſh time to retrieve their ruined fortunes. The duke of Glouceſter, who was naturally brave and daring, highly diſapproved of theſe meaſures: he could not be perſuaded to reſign all hopes of reducing the power of France, nor could he patiently endure to find his own advice over-ruled by the ſuperior power and intereſt of his rival the cardinal of Wincheſter. But all his oppoſition had no effect: the earl of Suffolk, a nobleman blindly attached to the cardinal's party, was ſent to Tours, in order to treat with the French miniſters. Conferences were accordingly opened; but the parties diſagreeing concerning the terms, the ſole reſult was a truce for two years.

A. D. 1444. Having executed this part of his commiſſion, the earl of Suffolk proceeded to finiſh another matter of no leſs importance, and which was planned by the cardinal of Wincheſter. He propoſed a match between the king his maſter and Margaret daughter of Regnier, duke of Anjou, and nominal king of Sicily; and, inſtead of demanding a dower with her, promiſed, in the name of his maſter, that the province of Maine (then in the hands of the Engliſh) ſhould be ceded to her uncle, Charles of Anjou, who was prime miniſter to the French king.

As ſoon as the duke of Glouceſter was informed of theſe proceedings, he exerted his utmoſt efforts to prevent the intended match; but in ſpite of all his oppoſition, the contract was ratified in London, and the ceremony of marriage performed at Tours, the earl of Suffolk acting as proxy for

the Engliſh monarch. On the 18th of April following, Margaret arrived in England, and was re-married in the priory of Southwark, from whence ſhe proceeded to Weſtminſter, and on the 13th of May was crowned with great magnificence.

A. D. 1445. The new queen had not been long in England before ſhe ſufficiently indicated her intentions of being miſtreſs of her huſband's conduct as well as his affections. The oppoſition made by the duke of Glouceſter to her marriage had filled her mind with envy, and induced her to enter into a cloſe correſpondence with the cardinal of Wincheſter and the earl of Suffolk, who, ſtrengthened by her friendſhip, and animated by their common hatred againſt the duke of Glouceſter, reſolved to effect the ruin of that patriotic nobleman. He was accordingly ſtripped of all his preferments, and even entirely removed from the council board. But this unjuſtifiable method of proceeding raiſed ſuch commotions in the nation, that the authors of this diſgrace thought it abſolutely neceſſary for their own ſafety, to colour over their baſe proceedings with a ſhew of juſtice. They accordingly declared their intentions of impeaching the duke before the parliament, and the members being ſummoned to meet at St. Edmundſbury, the duke was cited to appear, to anſwer the accuſations alledged againſt him; but before the day appointed for his trial arrived, he was found dead in his bed. It was, indeed, pretended that his death was natural, and his body was accordingly expoſed to public view without exhibiting any marks of external injury, though no one doubted his having fallen a ſacrifice to the vengeance of his enemies.—Thus fell Humphrey of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, the moſt learned perſon of his age. He founded at Oxford one of the firſt public libraries in England, and was a generous patron to men of ſcience, and able artiſts of every profeſſion *.

A. D. 1446. The cardinal of Wincheſter did not long triumph over the fall of Glouceſter. He died about ſix weeks after with all the horrors of a guilty conſcience, and his name was execrated by the populace, who had as much revered Glouceſter for his virtues, as they had deteſted Wincheſter for his infamy.

By the death of the cardinal, the queen, and her favourite Suffolk, were deprived of the great ſupport they had derived from his experience, his birth, his riches, and his order; and left expoſed to the effects of thoſe unpopular meaſures they afterwards purſued. The miniſter, however, did not immediately feel the reſentment of an injured people. He, for ſome time, enjoyed his power, and the next ſeſſions of parliament was created duke of Suffolk.

A. D. 1447. During theſe tranſactions in England, the French king employed his time in proſecuting ſuch meaſures as might be moſt conducive to the happineſs of his people, and the welfare of his kingdom. He was then in a condition to act with vigour in recovering thoſe places which were ſtill in the hands of the Engliſh; and an accident ſoon happened which gave him a pretence for recommencing hoſtilities.

It had been agreed, by the treaty of marriage between Henry and Margaret of Anjou, that the province of Maine ſhould be ceded to her uncle Charles; but the Engliſh miniſtry, fearful that the ceſſion of that place ſhould occaſion popular clamours, had hitherto poſtponed diſcharging this part of the treaty. At length, however, orders were ſent to Sir Francis Surienne, governor of Mans, the capital of the country, to deliver that city into the hands of Charles of Anjou. Surienne (who was a native of Arragon, but had ſerved the Engliſh with great fidelity above twenty years) diſputed the authenticity of the order, and abſolutely refuſed to deliver up the place. The count de Dunois was therefore ſent, at the head of a numerous body of troops, and a large train of artillery, to reduce it by force. Surienne made a noble defence, but was at length obliged to capitulate; by which the garriſon, conſiſting of two thouſand five hundred men, were ſuffered to march out with their effects, and all the honours of war. They retired into Normandy; but being refuſed admittance into any of the fortified towns, and falling into great diſtreſs, Surienne led his troops into Britany, and procured ſubſiſtence by extending his depredations over the whole province.

At this time the duke of Somerſet was governor of Normandy, from whom the French king demanded ſatisfaction for the outrages committed by Surienne in Britany, that province being included in the late truce made with France. The duke apologized, by returning for anſwer, that he was greatly concerned at the illegality of his proceedings; but that the whole had been executed without his privity and conſent, nor had he any authority over the troops that had committed the ravages of which he complained.

This was far from being ſatisfactory to Charles, who now determined to take advantage of the ſuperiority he had gained over the Engliſh. He accordingly, in the ſpring of the year 1448, declared war againſt Henry, ſoon made himſelf maſter of the principal places in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, and, in a ſhort time, was ſo ſucceſsful, as to annex both Normandy and Guienne to his dominions.

A. D. 1449. But theſe were not the only misfortunes that now befel the Engliſh. The ſword of civil war was ready to be drawn, in order to drench the fields with the blood of their owners. The duke of York (firſt prince of the blood) was deſcended by his mother, from the houſe of Mortimer, which enjoyed an inconteſtible title to the crown of England after the demiſe of Richard II. when the rights of ſovereignty were uſurped by the houſe of Lancaſter. His perſonal merit was great, and he had contracted a powerful alliance by marrying the daughter of Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland, one of the moſt conſiderable and reſpected noblemen in the kingdom. The earl of Warwick was alſo one of that family, and his hoſpitality and munificence had gained him ſuch reſpect as to render his authority over his numerous partizans almoſt abſolute.

The duke of York, who had commanded with great applauſe in France, was deprived of his commiſſion, without any reaſon being aſſigned for ſo imprudent an exertion of power. On his return to England ſome dark hints with reſpect to the pretenſions of his family to the crown were dropped by his partizans, and had the deſired effect. The virtues of the duke of York, and the great ſervices he had performed for his country, were ſtrongly impreſſed

* The remains of this prince were interred in the old church of St. Alban's, where a handſome monument was erected to his memory, a great part of which is ſtill to be ſeen. Some few years ago the vault was diſcovered where his remains were depoſited, when the body was found in a ſtone coffin, with the fleſh then but little decayed. The only remains now are his bones, which have been carefully preſerved, and may be ſtill ſeen by the curious.

preſſed on the minds of the people, who ſpared no pains to teſtify their reſpect for ſo diſtinguiſhed a character.

The increaſing popularity of the duke of York greatly alarmed the queen and Suffolk; and a commotion having happened in Ireland, it was thought adviſeable to inveſt him with the title of lord-lieutenant, and ſend him into that kingdom, as the only perſon capable of reſtoring peace and tranquillity.

Though the duke of York well knew the true reaſon for his being ſent out of the kingdom, yet he made no heſitation to accept the commiſſion. He accordingly went over to Ireland, where his mild and gentle behaviour had ſuch an effect on the inhabitants of that kingdom, that they not only returned quietly to their duty, but likewiſe became ſtrongly attached to him and his family.

A. D. 1450. The conduct of Suffolk, in conjunction with his royal patroneſs, had now become ſo enormous, that they incurred the univerſal hatred of the people, and the popular clamours aroſe to ſuch a height, that the Houſe of Commons determined to impeach the favourite miniſter. Accordingly an accuſation was laid againſt the duke of Suffolk for high-treaſon. They aſcribed to him the loſs of the Engliſh dominions on the continent, and even inſiſted, that he had entered into a deſign to dethrone the king. The violence of faction had, however, carried the Commons too far: their allegations would not bear examination, there being no evidence to ſupport them. A new charge was, therefore, drawn up againſt him, the ſubſtance of which was chiefly confined to the perverſions of that authority with which he had been inveſted.

Henry was now alarmed for his favourite miniſter. He had reaſon to think that the parliament were determined to carry on the proſecution againſt him with the utmoſt vigour; nor was he miſtaken, for both lords and commons found him guilty. As ſoon as Henry heard of the iſſue of his trial, he immediately ſent for all the lords ſpiritual and temporal to his palace, produced Suffolk before them, and aſked him, what he could ſay in his own defence. He denied the charge exhibited againſt him, but ſubmitted himſelf to the mercy of the king, who ſentenced him to five years baniſhment.

In conſequence of this ſentence the duke made immediate preparations for leaving the kingdom, not doubting but, as he ſtill enjoyed the queen's favour and confidence, he ſhould be ſoon recalled. But his enemies were determined that his life ſhould pay the forfeit of his crimes. They accordingly employed a captain of a ſhip to cruize off Dover, and intercept him in his paſſage to the continent. The captain, who had imbibed the common prejudices, performed his commiſſion with great ſeverity. He ſeized the duke near Dover, took him into his long-boat, and, with the aſſiſtance of his men, ſtruck his head off on the ſide of the veſſel, and afterwards threw his body into the ſea. Thus fell the duke of Suffolk, a victim to his own ambition and perfidy.

On the death of Suffolk the duke of Somerſet ſucceeded in all his power and credit with the queen; and as he was the perſon who commanded on the continent when the French provinces were loſt, the people, who always judge by the event, made him the object of their animoſity and deteſtation. The conſequence of this was that commotions took place in moſt parts of the kingdom, and at length an inſurrection was raiſed which threatened to overturn the whole ſyſtem of government.

One John Cade, a native of Ireland, having been outlawed for a rape and murder committed in Suſſex, had taken ſanctuary, and was forced to abjure the kingdom. He, however, ſoon after returned into Kent, and, obſerving the diſcontents of the people, determined to turn them to his own advantage. He took upon himſelf the name of John Mortimer, pretending he was the ſon of the late Sir John Mortimer, uncle to Edmund earl of Marche, and thereby made himſelf a near relation to Richard duke of York, the perſon from whom the people hoped for redreſs of all their grievances. The very mention of that popular name was ſufficient to procure him multitudes of followers, and he ſoon found himſelf at the head of twenty thouſand men. The arch-rebel, perceiving that great numbers daily flocked to his ſtandard, advanced to Blackheath, giving out that he was going to make a reform in the government, and redreſs the grievances of the people, by delivering them from the burthen of taxes.

The miniſtry no ſooner received intelligence of theſe diſturbances, than they immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to the inſurgents, demanding the reaſon of their aſſembling in ſo tumultuous and hoſtile a manner. Cade, in the name of the whole body, returned for anſwer, that they had not the leaſt deſign of offering any violence to the perſon of the king: they only deſired to preſent a petition to the parliament, that the miniſters who oppreſſed the people might be removed from the royal preſence. At the ſame time he delivered to the deputies two papers enumerating the grievances of the nation. Among other particulars they prayed that the duke of Somerſet might be puniſhed as the principal author of the loſs of Normandy; that the king's council might conſiſt of the princes of the blood, and other prudent and diſtinguiſhed perſonages, inſtead of vicious and profligate wretches, who were totally deſtitute both of honour and abilities

But the miniſtry were ſo far from paying any attention to theſe remonſtrances, that they determined to have recourſe to violent methods for quelling the inſurgents. Accordingly, an army of fifteen thouſand diſciplined men, under the command of Sir Humphrey Stafford, was ſent againſt them. Cade artfully affected to be terrified at the general's approach, and retired, with the main body of the rebels, to Sevenoak, placing a ſtrong detachment in ambuſcade to intercept Stafford in his march. The royal army followed without obſerving the neceſſary cautions, and were ſo furiouſly attacked by Cade's concealed forces, that great numbers were ſlain, among whom was their leader, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight.

Animated by this ſucceſs, Cade returned to Blackheath, from whence he ſent another remonſtrance to the king and council, demanding, "That the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham and Norfolk, ſhould be recalled to court: and that the muderers of the duke of Glouceſter, together with all thoſe who had contributed to the loſs of the Engliſh territories on the continent, ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment." The government, alarmed at the late defeat of their forces, and knowing that the ſecret friends of the duke of York were on the point of declaring themſelves, reſolved, if poſſible, to purchaſe their ſafety by ſacri-

ſacrificing ſome individuals to the fury of the populace; and accordingly, the lords Say and Cromer, who had rendered themſelves very unpopular, were committed to the tower.

The next day the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham were ſent to treat with the inſurgents. Cade received them with the greateſt complaiſance; but told them he was abſolutely determined not to lay down his arms till the king came in perſon, and granted their requeſts. The effect of this conference was reported to the council, and the king, perſuaded he had every thing to fear from the fury of the inſurgents, determined to leave London, and accordingly ſet out, with his whole court, for Kenelworth caſtle in Yorkſhire.

No ſooner was Cade informed of the abſence of the king than he immediately marched, at the head of his troops, to the capital, where the citizens, alarmed at his great ſucceſs, immediately opened their gates, and Cade entered with all the triumph of the moſt diſtinguiſhed warrior. He had even the inſolence to ſtrike his ſword againſt London-ſtone, crying out, "Now is Mortimer lord of London." He, however, maintained, for ſome time, great order and diſcipline among his followers. He always led them out at the approach of night where they continued till morning, when they again returned into the city. But the rebels being reſolved, in order to gratify their malevolence againſt Say and Cromer, to put thoſe miniſters to death, Cade could no longer reſtrain their riotous diſpoſitions. They plundered the houſes of the more opulent citizens, and committed ſo many diſorders, that the inhabitants perceived there was a neceſſity for joining the regular troops, in order to prevent the deſtruction with which they were threatened. Accordingly, after Cade had marched out of the city as uſual in the evening, they ſeized the gates, and put the detachments that guarded them to death. On the return of Cade and his followers the next morning, they found the gates of the bridge ſhut and barricadoed againſt them. They attempted, however, to force a paſſage, the conſequence of which was, that a battle enſued, and the conteſt continued till night, without either party gaining any material advantage.

The rebels were greatly diſpirited at not being able to open themſelves a paſſage into the city; and the miniſtry took advantage of their timidity. They drew up a general pardon for the inſurgents, provided they would lay down their arms; and another for Cade in particular, on condition of his abandoning his rebellious projects. Theſe pardons were iſſued under the great ſeal, and prudently publiſhed during the night in the camp of the inſurgents. The effect was aſtoniſhing. The morning no ſooner appeared than Cade found himſelf deſerted by the greater part of his followers, and retreated to Rocheſter, where the reſt diſperſed, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances and artful ſpeeches, by which he endeavoured to perſuade them, that the pardon they had received was of no effect, as it had not received the ſanction of the parliament. Perceiving that all his arts were exerted in vain, he fled into the woods of Suſſex, with a few of his friends who were determined to ſhare his fate. A price was now ſet upon his head by the government, and he was ſlain by one Alexander Iden or Eden, a gentleman of Suſſex, who ſent his head to London; and for which ſervice he was rewarded with the government of Rocheſter caſtle.

The duke of York was ſtrongly ſuſpected of being materially concerned in exciting and ſupporting the late inſurrection, in order that he might form ſome idea of the ſentiments of the people with regard to his title and family. He was then in Ireland, where his judicious conduct had entitled him to the public eſteem and confidence; but he now determined to return to England, perſuaded that his perſonal ſecurity depended upon the timely vigour of his future meaſures.

The council no ſooner heard of the duke of York's deſign of returning to England, than, jealous of the pretenſions he might make, and ſuſpecting he would come with an armed force, they iſſued out orders, in the king's name, to oppoſe him wherever he ſhould endeavour to land. But the duke eluded all their deſigns, by coming attended with no more than his ordinary retinue: and this impolitic precaution of the miniſtry ſerved only to indicate their apprehenſion of his power and intereſt, and their own diſtruſt of the affections of the people.

A. D. 1451. A few days after the duke of York arrived in England, he wrote a very ſubmiſſive letter to the king, in which he pointed out the grievances ſo much complained of by the people, and offered his beſt ſervices to remove thoſe abuſes which had crept into the government. The miniſtry perceived the duke's real intentions; but their then ſituation obliged them to act cautiouſly, and it was reſolved to return a civil anſwer. Accordingly, the king, in a letter to the duke, told him, "That he had, for ſome time, been ſenſible of the neceſſity of reforming the government, and intended to nominate a council for that purpoſe, and conſtitute him as their preſident, adding, that, till this could be done, ſuch precautions ſhould be taken, that the duke of Somerſet might be ready to take his trial whenever it was thought neceſſary."

The miniſtry imagined that this remarkable condeceſſion in the king would totally deprive the duke of York of all pretenſions for taking up arms; but they ſoon found themſelves miſtaken: the offers were declared unſatisfactory by the duke's friends, and it was reſolved to proceed in the ſcheme that had been long formed by the duke of laying open his pretenſions to the Engliſh diadem.

The whole kingdom ſoon became one continued ſcene of commotion. The people were divided in opinion with regard to the pretenſions of the houſes of Lancaſter and York. Many plauſible reaſons were urged by the advocates on both ſides, and their arguments appeared weaker or ſtronger in proportion to the prejudice of the party.

A. D. 1452. But no meaſures ſeemed likely to be efficacious in healing the animoſities of the people, and deciding this important conteſt, except that of the ſword. As ſoon, therefore, as the ſpring was conſiderably advanced, the duke of York, who was then in Wales, where he had joined his friends, entered England at the head of a formidable army. But no acts of hoſtility were committed: they marched peaceably forwards, and publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring that their ſole intent was, to promote the good of the nation; to releaſe the oppreſſed ſubject from a burthen he was unable to bear; and to bring to juſtice a corrupt and debaſed adminiſtration.

Theſe plauſible reaſons produced the deſired effect. The people, who groaned under enormous taxes, gladly joined the duke's ſtandard; he ſoon found himſelf at the head of ten thouſand men, and directed his march towards London, not expect-

ecting to meet with any oppoſition from the royal army. But in this he was miſtaken; the queen and Somerſet had exerted all their power to raiſe a number of forces ſufficient to meet the duke in the open field, and their attempts were ſucceſsful. The king marched from London againſt him; but before the two armies met, York, being informed of his danger, changed his route, and, by forced marches, reached the capital, before Henry knew that he intended to evade a battle. The duke, however, ſoon perceived that he had placed too much confidence in the promiſes of the Londoners; for, inſtead of receiving him with open arms, they ſhut their gates againſt his army, and would not even permit himſelf to enter the city.

As ſoon as Henry received advice of the duke of York having changed his route, and marched to London, he immediately returned with the utmoſt expedition towards the capital. On his arrival the duke of York croſſed the Thames at Kingſton, where, being joined by Thomas Courtney earl of Devon, and the lord Cobham, he marched at the head of his forces into Kent, and encamped on a ſpacious and convenient ſpot of ground near Dartford.

Young Henry followed the duke with all expedition, and marching his forces over London-bridge, encamped on Blackheath. The duke of Somerſet, who attended the king on this occaſion (and ſeems to have been an able politician) adviſed Henry to cruſh the rebellion in its bud, and not wait till it had gathered ſtrength, and become formidable. But Henry did not think proper to follow the advice of Somerſet: he totally neglected his prudent counſel, and, liſtening to ſome timorous, perhaps treacherous, noblemen, determined to have recourſe to negotiation.

In conſequence of this reſolution certain prelates and noblemen were ſent to know the reaſons for the duke's appearing in arms, and upon what terms he was willing to lay them down, and uſe his endeavours for reſtoring tranquillity to the nation. The duke, with the greateſt appearance of reſpect and moderation, told the meſſengers, that the proſperity of his country was his ſole intention, that he deſired nothing more than to reform the government, by bringing to juſtice the duke of Somerſet, and others of the counſel, who had trampled on the laws of the kingdom, and oppreſſed the people; adding, that he was willing to diſband his forces, and to throw himſelf at Henry's feet, if the perſons he had mentioned were taken into cuſtody, and brought to anſwer the charges he was ready to exhibit againſt them in parliament.

Henry made no heſitation at complying with the duke's requeſt. Somerſet was put under arreſt, and the duke of York, by this condeſcenſion, deprived of all excuſes for keeping up a body of forces. He ſaw his error, but determined to keep his word. Accordingly he diſmiſſed his army, and repaired to court without arms, and without a paſſport.

As ſoon as the duke came into the preſence of the king and council, he openly avowed the cauſe of his taking up arms, and inſiſted that the duke of Somerſet ſhould be immediately brought to trial; when, to his great aſtoniſhment, that miniſter came from a private cloſet in the preſence-chamber, and bitterly reviled him for his treaſonable practices. A virulent contention enſued, and a torrent of the moſt indecent invectives were poured out, without the leaſt regard to the preſence of the ſovereign. Somerſet inſiſted on putting the duke of York to death on the ſpot; but the more diſpaſſionate members of the council, fearful of carrying matters to ſuch extremes, would not permit the leaſt violence to be offered to his perſon. The duke was accordingly diſmiſſed, after making a formal ſubmiſſion to Henry, and, upon oath, acknowledging him the legal ſovereign of the kingdom.

A. D. 1453. In the ſpring of this year the earl of Shrewſbury was diſpatched to the continent with an army of eight thouſand men, in order to aſſiſt the Gaſcons in throwing off the French yoke. He made himſelf maſter of Bourdeaux, and ſeveral other places; but being at length attacked by a ſuperior force, himſelf, together with his gallant ſon the lord I'ſle, fell among the ſlain. Thus was the plan of reducing that province to the Engliſh government rendered abortive: and thus fell the valiant Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, one of the beſt of men, and moſt illuſtrious heroes of the age, in which he lived.

On the 23d of October the queen was delivered of a ſon, named Edward, who was immediately created prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter. This circumſtance gave great ſatisfaction to Henry; but at the ſame time it re-kindled the flame of civil diſcord among the people, and greatly increaſed the activity and zeal of the partizans of the houſe of York.

A. D. 1454. Henry, from the natural weakneſs of his capacity, was totally incapable of managing the affairs of government; and, to add to this imperfection, he was at this time ſeized with an illneſs which deprived him of the power even of maintaining the appearance of royalty. On this account the meeting of the parliament had been ſeveral times poſtponed; and the friends of the duke of York, thinking it a convenient opportunity, determined to uſe their utmoſt efforts for replacing that nobleman in his ſeat at the council-board, from which he had been ſome time excluded. They accordingly inſinuated to the queen and Somerſet, that, from the then diſpoſition of the people, it could not be doubted, but whenever the parliament ſhould meet, the firſt thing they did would be to appoint a new miniſtry. That ſuch an incident muſt, of courſe, be productive of diſagreeable conſequences, and that the only ſure method of preventing it would be to admit the duke of York, the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury, with ſome other popular noblemen, into the council. This advice appearing plauſible to the queen and her favourite (who dreaded the effects of a parliamentary cenſure) they readily embraced their propoſal, and thoſe noblemen accordingly took the ſeats at the council-board.

The re-admiſſion of the duke of York into the council greatly animated his party, who continued daily to increaſe, and the queen ſoon found herſelf unable to oppoſe the power of his influence. The whole management of public affairs was changed: proſecutions were renewed againſt Somerſet; and the duke of York, even in the queen's preſence, cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſent priſoner to the Tower.

Henry, ſtill continuing in a ſtate which rendered him incapable of directing the affairs of government, the council thought it adviſeable to appoint the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom, and to inveſt him with power to hold the next ſeſſion of parliament in the king's name.

This was accordingly done; and, to add to his power, the parliament ſoon after changed his title of lieutenant to that of Protector of England.

A. D. 1455. But the duke of York did not long enjoy that elevated ſtation to which he had been raiſed by the parliament. The king recovered from his indiſpoſition, the duke's commiſſion was ſuperſeded, and himſelf, with the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury, diſmiſſed from the council. The duke of Somerſet was releaſed from his confinement, reſtored to his former power in the adminiſtration, and, in conjunction with the queen, directed all the affairs of government.

Irritated at theſe proceedings, the duke of York immediately left London, and retired into Wales, in order to procure thoſe rights by force of arms, which he found could not be obtained by more lenient meaſures. The popular clamour againſt Somerſet had ſpread itſelf through all parts of the kingdom, ſo that the people flocked in great numbers to the duke's ſtandard. In conſequence of this he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a very conſiderable body of forces, with which he advanced towards the king, who had marched from London, at the head of an army, to give him battle.

The duke of York was aſſiſted on this occaſion by the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, who ſent a letter from Royſton to the king, profeſſing their attachment to his perſon and government, and deſiring admiſſion to his preſence, that they might clear themſelves from the aſperſions of their enemies, and make him ſenſible of the miſconduct of his miniſters, who, they inſiſted, ſhould be brought to a legal trial, and puniſhed or acquitted according to their deſerts.

But this letter was treated with the utmoſt contempt, and the parties who ſent it threatened with the penalties of high-treaſon. In conſequence of this the malcontents continued their march, and the two armies met in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's, where a deſperate battle enſued, which terminated in favour of the Yorkiſts. The duke of Somerſet, the earls of Northumberland and Stafford, the lord Clifford, with ſeveral other diſtinguiſhed perſonages, and above eight hundred common ſoldiers, were killed on the ſpot. The king himſelf fell into the hands of the duke of York, who, inſtead of looking upon him in the light of a priſoner, treated him with every mark of reſpect due to royalty. Both the duke and his aſſociates fell on their knees before him and declared that, as the enemy of the public was no more, they were entirely devoted to the ſervice of their ſovereign.

In conſequence of this judicious and ſubmiſſive conduct in the duke and his aſſociates, the parliament, which met ſoon after the battle of St. Alban's granted to the Yorkiſts a general indemnity, and reſtored the protectorſhip to the duke; but at the ſame time renewed their oaths of fealty to the king, whoſe diſorder having greatly increaſed, prevented his directing the affairs of government.

This diſtinguiſhed elevation of the duke of York highly incenſed the queen, who, with her aſſociates, determined to exert their utmoſt endeavours to remove him from the ſeat of power. But their deſigns were greatly checked by the prudent conduct of the duke, whoſe great care was, to conduct himſelf in ſuch a manner as to obtain the general affections of the people. Deſirous of convincing them that his conduct was not influenced by paſſion or intereſt, he paid the utmoſt attention to the affairs of the royal family; eſtabliſhed the houſhold of the prince of Wales, and ſettled on him a decent maintenance, and, at the ſame time, left the king and queen at liberty to act as they thought proper; being perſuaded it was not in their power to diveſt him of the dignity of Protector, becauſe his patent could not be revoked without the conſent of parliament.

A. D. 1456. But Margaret was of too active and enterprizing a ſpirit to ſuffer any obſtacles to divert her from her intended purpoſes. The king had again recovered from his indiſpoſition, and the duke of York being abſent, his enemies, with the queen at their head, determined to take this opportunity of removing him from the ſeat of power. The parliament met on the 12th of February, when Henry (at the inſtigation of the queen and her aſſociates) went to the houſe, and declared his reſolution of putting an end to the power veſted in the duke of York, and taking the adminiſtration of affairs into his own hands. As the duke's party were not apprized of this meaſure they were not prepared to oppoſe it, ſo that the duke was removed from his office, and the king reſtored to his ſovereign authority. The duke was not a little ſurprized when he heard of this ſudden revolution, but making a virtue of neceſſity, quietly ſubmitted to the decree of parliament.

A. D. 1457. Elated at having thus far obtained her ends, though far from being ſatisfied at the great popularity of the duke and his aſſociates, Margaret now reſolved to ſecure her future repoſe by arreſting the perſons of York, Saliſbury and Warwick. With this view the court was removed to Coventry, where the queen thought ſhe could execute her purpoſe with greater probability of ſucceſs than in London; and theſe three noblemen were required, by letters under the privy ſeal, to attend the king at that place about ſome affairs of importance. The duke of York made no heſitation at complying with this order, and accordingly ſet out with his aſſociates for the place appointed; but being apprized on the road of the queen's intentions, they immediately parted. The duke of York retired to his caſtle of Wigmore in Herefordſhire; the earl of Saliſbury to his ſeat in Yorkſhire; and the earl of Warwick embarked for Calais, having been ſome time appointed to the government of that place.

The treacherous deſigns of the queen produced general commotions throughout the kingdom. The animoſity that took place between the partiſans of the houſes of York and Lancaſter aroſe to the utmoſt height, and a bloody civil war ſeemed likely to be the inevitable conſequence. In this critical juncture the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, inforced their good offices to bring about a reconciliation, and it was at length propoſed, that the principal leaders of both parties ſhould meet in London, on a day appointed for that purpoſe, to adjuſt their differences.

A. D. 1458. This meeting was held about the middle of January, and after ſome controverſy between the contending parties, an apparent reconciliation was effected. The terms of agreement were notified to the public by a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's cathedral, in which the duke of York conducted queen Margaret, and a chief of one party walked hand in hand with a chief of the oppoſite, the whole exhibiting every appearance of the moſt cordial friendſhip.

But this was nothing more than ſhow: the ſame enmity ſtill prevailed in the minds of both parties, and the confederate lords, inſtead of taking their ſeats at the council-board, retired from court, and took up their reſidence in thoſe parts, where they thought their reſpective intereſts were the moſt conſiderable.

From the conduct of both parties, it was evident that they only waited for an opportunity of re-kindling the flames of diſſention. Nor was it long before an incident happened which fully proved the truth of this conjecture. The earl of Warwick coming to London aſſiſted occaſionally, during his ſtay, at the council, and one of the king's ſervants happening to inſult a domeſtic belonging to the earl's train, a fray enſued, in which ſome of Warwick's followers were killed on the ſpot. Suſpecting this was a ſcheme formed by the court againſt his perſon, and being at the ſame time informed that Henry had granted a warrant to commit him to the Tower, the earl left London, and embarked with all expedition for his government of Calais.

A. D. 1459. The Yorkiſts were highly enraged at ſo direct a violation of the late agreement, and the Lancaſtrians were equally vexed at the miſcarriage of their ſcheme; the conſequence of which was, that both parties made preparations for deciding the conteſt by the ſword. Armies were raiſed in different parts of the kingdom; and it was expected, that when the reſpective forces of each party were joined, the diſpute would be determined by a general battle.

The earl of Saliſbury, having raiſed a number of troops, marched to join the duke of York; but was met on Bloreheath, on the borders of Staffordſhire, by lord Audley, at the head of a much ſuperior body of forces. The river Stow, a ſmall ſtream, but of conſiderable depth, ran between the two armies, and its banks were lined with lord Audley's troops. Saliſbury well knew his forces were not able to engage thoſe of the enemy in the open field, and therefore had recourſe to ſtratagem. He ordered a detachment of his beſt archers to advance briſkly to the banks of the river, and pour a ſhower of arrows upon the royaliſts; which being effected, he ſounded a retreat, and his forces retired with the appearance of precipitate confuſion. This produced the deſired effect. The royaliſts were deceived; and thinking the Yorkiſts flying before them, began to paſs the ſtream with great precipitation; but when part of the royal army had paſſed the brook, Saliſbury ſuddenly turned about; and partly by ſurpriſe, and partly by the diviſion of the enemy's forces, totally routed them, and lord Audley, with ſeveral of his principal officers, fell among the ſlain. The reſt of the army being ſeized with a panic, fled in the utmoſt diſorder, ſo that the earl of Saliſbury obtained a compleat victory.

Having now nothing to interrupt him the earl marched with his forces to Ludlow, where he found the duke of York at the head of a numerous army. In a few days after they received a very powerful reinforcement by the arrival of a choice body of veterans, whom the earl of Warwick had brought over from the continent, under the command of Sir Andrew Trollop and John Blunt, two officers of great reputation and experience.

The duke of York being thus formidably ſituated, no longer concealed his deſign, but publickly avowed his pretenſions to the throne. This alarmed the king's adherents, who exerted themſelves with ſuch vigour in his intereſt, that in a very ſhort time the royal army far exceeded in number that of the Yorkiſts; and a reſolution was formed immediately to march to Ludlow, where the malecontents were encamped.

The royal army accordingly marched with all expedition, and on their arrival within ſight of the Yorkiſts drew themſelves up in order of battle. But when they came near to each other, and a general action was momentarily expected, Sir Andrew Trollop deſerted with the whole detachment under his command; and his example was followed by ſuch a number, that the Yorkiſts, fearful of the conſequences, diſperſed, thinking it the only expedient whereby they could procure their ſafety. The duke of York repaired to Ireland; and the earls of Marche, Saliſbury, and Warwick fled to the continent.

A. D. 1460. But this diſappointment was far from diſpiriting the leaders of the Yorkiſts, who determined to take the firſt opportunity they could of endeavouring to retrieve their fortunes. The earl of Warwick was greatly beloved both by the ſoldiers and ſeamen, and ſuch numbers of the former daily flocked to his ſtandard, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a very conſiderable army. Thus powerfully ſupported, he determined to make one effort more in favour of the houſe of York; and accordingly, having fitted out a fleet, and made ſome captures at ſea, he landed in Kent at the head of his forces, accompanied by his father the earl of Saliſbury, together with the earl of Marche, eldeſt ſon to the duke of York.

The earl of Warwick, on his arrival at Sandwich, was joined by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord Cobham, and others of the nobility, and directing his rout towards London entered the city amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. Having increaſed his army with a ſtrong body of Londoners, he determined to march againſt the royaliſts, who were haſtening with all expedition, from Coventry to attack him. The two parties met in the neighbourhood of Northampton, and a furious battle enſued. For ſome time the palm of victory remained doubtful; but at length the lord Grey of Ruthin (who commanded the van-guard of the royal forces) deſerting to the enemy in the heat of the battle, the reſt of the army were ſo diſpirited that they immediately fled, and Warwick obtained a compleat victory. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, the lords Egremont and Beaumont, Sir William Lucy, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, fell among the ſlain. The puſillanimous Henry (who had remained in his tent during the whole time of the action) was taken priſoner, but treated by the victors with every mark of tenderneſs and reſpect due to royalty.

In conſequence of this defeat, the king no ſooner arrived in London, than the parliament were immediately aſſembled, in order to take into conſideration the neceſſary meaſures to be purſued at ſo alarming a criſis. On the third day after the opening of the ſeſſion, the duke of York arrived from Ireland. He immediately repaired to the Houſe of Lords, and advanced towards the throne; but was ſtopped by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who aſked him if he had yet paid his reſpects to the king. The duke replied, "he knew of no perſon to whom he owed that title." He then complained of the various calamities his family had ſuffered ſince the depoſition of Richard II. enumerated the cruelties by which the houſe of Lancaſter had

had paved their way to the ſeat of power; and exhorted them to do juſtice to the lineal ſucceſſor to the throne.

Struck with theſe obſervations, and the manner in which they were made, the aſſembly examined, with the utmoſt calmneſs and tranquillity, the duke's pretenſions. At laſt they pronounced a deciſion, calculated, as far as poſſible, to pleaſe both parties. They declared, that the duke's title was undeniable; but as Henry had now enjoyed the crown ſo many years without any oppoſition being made to his title, they determined he ſhould continue to poſſeſs both the title and dignity during his life; but that the adminiſtration of the government ſhould, in the mean time, remain with Richard duke of York, who ſhould be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy, and ſucceed to the crown immediately on the deceaſe of Henry: that every one ſhould ſwear to maintain his ſucceſſion: that it ſhould be high treaſon to attempt his life; and that all former acts for ſettling the ſucceſſion of the crown, during the two laſt reigns, ſhould be null and void. Theſe terms were agreed to by the whole aſſembly, and the accommodation celebrated by a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's cathedral, in which the king and both houſes of parliament aſſiſted.

Henry was not in the leaſt concerned at the great change made in his affairs by the parliament. It was immaterial to him who directed the helm, ſo that he could but be indulged in that ſtate of ſupineneſs to which he was naturally addicted. But this was not the caſe with the ambitious and aſpiring Margaret. After the battle of Northampton ſhe had taken refuge in Scotland, accompanied by the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter; and ſhe was now exerting all her talents to bring the inhabitants of the northern countries over to her intereſt, being ſtill determined, if poſſible, to overthrow all the ſchemes and ſucceſſes of Richard.

The duke of York was no ſtranger to the proceedings of Margaret, and, fearful of the conſequences, determined, with all expedition to take ſuch meaſures as might render her deſigns abortive. To effect this, he ſent a ſummons to the queen, requeſting her to repair immediately to London, the deſign of which was to procure a pretence for baniſhing her the kingdom. But, inſtead of any attention being paid to this ſummons, intelligence was ſoon received that Margaret was advancing towards the capital at the head of twenty thouſand men.

In conſequence of this intelligence, Richard, whoſe forces conſiſted only of about five thouſand, immediately marched at their head to ſtop the progreſs of the queen; while his ſon, the earl of Marche, repaired to the borders of Wales, the only parts of the kingdom where he could hope for aſſiſtance. This part of Richard's plan was known to the queen, who in conſequence thereof, determined to attack him before he could obtain any reinforcements from his ſon. She therefore haſtened her march; and the duke of York, conſcious of being unable to meet in the open field an army ſo ſuperior in numbers, threw himſelf into Sandal Caſtle, in the neighbourhood of Wakefield in Yorkſhire.

As ſoon as Margaret was informed of his ſituation, ſhe immediately advanced with her forces to the gates of the fortreſs, and uſed every method in her power to provoke the duke to battle; but all her endeavours proving ineffectual, ſhe had recourſe to ſtratagem. Towards the evening ſhe marched at the head of her forces in the way to London, leaving only a ſmall detachment in the neighbourhood of the caſtle; but during the night ſhe ſeparated the main body of her forces into two diviſions, and placed them in ambuſh on the ſides of Wakefield-green.

This ſcheme produced the intended effect; for early in the morning after the queen's departure, the duke of York drew out his forces in order to give battle to the detachment ſhe had left behind. But juſt as he was going to commence the action, the two bodies ſuddenly ruſhed out from their ambuſcades, and attacked him with the utmoſt violence both in flank and rear. The duke now perceived his error, but it was too late to retrieve it, and he reſolved to ſell his life as dear as poſſible. He therefore fell on the enemy with a fury rather bordering on deſpair than ariſing from courage. The conteſt did not laſt more than half an hour; but that ſhort interval of time was crowded with deſtruction. Near three thouſand of the duke's forces were cut to pieces, and himſelf fell among the ſlain. His ſon, Edmund Plantagenet, earl of Rutland was, after the battle, inhumanly maſſacred in cool blood, at the inſtigation of the implacable lord Clifford. The earl of Saliſbury was taken priſoner, and beheaded at Pomfret, as were alſo ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. The body of the duke of York being found among the ſlain, his head was cut off by lord Clifford, and ſent to Margaret, who ordered it to be fixed on the walls of York, encircled with a paper crown, in deriſion of the pretenſions he had made to the throne. Thus fell, in the fiftieth year of his age, Edward Plantagenet, duke of York, a prince endowed with many great and amiable qualities, and who loſt his life by adhering to principles, which rather recommend him to pity, than expoſe him to contempt.

A. D. 1461. After the battle of Wakefield, queen Margaret, elated at her great ſucceſs over the Yorkiſts, determined to purſue her conqueſt with the utmoſt vigour, and, if poſſible, totally reduce them. But the meaſures ſhe took to effect this were ill concerted; for inſtead of keeping her whole force together, ſhe ſeparated her army into two diviſions. One of theſe ſhe ſent under the command of Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, againſt young Edward (now duke of York) who had been ſome time raiſing forces on the borders in order to aſſiſt his father; while herſelf marched with the other diviſion towards the capital, where the earl of Warwick had been left to command the Yorkiſts.

In the mean time young Edward had been ſo ſucceſsful in his levies, that he found himſelf at the head of an army of twenty thouſand men, at the head of whom he ſet out on his march towards London, in order to join the earl of Warwick, reſolving, if poſſible, ſeverely to retaliate on Margaret the death of his father, and the cruelties ſhe had exerciſed on his principal adherents.

When Edward had advanced with his army as far as a place called Mortimer's Croſs in Herefordſhire, he there met with the royal forces which had been ſent by the queen to oppoſe him under the command of the earl of Pembroke, and a deſperate battle enſued; but as Edward's forces were greatly ſuperior in point of numbers, he obtained an eaſy victory over the enemy, who were ſoon routed, with the loſs of four thouſand men. The earl of Pembroke eſcaped by flight; but his father, Sir Edward Tudor, was taken priſoner, and

and, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, put to death.

The news of this defeat was far from diſpiriting the queen, who ſtill continued her march towards London. She imagined that as ſoon as her army ſhould appear, the citizens would expel Warwick, and receive her with demonſtrations of joy. But in this ſhe was greatly miſtaken; for her troops having plundered the country through which they paſſed, and committed moſt ſhocking diſorders, the citizens were ſo incenſed, that they flocked to Warwick's ſtandard, and reſolved to aſſiſt him in chaſtiſing ſuch lawleſs ravagers.

Thus reinforced the earl of Warwick no ſooner heard of the queen's approach towards London, than he immediately marched with his forces to meet her, having in his poſſeſſion the perſon of Henry. The two armies met and engaged on Bernard's Heath, near St. Alban's, and notwithſtanding the queen's forces were greatly ſuperior in numbers to thoſe of Warwick, yet the courage and conduct of the earl rendered the fortune of the day for a long time doubtful: but at length the lord Lovelace, who commanded one of his wings, having treacherouſly withdrawn from the combat, the Yorkiſts were defeated with the loſs of two thouſand men, and the perſon of the king himſelf fell into the hands of his own party. Lord Bonneville and Sir Thomas Kyriel, to whoſe care the king had been entruſted, continued with him after the defeat of the army, relying on the royal promiſe of protection. But the queen, regardleſs of her huſbands honour, ordered them both to be beheaded the next day at St. Alban's.

This, with ſeveral other acts of barbarity, which the queen had committed, ſo incenſed the citizens of London, that they abſolutely refuſed to ſupply her troops with proviſions. The mayor, indeed, in compliance with her perſonal requeſt, ordered ſeveral waggons, laden with proviſions, to be conveyed to her camp; but they were ſtopped at Newgate by the populace, who declared, that the city ſhould not furniſh proviſions for an army, who came not to defend, but invade their properties.

In the mean time the duke of York continued his march towards the capital, and on his arrival at Chipping-norton was joined by the earl of Warwick at the head of the remainder of his forces. In conſequence of this, and the hatred which Margaret knew the citizens bore her, ſhe thought it imprudent to remain any longer in the neighbourhood of London. Accordingly, having broke up her camp, ſhe retired into the north, hoping to encreaſe her army to ſo formidable a number as would enſure ſucceſs againſt all oppoſition.

The duke of York, accompanied by the earl of Warwick, arrived in London, in the month of February, and was received by the people with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. Prodigious numbers flocked to the duke's ſtandard from all parts, but more eſpecially from Kent and Eſſex. The ſpirits of the aged ſeemed to revive at the ſucceſs of the heir to the third Edward's crown; and the brave were proud to ſerve under a prince, who had conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his military proweſs.

Poſſeſſed of the public favour, and elated with that ſpirit natural to youth, Edward reſolved to aſſume the title and dignity of king; to inſiſt openly on his claim; and, from that moment to treat the oppoſite party as traitors and rebels to his authority. But he well knew that before this could be done with any propriety, it was neceſſary to procure a national acknowledgment of his title to the crown, or, at leaſt, ſomething that had the appearance of it. The calling a parliament would have occaſioned too much delay; and therefore he ventured to proceed in a leſs regular manner, and to put it out of the power of his enemies to throw any obſtacles in his way to the throne.

The army was ordered to aſſemble in the fields near Clerkenwell, in conſequence of which a prodigious number of people flocked to the place in order to gratify their curioſity. The earl of Warwick, placing himſelf in the center of the multitude in an elevated ſituation made a long harangue, in which he diſplayed Edward's right to the throne, and inveighed againſt the uſurpation and tyranny of the family of Lancaſter. After this the people were aſked, whether they were ſtill deſirous that Henry of Lancaſter ſhould continue to hold the ſceptre of England? The whole multitude exclaimed againſt the propoſal. It was then demanded, whether they would accept of Edward, duke of York, for their king? when the anſwer returned was a loud and general acclamation of applauſe.

The unanimous conſent of the people being thus obtained a great council was called at Barnard's Caſtle, where the popular election was confirmed; and the next day (March 5, 1461) the duke was proclaimed king, in the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter, by the title of Edward IV.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. a prince who poſſeſſed many virtues as a man, but without one ſingle qualification to diſtinguiſh him as a monarch. Though he had held the crown even from his cradle, yet he never interfered with the adminiſtration of public affairs. Having weak and narrow intellects, he had not ſagacity to diſcern the courſe he ought to have purſued; and being of an irreſolute temper was eaſily drawn into the meaſures of an ambitious and cruel queen, and a ſelfiſh and wicked miniſtry. But notwithſtanding theſe imperfections, he poſſeſſed many amiable qualities. He was a total ſtranger to cruelty and revenge; on the contrary, he could not, without reluctance, conſent to the puniſhment of thoſe malefactors who were ſacrificed to the public ſafety; and frequently ſuſtained perſonal indignities of the groſſeſt nature, without diſcovering the leaſt mark of reſentment. He was chaſte, pious, compaſſionate and charitable; and ſo inoffenſive, that the biſhop, who was his confeſſor for ten years, declared, that in all that time he had never committed any ſin that required penance or rebuke. In a word, he would have adorned a cloiſter, though he diſgraced a crown; and was rather reſpectable for not being addicted to vices, than for the virtues he poſſeſſed.

Remarkable Occurences during the reign of Henry VI.

A. D.

1428 On the 30th of September a dreadful earthquake happened in London between two and three o'clock in the morning, which was attended with dreadful claps of thunder, and the moſt awful flaſhes of lightning.

1436 This year a violent froſt began on the 24th of November, which continued till the 10th of February following. This froſt was ſo ſevere that the Thames was frozen over as far down as Graveſend; by which means all goods brought thither in ſhips were conveyed to London by carriages.

1439 On the 25th of November there happened a moſt violent hurricane of wind, which blew off the leads of the Grey Friars church, and threw down almoſt all the houſes in the ſtreet called the Old Exchange.

1440 This year there was ſo great a dearth, that in ſome parts of the kingdom the diſtreſſes of the people were ſo great, that they made bread of fern-roots and ivy-berries.

1446 This year Sir Simon Eyre, lord-mayor of London, built Leadenhall, and allotted it as a common granary for the city.

1453 Sir John Norman, who was this year choſen lord-mayor of London, went by water to Weſtminſter to take his oath before the barons of the Exchequer. He was the firſt mayor that ever went in that manner, all his predeceſſors having rode on horſeback.

In the courſe of this reign queen Margaret began Queen's College, Cambridge, which was afterwards finiſhed by Edward IV.

There were ſeveral eminent men who particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their literary abilities during the reign of Henry VI. the moſt remarkable of which were the two following:

Richard Snettiſham, a theologiſt, who acquired ſuch reputation at Oxford, that, though not more than twenty-five years of age, he was elected chancellor of that univerſity. He was indefatigable in his endeavours to expound the Holy Scriptures in the public ſchools, and reckoned one of the beſt diſputants of the age in which he lived.

William Lyndwood was one of the greateſt canoniſts this nation ever produced, and at the ſame time a moſt conſummate ſtateſman. He was keeper of the privy ſeal to Henry V. and employed by him in many important negotiations, particularly to the courts of Portugal and Spain. He was ſent by Henry VI. to the council of Baſil, and in the year 1434 was made biſhop of St. David's. He died in 1446 univerſally lamented both as a man, a ſtateſman, and a divine. His great work, and, indeed, the only one of the kind compoſed by an Engliſhman, is, his *Provinciale ſeu Conſtitutiones Angliæ*; in which the provincial decrees of forty archbiſhops are digeſted into order, with large and learned commentaries.

CHAP. III.

EDWARD IV.

Edward IV. begins his reign with an act of cruelty. Marches at the head of a conſiderable army againſt queen Margaret. Battle of Towton. Edward is crowned at Weſtminſter, and the parliament recognize his title to the throne. Queen Margeret obtains aſſiſtance from France. Battle of Hexham. The late king Henry VI. taken priſoner, and committed to the Tower. Edward falls in love with lady Elizabeth Gray whom he privately marries, and ſhe is ſoon after crowned at Weſtminſter. An inſurrection in the north. The duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick engage in open rebellion. They go over to the continent, and engage in a treaty with Queen Margaret. The earl of Warwick returns, and marches at the head of a conſiderable army againſt Edward, whom he meets in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. The earl's brother ſuddenly attacks the royal forces in the night, and the king retires to Lynn in Norfolk, from whence he makes his eſcape to Holland. Henry VI. is releaſed from confinement, and replaced on the throne. The duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick direct the affairs of government. Edward receives aſſiſtance from the duke of Burgundy, and returns to England with a body of two thouſand men. Marches to London, which he enters in triumph, and Henry is again dethroned, and committed priſoner to the Tower. Battle of Barnet, with the conſequences thereof. Queen Margaret lands at Weymouth with a conſiderable body of French troops. Battle of Tewkeſbury. Margaret is defeated, taken priſoner, and ſent to the Tower; and her ſon prince Edward aſſaſſinated. Death of Henry VI. Edward is replaced on the throne, and his title again recognized by the parliament. He forms a treaty of alliance with the duke of Burgundy againſt the French monarch, and goes over to the continent at the head of a powerful army. Concludes a treaty of peace with Lewis, and returns to England. The duke of Clarence arreſted and committed to the Tower. Is tried by the parliament, and, being condemned to death, is, by his own choice, drowned in a butt of malmſey. Death and character of Edward IV.

A. D. 1461. AT the time of Edward's acceſſion to the throne, the whole kingdom was in one general ſtate of commotion. The people were divided into two implacable factions, and diſtinguiſhed by the names of the Red and White Roſes, the former being the badge worn by the partizans of the Houſe of Lancaſter, and the latter by thoſe of that of York. And hence the civil wars that followed were known throughout Europe by the name of "The quarrel between the two Roſes."

Edward was naturally prudent, brave and enterpriſing, but theſe qualities were greatly ſullied by the ſeverity of his diſpoſition, which aroſe to ſuch a height as to render him almoſt a ſtranger to the tender feelings of compaſſion. He had obtained the crown by violence, and he was too much diſpoſed to preſerve his authority by acts of cruelty; and of which he gave an inſtance only eight days after his elevation to the throne. One Walker, a grocer, in the city, whoſe ſhop was known by the ſign of the Crown, having told his ſon, in a jocular manner, that he would make him "heir to the crown," the expreſſion was conſidered as a ſarcaſm on Edward's title, and the particulars being related to the king, he ordered him to be immediately put to death; and the innocent but unfortunate man was accordingly beheaded in Smithfield.

While Edward was purſuing every method he could project for ſecuring himſelf on the throne, queen Margaret was aſſiduouſly employed in concerting meaſures for hurling him from it. She had retired to the north, where ſhe exerted all her abilities to recruit her army; and her endeavours were attended with ſuch ſucceſs that ſhe ſoon found herſelf at the head of 60,000 diſciplined troops. Thus ſtrengthened ſhe marched into Yorkſhire, with a determined reſolution of engaging the uſurper of her huſband's throne.

The proceedings of Margaret were no ſooner known than Edward, accompanied by the earl of War-

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EDWARD
IV.

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born
April 29. 1443.

Crowned
June 28. 1461.

Died
April 9. 1483.

Warwick, ſet out for London with an army of 40,000 men in order to check her progreſs. On their arrival at Pontefract they diſpatched a body of troops under the command of lord Fitzwalter to ſecure the paſs at Ferry-bridge, on the river Aire, and that nobleman executed his orders with equal celerity and ſucceſs. But he was not able to defend the place againſt lord Clifford (one of Margaret's generals) who attacked him with ſuperior numbers, cut the greater part of his men to pieces, and Fitzwalter himſelf fell among the ſlain.

But this defeat was far from diſpiriting Edward: he immediately diſpatched lord Fauconbridge, at the head of a conſiderable detachment, to recover the paſs in poſſeſſion of lord Clifford. He accordingly paſſed the Aire about three miles above Ferry-bridge, and marched with ſuch ſecrecy, and expedition that Clifford was ſurprized, his detachment routed, and himſelf ſlain in the action.

In conſequence of this ſucceſs Edward, early the next morning, led his troops againſt the enemy; and the two armies met at a place called Towton, where a bloody battle enſued. The queen's forces were commanded by the duke of Somerſet and the earl of Northumberland; and Edward's by the earl of Warwick, lord Fauconbridge and himſelf in perſon. While the Yorkiſts were advancing to the charge there happened a heavy fall of ſnow which being driven by a briſk wind in the faces of the Lancaſtrians prevented them from diſcerning the real diſtance between themſelves and the enemy. Lord Fauconbridge, who led the van of Edward's army, taking advantage of this incident, ordered his archers to advance as near as poſſible to the enemy, and after diſcharging a ſingle flight of arrows, to retire, with the utmoſt expedition, to their former poſt. This ſcheme produced the deſired effect. The Lancaſtrians, finding by the force of the arrows that the enemy was very near, empted their quivers by repeated diſcharges, without producing any material effect, and then advanced ſword in hand to decide the conteſt. On their approach the Yorkiſts, who had kept their arrows, poured in ſo dreadful a diſcharge that the advanced line fell back on the main body; in conſequence of which the earl of Northumberland preſſed forward with the utmoſt reſolution, and the battle ſoon became very obſtinate, each party ſeeming determined either to conquer or periſh.

The dreadful conteſt continued near ten hours with the moſt unremitting fury, and without any perceivable advantage on either ſide; when the Lancaſtrians began to give ground, and retreat, in tolerable order, towards Tadcaſter. The Yorkiſts, animated with the appearance of victory, redoubled their efforts, and fell with ſuch fury on the enemy that they were unable to ſupport the charge. Their ranks, which they had maintained with ſurpriſing firmneſs, were ſoon broken, and a precipitate flight enſued. Edward had iſſued orders to give no quarter, ſo that the carnage was ſhocking to humanity. Above 36,000 perſons periſhed that day by the ſwords of their countrymen; among whom were the earls of Weſtmoreland and Northumberland, the lords Dacres and Wells, and Sir Andrew Trollop. The earl of Devonſhire was taken priſoner; and Henry, his queen Margaret, and the young prince eſcaped to Scotland.

After the battle Edward marched to York, where the earl of Devonſhire, who had lately eſpouſed the cauſe of Henry, was beheaded; and the king ordered his father's head to be taken down from the walls, where it had been placed, and the earl of Devonſhire's put in its ſtead.

Having taken every neceſſary meaſure for preventing farther inſurrections in the north, Edward returned to London, and was crowned with great magnificence at Weſtminſter on the 28th of June following. The parliament met on the 4th of November, when Edward's title to the crown was unanimouſly acknowledged, and they even declared that he was properly poſſeſſed of the throne from the very moment he aſſumed the government tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They reverſed ſeveral acts made in the late reign, and paſſed an act of forfeiture and attainder againſt Henry, queen Margaret, prince Edward, and all their principal adherents.

A. D. 1462. Edward made no heſitation in committing acts of the moſt horrid cruelty, ſo that they did but appear likely to ſecure his ſafety on the throne. As a proof of this John de Vere, earl of Oxford, a nobleman venerable for his years, and valuable for his virtues, was arreſted on the bare pretence of having engaged in a correſpondence with the queen, and, without form of trial, beheaded on Tower-hill, together with his eldeſt ſon Aubrey de Vere, and three baronets; all of whoſe eſtates Edward diſtributed among his own partiſans.

While Edward was purſuing theſe unpopular meaſures in England, queen Margaret repaired to France, in order to obtain aſſiſtance from Lewis XI. who had lately ſucceeded his father on the throne of that kingdom. She proved ſucceſsful in her embaſſy, for, on promiſing to put Lewis in poſſeſſion of Calais on the reſtoration of Henry to the Engliſh throne, that monarch furniſhed her with 2000 men at arms, and the duke of Britany ſupplied her with 12000 crowns to defray the expences of the war.

Thus ſtrengthened, queen Margaret embarked with her forces for England, landed at Bamburgh in Yorkſhire, and took poſſeſſion of the caſtle; but on receiving advice that Edward was advancing againſt her at the head of a numerous army, ſhe retired with her forces to Scotland; and Edward, after reducing the caſtle of Bamburgh, and not finding any enemy to oppoſe him, returned to London.

A. D. 1463. Queen Margaret was ſo diligent and ſucceſsful while in Scotland, that ſhe ſoon found herſelf at the head of a very numerous army. With theſe ſhe entered Northumberland in the beginning of April, ſurpriſed the caſtle of Bamburgh, and (being joined by the duke of Somerſet and Sir Ralph Piercy with their followers) took ſeveral places in that part of the country.

The firſt oppoſition the queen met with was from lord Montague, who routed a detachment of her forces on Hedgley Moor, where Sir Ralph Piercy, their leader, was ſlain. Elated with this ſucceſs Montague determined to give battle to Margaret's army, without waiting for the reinforcements he expected from Edward, who was marching with all expedition, into the north, at the head of a powerful army. Montague accordingly advanced againſt the queen's forces, who were encamped on a plain near Hexham. He made a furious attack during the night, and was oppoſed with equal reſolution by the queen's troops; but at length, he forced the trenches of the Lancaſtrians,

trians, put them to flight with great ſlaughter, and obtained a compleat victory. The duke of Somerſet, the lords Hungerford, Roſs and Moleyns, Sir Thomas Huſſey, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and Sir John Finderne, were taken priſoners. The duke of Somerſet was immediately conducted to Hexham, and beheaded; and the reſt ſuffered the like fate a few days after at Newcaſtle.

The defeat at Hexham gave a terrible blow to the affairs of the Lancaſter family, whoſe fate after that misfortune, was attended with very ſingular circumſtances. Margaret with her young ſon, fled into an adjacent foreſt, where ſhe fell into the hands of robbers, who ſtripped her of her rings and jewels. Fortunately for her, the richneſs of the booty occaſioned a quarrel among them; and while they were thus engaged with each other, Margaret and her ſon made their eſcape, into the thickeſt part of the foreſt, where they wandered for ſome time, ſpent with hunger and fatigue, and oppreſſed with terror and affliction. In this wretched condition the queen perceived another robber approaching with a naked ſword in his hand. There was now no poſſibility of effecting an eſcape, and ſhe trembled for the life of her ſon. But happily recollecting, that the robber might poſſibly be one of thoſe perſons who had been unfortunately proſcribed for adhering to the intereſt of her huſband, ſhe approached the robber with an air of majeſtic confidence, and preſenting to him the young prince, called out, "Here, my friend, I commit to your care the ſafety of my ſon, the ſon of good king Henry." Struck with awe at the name of his prince, and penetrated with compaſſion at beholding perſons of the higheſt rank reduced to ſuch melancholy diſtreſs, the robber, who was not wholly loſt to humanity and virtue, vowed to devote himſelf to her ſafety and protection. He accordingly conducted the queen and her ſon out of the foreſt to a village near the ſea-ſide, from whence they embarked in a veſſel for Flanders, where they were hoſpitably received by the duke of Burgundy, from whoſe court they repaired to that of Margaret's father, Regnier, count of Anjou.

But Henry was far from effecting ſo ſucceſsful an eſcape as Margaret. Some of his friends, indeed, found means to conduct him ſafe into Lancaſhire, where he continued for ſome time in obſcurity; but being at length diſcovered he was delivered up to Edward, who ungenerouſly committed him cloſe priſoner to the tower.

A. D. 1464. From the captivity of Henry, the exile of Margaret, and the execution of the moſt conſiderable of the Lancaſtrian party, Edward now ſeemed to be firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne; to ſecure which he endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his ſubjects, whoſe attachment he had reaſon to doubt from his late ſeverities. He publiſhed a general amneſty in favour of all the Lancaſtrians, who, within a preſcribed term, ſhould take the oath of alliance, and ſubmit to his government. Theſe meaſures contributed greatly to increaſe his popularity, and became the means of ſtrengthening and ſecuring his authority.

A. D. 1466. As Edward now ſeemed to poſſeſs the general affections of the people, his counſellors adviſed him to turn his thoughts on marriage, that he might have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the ſucceſſion to the throne ſettled on his own iſſue. Edward readily acquieſced with their opinion, and three matches were propoſed for his choice. The firſt was Margaret, ſiſter to the king of Scotland; the ſecond, Iſabella, ſiſter to Henry IV. of Caſtile; and the third, Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, and ſiſter to the queen of France. The laſt was choſen, and the earl of Warwick appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to demand that princeſs in marriage. He accordingly repaired to Paris in the ſpring, and ſettled the articles of a marriage contract between king Edward and the princeſs Bona: and Lewis appointed the count of Damarin, his plenipotentiary at the court of London, to finiſh the negotiation.

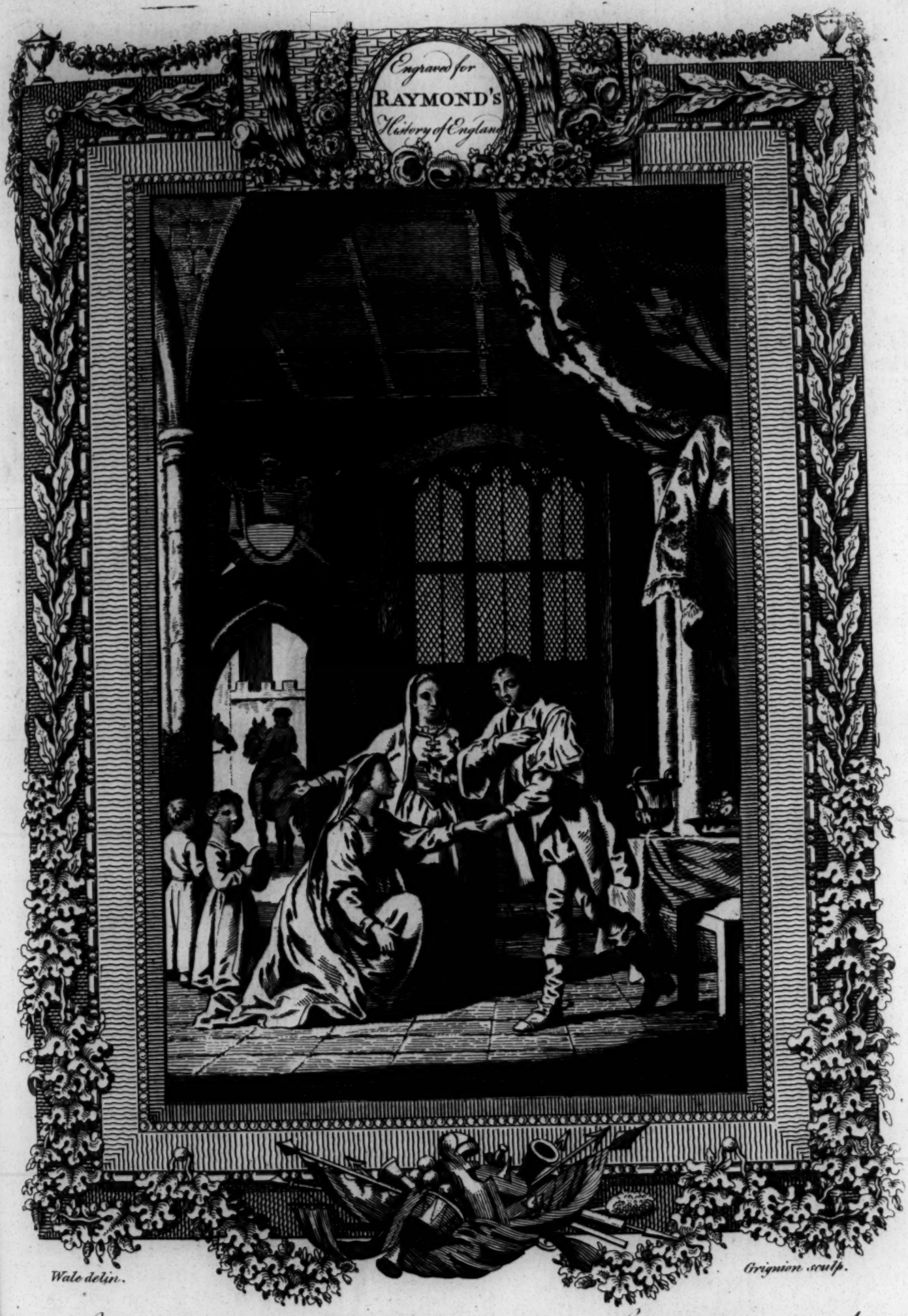
But juſt as matters were brought to a criſis, the whole was rendered abortive by the indiſcreet conduct of Edward. Being at a hunting-match in Northamptonſhire, the king took the opportunity of paying a viſit to the ducheſs of Bedford, who then reſided at Grafton-manor, near Stony-Stratford. The ducheſs ſoon after her huſband's death, married Sir Richard Woodville, by whom ſhe had a daughter named Elizabeth, at once remarkable for beauty of perſon and mental accompliſhments. This lady married Sir John Gray, of Groby, by whom ſhe had ſeveral children; but her huſband having joined the Lancaſtrian party, and falling in the diſpute between the two Houſes, his eſtate was forfeited to the crown, and Elizabeth, retired to her father's ſeat, where ſhe lived in quiet retirement.

Young Edward was greatly celebrated for his gallantry and condeſcenſion to the ladies. His preſence, therefore, was thought a favourable opportunity for the beautiful widow to obtain ſome redreſs for the loſs ſhe had ſuſtained by the forfeiture of her huſband's eſtates. She accordingly threw herſelf at the king's feet, and, with a flood of tears, implored his pity on her and her diſtreſſed family. The ſight of ſo much beauty in affliction made a ſenſible impreſſion on the mind of the amorous king: love ſtole inſenſibly into his heart, and her grief, ſo becoming a woman of real virtue, ſoon rendered his eſteem and regard equal to his affection. He raiſed her from the ground, and gave her the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of his favour and protection.

Confiding in his elevated ſtation and perſonal endowments, Edward acquainted her with the nature of his paſſion, and propoſed to her terms of concubinage. But Elizabeth, averſe to diſhonourable love, peremptorily refuſed to gratify his paſſion, and nobly anſwered, "That as ſhe was too good to be the concubine, and too mean to be the wife of a king, ſhe would ſtill continue in her humble ſtation." This behaviour increaſed the paſſions of Edward, and he offered to ſhare his throne with the object of his affections. Accordingly the nuptials were privately ſolemnized at Grafton-manor, and every precaution taken to prevent its being publickly known.

But this was an event which could not be long concealed. It was ſoon made known to the earl of Warwick, who had been ſo aſſiduous in managing his negotiation relative to the king's marriage with Bona, daughter of the duke of Savoy, that nothing remained but the ratification of the treaty, and the bringing over the princeſs to England. He therefore conſidered the king's injudicious conduct as the higheſt inſult that could be offered to his honour, and, inſtantly breaking off the negotiation, returned with diſguſt to England.

A. D. 1466. The marriage of the king being now publickly declared, the queen received the



The beautiful LADY ELIZABETH GREY *on her* KNEES *imploring the protection of* KING EDWARD IV. *for herself and Family.*

30 61 JAN

the compliments of all the nobility; and on the 26th of May was crowned at Weſtminſter by the archbiſhop of Canterbury.

The impolitic Edward, inſtead of purſuing meaſures for regaining the friendſhip of Warwick, who had been the principal inſtrument in placing him on the throne, took methods which tended directly to widen the breach between them. He laviſhed a profuſion of honours and eſtates on the family of his queen. Her father was created earl of Rivers, and made high conſtable of England. Her brother, John Woodville, was married to the daughter and heireſs of lord Scales, to whoſe honours and eſtates he ſucceeded; and all her friends and relations were enobled by the royal favour.

This ill-judged and diſtinguiſhed partiality excited an uncommon degree of jealouſy among the nobility, and gave the higheſt diſguſt to the earl of Warwick, who ſhewed his reſentment by leaving the court, and retiring to his caſtle. Edward knew the cauſe of this behaviour, and, fearful of the conſequences, took the moſt prudent methods for rendering any attempt that might be made by that ambitious nobleman abortive. Among other meaſures he concluded a treaty of alliance with the duke of Britany, and another with the duke of Burgundy. The latter was a deſcendant of the Houſe of Lancaſter; but he made no ſcruple of ſacrificing to his political ambition the intereſt of that unfortunate and oppreſſed family.

A. D. 1467. The repeated favours continued to be heaped on the queen's family, and ſome few particular perſons whom the king conſidered as his favourites, not only encreaſed the reſentment of Warwick, but likewiſe excited the indignation of the duke of Clarence, elder brother to the king. That prince contracted an intimate connexion with Warwick by marrying his eldeſt daughter Iſabella; which ceremony was no ſooner performed than the earl, accompanied by his daughter and ſon-in-law, retired to his government of Calais.

A. D. 1468. The ſpirit of faction now threatened the kingdom with all the horrors of civil diſcord. The common people, as well as the nobles, were diſguſted with Edward for his injudicious and partial conduct, and commotions took place in various parts of the kingdom. The firſt inſurrection, which was excited in the north, was headed by one Robert Hillyard, generally called Robin of Ryddeſdale; but the inſurgents were ſoon routed, and their leader executed. The malcontents. however, were far from being diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of their firſt attempt. They again aſſembled in more formidable numbers; and were joined by lord Fitz-Hugh, and Henry Neville, ſon to the lord Latimer. But as both theſe noblemen were totally ignorant of military affairs, the command was given to Sir John Conyers, an officer of great reputation and experience. Their firſt intention was to make themſelves maſters of the city of York; but being diſappointed in procuring a ſufficient train of artillery, they reſolved to direct their march towards the capital; and openly declared, "That they were marching to deliver their lawful ſovereign, king Henry, from his confinement, and re-place him on the throne of his anceſtors."

Alarmed at theſe proceedings the king diſpatched a meſſenger to the earl of Pembroke, commanding him to aſſemble the Welſh, and immediately croſs the country in order to intercept the march of the rebels from the north. Theſe orders he ſtrictly obeyed, and having raiſed an army of ten thouſand men, marched with all expedition againſt the inſurgents, who had advanced as far as the neighbourhood of Northampton; in the way to which Pembroke was joined by the earl of Devonſhire, at the head of a conſiderable body of archers.

As ſoon as the two armies came within ſight of each other, Pembroke detached all his cavalry, under the command of his brother Sir Richard Herbert, with orders to obſerve the poſition of the enemy, and, if he thought it practicable, to attack their rear. Sir Richard executed his orders; but perceived that ſuch wiſe precautions had been taken by the leader of the inſurgents, that an attack muſt be attended with the utmoſt diſadvantage. But the fiery ſpirit of the Welſh could not be reſtrained by prudential reaſons: they fell upon the rear of the enemy, and, in a ſhort time, were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and Sir Richard narrowly eſcaped with his life.

A. D. 1469. During theſe tranſactions the earl of Warwick arrived from the continent, which being made known to the rebels, they flattered themſelves with being powerfully aſſiſted by that popular nobleman. In conſequence of this they changed their route, and, inſtead of purſuing the road to London, directed their march towards Warwick-caſtle.

The earl of Pembroke, deſirous of revenge for the late repulſe of Sir Richard Herbert, followed the rebels with ſuch expedition, that he came up with them near Banbury, and the two armies encamped within ſight of each other. But during the night a trivial difference about quarters ariſing between the earls of Pembroke and Devonſhire, the latter retired with his archers, and left Pembroke alone to encounter the rebels.

Encouraged by the deſertion of the earl of Devonſhire, Sir Henry Neville, one of the leaders of the inſurgents indiſcretely charged the royaliſts at too great a diſtance from the main body, in conſequence of which he was ſurrounded, moſt of his men cut to pieces, and himſelf taken priſoner. The earl of Pembroke, without any form of trial, put Neville to death, which act of cruelty exaſperated the inſurgents to a degree bordering on madneſs. They attacked the Welſh army with the utmoſt fury, put all to the ſword that fell in their way, and having taken Pembroke and his brother priſoners, ordered them both to be beheaded. They then ſent a detached party to Grafton manor, with orders to ſeize the earl of Rivers and his ſon John, which orders being obeyed they were both conducted to Northampton, and beheaded in the market-place of that town. After this the inſurgents, ſatisfied with having deſtroyed the moſt obnoxious of Edward's miniſters, diſperſed, and returned quietly to their reſpective habitations.

A. D. 1470. But this inſurrection was only a prelude to commotions of much more fatal conſequences to Edward. The duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick determined to engage in open rebellion, and to facilitate their deſigns went over to France, where they were hoſpitably entertained by Lewis XI. who promiſed them a powerful aſſiſtance. Queen Margaret then reſided at Angers, and the politic Lewis, (notwithſtanding the moſt inveterate animoſity ſubſiſted between her and Warwick) engaged to bring about a reconciliation; which, as it tended to further the deſigns of both, was eaſily effected.

Warwick ſought a pretext for dethroning Edward, and he could deviſe none ſo ſpecious and

plauſible as the reſtoration of Henry, a deſign which he could not attempt without the conſent of the queen. On the other hand, Margaret could not entertain hopes of ſeeing her huſband replaced on the throne without the aſſiſtance of Warwick, and therefore made no heſitation in ſoliciting the aid of her former enemy. Such being their reſpective motives, a treaty was at length concluded between them, through the mediation of Lewis, on the following terms: that the duke of Clarence and the earl of Warwick ſhould uſe their endeavours for replacing Henry on the throne: that the queen ſhould engage upon oath to veſt the adminiſtration in them during the life of Henry, or the minority of his ſon, in caſe of his acceſſion before he ſhould be of age: that prince Edward ſhould marry Anne, the younger daughter of the earl of Warwick; and that, in caſe of failure of male iſſue in the prince, the crown ſhould deſcend to the duke of Clarence.

Though theſe tranſactions were carried on with great ſecrecy, yet, by ſome means or other they reached the ears of the duke of Burgundy, who immediately tranſmitted an account of them to Edward. But that prince paid little regard to the intelligence, flattering himſelf that the earl of Warwick could never perſuade the people to riſe in his favour. Confidently relying on the attachment of his ſubjects to his perſon and government, and Warwick's want of credit and influence, he neglected to take the neceſſary precautions for his own defence, and gave himſelf up to all the exceſſes of pleaſure and diſſipation.

In the mean time the earl of Warwick, having obtained a ſupply of money and troops from Lewis, determined to embark for England, under the protection of a French fleet, commanded by the baſtard of Bourbon. The duke of Burgundy, however, blocked up the mouth of the Seine with a numerous fleet, in order to intercept him in his paſſage; but his fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm, Warwick embarked at Havre-de-grace, and landed at Dartmouth in the month of September. He immediately proclaimed Henry VI. king of England, and at the ſame time iſſued out an order to all his ſubjects, from ſixteen to ſixty, to arm themſelves againſt Edward, and expel the uſurper from the throne. This had the deſired effect; the people flocked to Warwick's ſtandard from all quarters, and, in a few days, his army was increaſed to the number of ſixty thouſand men.

At the time Warwick landed at Dartmouth, Edward was employed in quelling an inſurrection raiſed in Yorkſhire by lord Fitz-Hugh, who had married one of the earl's ſiſters; but on receiving advice of the ſucceſs of Warwick, he immediately altered his route, and directed his march towards London.

The earl of Warwick determined, if poſſible, to engage Edward before he could reach the capital; and accordingly marching acroſs the country with all expedition, came up with the royal army in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. The marquis of Montacute, brother of Warwick, had raiſed an army of ſix thouſand men, and was following Edward, in order (as it was imagined) to reinforce the royal army. But the king had no ſooner halted on account of the approach of Warwick, than the marquis fell with the utmoſt fury upon the rear of the royal army during the night, and the air reſounded with the ſhouts of "Long live king Henry."

This was a moſt alarming circumſtance to Edward, who immediately called a council of war, in which the lord Haſtings gave it as his opinion, that great part of the army would deſert to the earl of Warwick; and that even though that might not happen, they ſhould not be able to cope with the enemy, who were ſo materially ſtrengthened by the revolt of Montacute. He therefore adviſed the king to conſult his perſonal ſafety by flying to the ſea ſide, where he might find an opportunity of eſcaping to ſome part of the continent. As the danger was ſo great, Edward readily took this ſalutary advice, and ſet out at midnight for Lynn in Norfolk, from whence he embarked on board a Dutch ſhip, and landed at Alcamer in Holland.

As ſoon as the royaliſts heard of the king's flight, they immediately laid down their arms, and ſubmitted to Warwick, who then, in the ſpace of only eleven days from his landing, became entire maſter of the kingdom. He immediately marched to London, which he entered in triumph, delivered Henry VI. from the Tower, replaced him on the throne, and cauſed him to be proclaimed king of England. The moſt conſiderable partizans of the York family either ſought protection beyond the ſeas, or took ſhelter in ſanctuaries. Among the latter was Edward's queen, who went privately by water from the Tower to Weſtminſter-abbey, in order to avoid the violence of the citizens, who now appeared as extravagantly zealous for Henry as ever they had been for Edward.

A parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the 26th of November, when the late treaty made with Margaret was fully ratified, Edward declared an uſurper, and Henry acknowledged king; but as his incapacity for government was univerſally allowed, the regency was entruſted to the duke of Clarence and earl of Warwick till prince Edward ſhould arrive at the age of maturity; and, in default of that prince's iſſue, Clarence was declared ſucceſſor to the throne.

A total change now took place in the adminiſtration. All the judges, ſheriffs, and coroners of the kingdom were removed from their offices, and others placed in their ſtead. The archbiſhop of York, brother to the earl of Warwick, was appointed chancellor; the earl himſelf was made admiral of England, and the duke of Clarence lord-lieutenant of Ireland. At the ſame time the paternal eſtates of the York family, which had been declared forfeited by the parliament, were ſettled upon the duke. The marquis of Montacute was pardoned for his former adherence to Edward, and rewarded for his late defection with a grant of ſeveral manors; and the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter, together with the earls of Oxford, Richmond, Pembroke and Ormond, were reſtored to their eſtates and dignities.

A.D. 1471. During theſe tranſactions in England the fugitive Edward had taken up his reſidence in the court of his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, whoſe protection and aſſiſtance he ſolicited for recovering the Engliſh diadem. The duke readily complied with his requeſt: he aſſiſted him with a conſiderable ſum of money, fitted out a number of veſſels, and furniſhed him with a body of two thouſand veteran troops.

With theſe Edward embarked for England, and, after a ſhort paſſage, reached the coaſt of Eſſex, but found it impracticable to land from the diſaffection of the inhabitants. He therefore ſteered

to the northward, intending to land at Cromer in Norfolk; but being informed by Sir Robert Chamberlain and Sir Gilbert Debenham (whom he ſent on ſhore to learn the ſentiments of the people) that the inhabitants were not willing to receive him, he again put to ſea, and at length landed at Ravenſpur in Yorkſhire, about the latter end of March.

From the great coolneſs of the people, and the power of the magiſtrates who had been appointed to their offices by Warwick, Edward had but little reaſon to expect ſucceſs in his deſigns, and therefore, in order to effect his purpoſe, thought it expedient to have recourſe to art and diſſimulation. He accordingly pretended, and even took an oath, that he came not to challenge the crown, but to recover his paternal eſtates, which had been unjuſtly taken from him by the parliament. This political diſſimulation produced the deſired effect upon the minds of the people. Compaſſion ſupplied the place of affection: numbers, deceived by his humble pretenſions, flocked to his ſtandard, and the nobility were willing to receive him as a fellow-ſubject, though not as a king. He marched directly for York, and found the inhabitants univerſally diſpoſed to aſſiſt him in recovering the eſtates he enjoyed from his anceſtors, though not in the recovery of the crown. It was, therefore, thought neceſſary to give them every ſatisfaction in his power with regard to his pretenſions; and he ſcrupled not to take a ſolemn oath in the cathedral, never to renew his claim to the crown of England.

But this was all hypocriſy, for Edward never deſigned to obſerve his oath any longer than it tended to promote his intereſt. His army was now conſiderably increaſed, and he determined to march towards the capital, in hopes of finding many powerful friends in that quarter. In the mean time Warwick had aſſembled an army in the neighbourhood of Leiceſter, and advanced to give him battle; but Edward, by taking another road, paſſed unmoleſted, and proceeded with all expedition to London. On his arrival he was readily admitted by the citizens, and he once more triumphantly entered the capital, while Henry, who had not found means to ſecure himſelf, nor perhaps ſo much as thought of it, was taken into cuſtody, and again committed priſoner to the the tower.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, and being informed the earl of Warwick was marching to give him battle, Edward advanced to meet him, and the two armies came within ſight of each other in the neighbourhood of Barnet. Queen Margaret was every day expected with a conſiderable reinforcement of foreign troops, and all her friends held themſelves in readineſs to join her ſtandard; but Warwick would not wait her arrival, being determined either to gain the whole honour of the victory, or periſh in the attempt.

The very evening before the day appointed for deciding the conteſt, an incident happened which greatly affected the ſpirits of Warwick's ſoldiers. This was the defection of the duke of Clarence, who, having ſecretly entered into engagements with his brother, went over to him at the head of twelve thouſand men. In conſequence of this unexpected diſaſter, the earl would, in all probability, have declined a battle, and waited the arrival of Margaret; but he was now ſeveral days march from any place of ſafety, and to have attempted a retreat in ſight of ſo ſuperior an army would have been certain ruin. Edward and Clarence offered him terms of peace; but theſe he rejected with diſdain, telling them, "he would rather be conſiſtent with himſelf than follow the example of a perfidious duke; and that he was determined either to gain the victory, or loſe his life."

Early in the morning on the 14th of April the battle began with incredible fury on both ſides, the leaders being exaſperated againſt each other to the moſt virulent degree of rancour. The troops of Warwick, though inferior in numbers to Edward's fought with deſperate reſolution, knowing the conſequences that muſt follow ſhould they be vanquiſhed. Such was their impetuoſity that the firſt line of the royal army was obliged to give way, upon which Edward ordered his body of reſerve to advance and charge the enemy in flank. The earl of Warwick ſaw the ſituation he was in, and therefore wheeled about to oppoſe the Yorkiſts; but this circumſtance occaſioned the loſs of the battle. The device on Warwick's ſhield and enſign was a blazing ſtar, and that of Edward's, a ſun. Warwick's ſoldiers ſeeing the ſtar through the medium of a fog, miſtook it for Edward's ſtandard, and fell upon their friends with ſuch fury that they were totally broken. Univerſal confuſion enſued, and Edward, taking advantage of their diſorder, charged them with redoubled fury. Warwick in vain exerted all his efforts to ſupport his forces, now borne down by the weight of numbers. He perceived the battle was irretrievably loſt, and, diſdaining life, when victory was beyond hopes, ruſhed into the hotteſt part of the battle, and fell covered with wounds, while his brother Montacute, endeavouring to ſave him, met with the like fate. The deaths of the two leaders compleated the rout of their army; and as Edward had iſſued orders to give no quarter, a dreadful carnage enſued. About two thouſand fell on the ſide of the conquerors, and near five thouſand on that of the vanquiſhed.*

Thus fell the earl of Warwick, a nobleman of great abilities and courage, who, had he not been betrayed by thoſe in whom he chiefly confided, would, in all probability, have prevented Edward from long triumphing over the houſe of Lancaſter.

The day after the battle Edward returned to London, and ordered the mangled bodies of Warwick and his brother to be expoſed in the cathedral of St. Paul's, after which they were carried to Biſham in Berkſhire, and interred in the priory founded by their anceſtors.

But this battle did not put an end to the civil war. On the very day after it happened, queen Margaret landed at Weymouth with a conſiderable body of troops, attended by her ſon, the counteſs of Warwick, lord Wenlock, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. As ſoon as ſhe was informed

* In 1740 an obeliſk was erected on the ſpot where this bloody battle was fought, by Sir Jeremy Sambroke. It ſtands near where the two great roads divide, one to Hatfield, and the other to St. Alban's. On the lower part of the obeliſk is the following inſcription:

"Here was fought the famous battle between Edward the "Fourth and the earl of Warwick, April the 14th, "Anno 1471, in which the earl was defeated and "ſlain."

formed of the death of Warwick and captivity of Henry, her courage and magnanimity gave way to grief and deſpair, and ſhe took ſanctuary with her ſon in the abbey of Beaulieu in Hampſhire. But her ſpirits were ſoon raiſed by the appearance of the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Devonſhire, Sir John Forteſcue, Sir Thomas Seymour, and many other perſons of diſtinction, who, with their vaſſals and dependents, declared their reſolution of ſpending their lives and fortunes in her ſervice.

Margaret now determined to make one bold attempt for the recovery of her throne. Accordingly, putting herſelf at the head of her foreign forces, ſhe marched through the counties of Devon and Somerſet, and her army was every day conſiderably increaſed by the continual acquiſition of new partizans. On the 29th of April the queen reached Tewkeſbury in Glouceſterſhire, where ſhe propoſed to halt and refreſh her troops, and then proceed to the borders of Wales, in order to join the earl of Pembroke, who had now raiſed a conſiderable body of archers for her ſervice.

But this junction was prevented by the activity of Edward, who haſtened with all expedition at the head of his army to give the Lancaſtrians battle, and on the third of May arrived within three miles of her camp. Aſtoniſhed at the approach of Edward's army, a council was immediately held in the queen's camp, when it was reſolved to paſs the Severn, in order to join Pembroke's forces; but the citizens of Glouceſter refuſing to open the gates, it was conſidered as impracticable to croſs the river in their then ſituation without expoſing their rear to inevitable ruin. It was therefore determined to intrench the army in a part adjacent to the town of Tewkeſbury, where the troops would be flanked on both ſides with hollow ways, ditches, hedges, and broken ground, and the rear defended by the town and abbey; while a ſtrong entrenchment was to be thrown up in front of the army. This plan was accordingly ſet about with the utmoſt expedition, but the activity of Edward interrupted their deſigns, as he determined to attack them the next day, before their fortifications could be completed.

Accordingly, early in the morning Edward drew up his army in two lines, the firſt of which was commanded by his brother the duke of Glouceſter, while himſelf, aſſiſted by the duke of Clarence and lord Haſtings, led the other. The Lancaſtrian army was formed into three lines; the firſt commanded by the duke of Somerſet and his brother lord Beaufort; the ſecond by Margaret's ſon, aſſiſted by lord Wenlock; and the third by the earl of Devonſhire.

The duke of Glouceſter began the attack with the utmoſt fury; but Somerſet's diviſion, who guarded the front of the entrenchment, received them with ſuch reſolution, that they were repulſed with conſiderable ſlaughter; and had Somerſet been as remarkable for prudence as he was for valour, Edward, in all probability, would have been obliged to abandon the attempt. Glouceſter, purſuant to the orders he had received from his brother, perceiving the intrenchments were not to be forced, pretended to retire in confuſion. This ſtratagem ſucceeded. Somerſet, whoſe diſpoſition was naturally impetuous, led his diviſion through the defiles of the intrenchment, leaving orders for the ſecond and third lines to ſupport him, and attacked the Yorkiſts in the open field with the utmoſt fury. A dreadful conteſt enſued, and continued without any perceptible advantage on either ſide, till a detachment of two hundred horſe from Edward's army attacked the Lancaſtrians in flank, and threw them into the utmoſt diſorder. Somerſet was now obliged to fall back through the defiles to his former ſtation, but was followed ſo cloſely by Glouceſter's diviſion, that the greater part of his troops were cut to pieces. Amazed at not being ſupported, the duke caſt his eyes around the camp, and perceived lord Wenlock ſtanding cooly at the head of his diviſion. Somerſet conſtrued this into an act of treachery, and riding up to him with the utmoſt fury, cleft the head of that nobleman with his battle-ax, and he immediately fell dead on the ground.

In the mean time the duke of Glouceſter purſued his advantage with ſuch prudence and ſucceſs, that his whole diviſion made their way into the entrenchments, and were ſoon followed by Edward, at the head of the ſecond line. Confuſion now took place in every part of the queen's camp. The whole army betook themſelves to a precipitate flight after a faint reſiſtance, and Edward gained one of the moſt complete victories recorded in hiſtory; ſcarce a perſon of any note in the queen's army eſcaping either death or captivity.

Among the ſlain were the earl of Devonſhire, lord Beaufort, Sir John Delves, Sir Edward Hambden, Sir Edward Whittingham, and Sir John Luckner. The duke of Somerſet, the grand prior of St. John, and about twenty gentlemen of rank and fortune, took ſanctuary in the abbey-church. But Edward paid no regard to eccleſiaſtical privileges: he ſent a detachment of his forces, who dragged them from their aſylum, and put them immediately to death. Queen Margaret and her ſon who had alſo taken ſanctuary in another religious ſtructure, were dragged from thence by Edward's ſoldiers. The queen was ſent to the Tower, where ſhe remained about four years, when, being ranſomed by the king of France, for fifty thouſand crowns, ſhe was releaſed, and, retiring to the continent, ſpent the remainder of her days in obſcurity.

But a more melancholy fate attended the young prince her ſon. He was brought into the preſence of Edward, who aſked him, in an inſulting manner, "How he dared to invade his dominions?" The noble youth, forgetting his then ſituation, replied, with an unſeaſonable vivacity, "That he came to recover his father's crown, and to claim his juſt inheritance." Stung with this anſwer, the ungenerous Edward, inſenſible to pity, ſtruck the young prince on the face with his gauntlet; when the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, and lord Haſtings, conſidering the blow as a ſignal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, where, with their daggers, they put a period to his exiſtence.

A few days after the battle of Tewkſkbury Henry VI. expired in the Tower, but whether of a natural or violent death, cannot be aſcertained. It was, however, generally thought the latter, and that the duke of Glouceſter was principally concerned in putting an end to his life. The remains of Henry were depoſited in the abbey of Chertſey, but afterwards removed by Richard III. and interred in a more pompous manner at Windſor.

A. D. 1472. The earl of Pembroke, convinced that the fatal battel of Tewkeſbury had put a final period to the hopes of the Lancaſtrian family, fled into Britany, taking with him his nephew the young earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. The only

only partizan, therefore, that now remained for the Houſe of Lancaſter was the baſtard of Fauconbridge, who took the advantage of Edward's abſence to attempt the recovery of the capital. He had been honoured with a vice-admiral's commiſſion by the earl of Warwick, and appointed to guard the channel; but having been ſtripped of his employment on the death of that nobleman, he withdrew, with the ſhips under his command, and, for ſome time, ſubſiſted by piracy. The landing of Margaret induced him to aſſiſt that princeſs in recovering the Engliſh ſcepter; and being joined by 300 men from the garriſon of Calais, he landed with his forces at Sandwich, and was admitted into Canterbury by the magiſtrates. Great numbers flocked to his ſtandard, ſo that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of 17,000 men. With theſe he marched to London, and entered Southwark without oppoſition; and had not the news of Edward's victory at Tewkeſbury arrived in the critical moment, he would, in all probability, have made himſelf maſter of the capital. But the citizens, encouraged by the hopes of effectual aſſiſtance from their victorious monarch, ſhut their gates againſt the inſurgents. They made, however, a deſperate attempt to carry the bridge by ſtorm; but being repulſed with great ſlaughter, they deſerted their leader, who was ſoon after taken priſoner, and put to death.

A. D. 1472. Edward no ſooner returned to London after the battle of Tewkſbury than he convoked a parliament, who ratified all the acts he had made, and recognized his title to the throne. No farther attempts were made in favour of the Houſe of Lancaſter; the nation in general ſeemed ſatisfied with the then government, and tranquillity was again re-eſtabliſhed throughout the kingdom.

Nothing material occurred from this period till the year 1474, where Edward concluded a treaty of alliance with Charles duke of Burgundy; by which it was ſtipulated that Edward ſhould croſs the ſeas with an army of at leaſt ten thouſand men, and that Charles ſhould join him with all his forces, in order to invade the territories of Lewis: that Edward ſhould claim the crown of France, and that the ſword of war ſhould not be ſheathed, till he had obtained the provinces of Guienne and Normandy. That Champaigne, and ſeveral other territories, ſhould be procured for the duke; and that all his dominions ſhould be freed from paying homage to the crown of France. This treaty was highly approved by the Engliſh parliament, who granted the king a very conſiderable ſubſidy on the occaſion; and every precaution was taken that could be thought of to render the expedition ſucceſsful.

A. D. 1475. Early in the ſpring Edward embarked for the continent, and landing at Calais with an army of thirty thouſand men, marched with all expedition to join the forces of the duke of Burgundy, being reſolved to carry his conqueſts into the very heart of France. But he was ſtopped in his deſigns by the natural puſillanimity of the French monarch, who, diſdaining all military honours, and dreading the events of war, ſent an herald to Edward, with propoſals of accommodation. As the terms were of an advantageous nature, they were readily liſtened to by Edward, and a treaty of peace was concluded at Pecquigni near Amiens. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, "That Lewis ſhould pay 70,000 crowns to indemnify Edward for the expences of the expedition: that he ſhould alſo pay him annually 50,000 crowns during their joint lives: that the dauphin of France ſhould marry Elizabeth, Edward's daughter, and ſettle on her 60,000 livres a year as her jointure; and that neither party ſhould encourage civil wars in the other's dominions, but, on the contrary, aſſiſt in ſuppreſſing the rebellions of their ſubjects." This treaty being properly ratified, the two monarchs had an interview on the bridge of Pecquigni, when mutual profeſſions of friendſhip paſſed between them; after which Edward returned with his forces to Calais, and the next day embarked for England.

A. D. 1476. As the Engliſh had formed the greateſt expectations from Edward's expedition to the continent, they were greatly irritated at the treaty made with Lewis, and the parliament intimated their deſigns of not granting the king any farther ſupplies. In conſequence of this Edward had recourſe to other methods for raiſing money, and accumulating treaſure. He engaged in commerce, which he carried on with great advantage, as a private merchant; ſold the profits of vacant biſhopricks; demanded fines for the reſtitution of temporalities; ranſacked old records to find defective titles, and obliged the proprietors to pay large ſums for their confirmation. Theſe methods he purſued with great aſſiduity, and, by theſe means, not only ſaved himſelf the mortification of a refuſal from his parliament, but acquired very conſiderable poſſeſſions.

A. D. 1477. Edward, inſtead of directing his attention to the affairs of government, and the tranquillity of his ſubjects, now gave himſelf up to the indulgence of every ſenſual gratification. He chiefly paſſed his time in the converſation of women, and his court became a ſcene of lewdneſs and diſſipation. The management of public affairs was engroſſed by the queen and her relations, who were now become very unpopular, not only on account of their unbounded ambition and inſolent behaviour, but alſo the conſtant oppoſition they made to all the ſchemes of the king's brothers.

A. D. 1478. Theſe two princes were greatly irritated at the ſupineneſs of Edward, and the tyrannical proceedings of the queen. Richard, duke of Glouceſter (a prince of profound diſſimulation and conſummate artifice) concealed his reſentment in ſuch a manner as to prevent an open rupture between him and the miniſtry. But that was not the caſe with his brother the duke of Clarence, who was ſo aggravated, that he threw out the moſt bitter invectives againſt the king and the miniſtry. Edward was highly incenſed againſt the duke of Clarence for his conduct, which being aggravated by the artful ſuggeſtions of Glouceſter (who had entertained a deſign upon the crown, and conſidered his brother as the only obſtacle in his way) he ordered him to be arreſted, and committed to the Tower.

A few days after the parliament were ſummoned to meet that the duke might be tried by his peers. Accordingly, being aſſembled for that purpoſe, the king appeared perſonally as his brother's accuſer; and though nothing more could be proved than his having dropped ſome raſh expreſſions, he was condemned to ſuffer death, and the commons meanly ſupported the injuſtice of the peers, by petitioning for his execution. Edward did not ſuffer his brother to languiſh long in priſon. The only favour he granted him after his condemnation was, to give him the choice of his own death, which

which he desired might be effected by being drowned in a butt of malmsey, and which choice was accordingly carried into execution.---Thus fell George duke of Clarence, a prince who was certainly more weak than wicked, and had infinitely more merit than any of those who had plotted or accomplished his ruin. He left behind him one son, named Edward, who was earl of Warwick, and a daughter, who was afterwards countess of Salisbury.

A. D. 1479---81. Edward continued to grow more and more indolent with respect to the affairs of government, and to give himself up entirely to debauchery and dissipation. The French monarch had long beheld his supine conduct with a secret pleasure, and at length determined to take advantage of it. Being desirous of marrying the dauphin to the daughter of Maximilian of Austria, an infant only two years of age, the treaty was now concluded, though he had promised, by the treaty of Pecquigni, that the dauphin should marry the princess Elizabeth, daughter to the English monarch.

Astonished and incensed at this unpardonable affront, Edward vowed to take ample vengeance on Lewis for his perfidy. But that monarch, having foreseen the gathering storm, had taken measures to break its force. He sent ambassadors to James III. of Scotland, offering him great advantages if he would break his truce with Edward, and carry his arms into the northern parts of England. James, who was a very weak prince, and lived on bad terms with his own nobility, imprudently listened to the artful suggestions of Lewis, and levied an army to execute a design to which he was far from being equal; but when his forces arrived on the borders of England, the barons conspiring against his favourites, put them to death without the form of a trial; and his whole army immediately dispersed.

A. D. 1482. In the beginning of this year the duke of Gloucester entered Scotland at the head of a considerable body of forces, made himself master of Berwick, and forced James to accept of a peace, by which that important fortress was ceded to the English.

The war with Scotland being thus terminated, Edward directed his whole attention towards making the necessary preparations for carrying on a war against France, and punishing Lewis for his perfidy; but while thus employed he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died on the 9th of April, A. D. 1483, in the 42d year of his age, and 23d of his reign.

Edward IV. possessed some personal accomplishments, and had a pleasing mien and address. In his youth he was active and courageous; but at the same time cruel and vindictive. Had the scenes of his slaughter closed in those of his victories; had he not, in his cooler moments, stained upon scaffolds the laurels he had gathered in the field, he might justly have claimed a place amongst the greatest heroes of his country. But his vindictive disposition made him commit acts detestable to human nature, and at length rendered him an object of universal contempt. The latter part of his reign was almost spent in indolence and pleasure, notwithstanding which his natural cruelty continued, as is evident from the unfeeling treatment he shewed to his brother the duke of Clarence. In short, Edward IV. possessed some qualities which would have made him appear amiable as a man, but at the same time he had others which rendered him detestable both as a man and a monarch.

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Edward IV.

A. D.

1468 At this period the inhabitants of London had a strange and extravagant method of adorning their feet. They wore the peaks, or pikes, of their shoes so long, that they encumbered them in walking, and they were forced to support them by a chain fastened at the tip of the shoe, and braced about the knee: the better sort had chains of silver, or silver gilt, and the more common people used silken laces. This ridiculous fashion had been in vogue ever since the year 1382; but it was now prohibited, on the forfeiture of twenty shillings from every person who offended.

1471 This year one William Caxton, a mercer of London, and a lover of letters, brought the art of printing into England; and the first press was set up in Westminster-abbey, under the patronage of the abbot.

1472 A dreadful plague happened this year in England, which soon carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.

1473 The royal chappel at Windsor founded by king Edward IV.

1479 Two notorious thieves were this year pressed to death for robbing St. Martin's-le-Grand church in London, and others of the gang were hanged and burnt.

1481 This year was born Thomas Parr, noted for the extraordi- great age to which he lived, being, at his death 152 years old.

CHAP. IV.

EDWARD V.

Accession of Edward V. Treacherous behaviour of Richard, duke of Gloucester. The young king is conducted to London, and placed in the bishop of London's palace. The Queen-Dowager flies for sanctuary to Westminster. Gloucester is declared Protector of the kingdom. Gets the duke of York into his hands, and sends him, together with his elder brother (Edward V.) to the Tower. Puts to death the earl of Rivers, and other noble prisoners, in Pontefract-Castle. Accuses the Queen Dowager, and Jane Shore, (mistress of the late king) of witchcraft. Death of Lord Hastings. Jane Shore tried for adultery, and obliged to do penance in St. Paul's cathedral. The Duke of Gloucester, after using a variety of artifices, obtains the sovereignty.

A. D. 1483. AS soon as the death of the late king was known, his eldest son, then only twelve years of age, was proclaimed king by the title of Edward V. at which time he resided at Ludlow Castle in Shropshire, where he had been some time placed under the care of his uncle Anthony Woodville earl of Rivers.

But, unhappily for young Edward, at the time of his accession two irreconcileable parties divided the court; namely, that of the queen and her relations (particularly the earl of Rivers her brother, and the marquis of Dorset, her son by a former husband); and that of the antient nobility (at the head of whom were the duke of Buckingham, and

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Born
November 4. 1470.

Proclaimed King
April 10. 1483.

Smothered in the Tower by
Tyrrel & his Accomplices 1483.

BRITISH MUSEUM
30 64
JAN

The DUKE *of* GLOUCESTER *(afterwards* RICHARD III.*) in* COUNCIL, *shewing his* SHRIVELLED ARM, *and accusing the* QUEEN DOWAGER *of* EDWARD IV. *of having occasioned it by* WITCHCRAFT.

OP251

BRITISH COLUMBIA
20 64
JAN

and the lords Haſtings, Howard and Stanley) who had long envied the exaltation and unlimited credit of the Woodville family. Each of theſe parties followed their ſeparate intereſts, and each endeavoured to gain over to their intereſt the duke of Glouceſter, who had, by his brother, been appointed regent of the kingdom.

Glouceſter, who was at once both cruel and ambitious, and capable of the moſt inhuman crimes, concealed his dark purpoſes under the maſk of the moſt profound diſſimulation and policy. He affected the greateſt zeal for the queen, that he might acquire a full influence over her conduct. The earl of Rivers had been entruſted by the deceaſed monarch with the care and education of his ſon; and the queen expreſſed her deſire that he ſhould now levy a body of troops in Wales, in order to conduct his young ſovereign to London. But Glouceſter perſuaded her that an armed force was not at all neceſſary on the occaſion, but, on the contrary, might produce dangerous conſequences. An order was therefore ſent to Rivers to bring the young king to London, with no greater retinue than was neceſſary to ſupport his ſtate and dignity.

The earl not ſuſpecting any treacherous deſigns in Glouceſter, readily obeyed the order, and immediately ſet out with the young prince for London, attended only by his ordinary domeſtics. He was met at Northampton by the dukes of Glouceſter and Buckingham, each of whom was attended with a ſplendid retinue; and, after ſpending a ſeemingly friendly evening with them, was, the next morning, arreſted by Glouceſter's orders. Sir Richard Gray, one of the queen's ſons, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable poſt in the king's houſhold, were, at the ſame time, put under a ſtrong guard, and all three ſent priſoners to Pontefract Caſtle in Yorkſhire. In vain did young Edward, with tears and entreaties, intercede with his cruel uncle for the releaſe of perſons ſo dear to him. Glouceſter refuſed his requeſt, and taking the king under his own care, left Northampton, and proceeded towards London.

The queen was no ſooner informed of theſe tyrannical proceedings, than ſhe immediately conceived the whole whole deſign of the duke of Glouceſter; and, conſidering her brother and two ſons as irrecoverably loſt, fled to the ſanctuary of of Weſtminſter, with the duke of York, the marquis of Dorſet, and the reſt of her family.

Lord Haſtings was at this time in London, and, though he hated the queen and her relations, ſtill revered the memory of his late maſter, and was unalterably devoted to the king and his brother. Not ſuſpecting the real deſigns of Glouceſter, he imagined that the ſeizing of Rivers was intended only to weaken the party of the queen; and therefore wrote to the archbiſhop of York (then lord-chancellor of England) deſiring him not to be alarmed at what had happened, as every thing would tend to promote the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom. The archbiſhop, ſurprized at this information, haſtened, before day-break, to the ſanctuary, where he found the queen ſitting upon the floor in the utmoſt agony and diſtreſs, bewailing the fate of her children. He endeavoured to comfort her with the aſſurances of Haſtings; but ſhe could derive no conſolation from that quarter. He then proteſted, that if the lords ſhould ſo far deviate from the principles of humanity and juſtice as to take away the life of the king, he would immediately crown the duke of York, who was ſtill ſafe beyond their power; and as an earneſt of his affection for his deceaſed maſter's family, left in her cuſtody the great ſeal of England. On the very ſame day that the archbiſhop had this interview with the queen, young Edward entered London amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people. He was attended by the dukes of Glouceſter, and Buckingham, with many others of the principal nobility; and Glouceſter like a conſummate diſſembler, rode before him bareheaded, calling out to the people, "Behold your prince and ſovereign!"

Young Edward was conducted to the biſhop of London's palace, that being thought the moſt proper place of reſidence for him previous to his coronation. On the ſame day the duke of Glouceſter ſummoned a grand council of the nobility to ſettle the adminiſtration, and as this aſſembly conſiſted chiefly of his own friends, he was choſen protector of the kingdom, though the council, on this occaſion, uſurped a prerogative that belonged to the parliament.

Though Glouceſter had thus far ſucceeded in his deſigns, yet he well knew, that unleſs he could find means to get the duke of York into his power, all his ſchemes muſt prove abortive. He therefore complained to the council, that the queen's having taken ſanctuary, and the ill-grounded apprehenſions ſhe had formed, were an indignity to the government; and repreſented the neceſſity of the young prince's appearance at the coronation of his brother, propoſing that if the queen refuſed to liſten to the voice of reaſon, he ſhould be taken from the aſylum by force. This propoſition was unanimouſly approved by the council; and Cardinal Bourchier, the primate, with Rotherham, archbiſhop of York, were ſent to the ſanctuary, with orders to uſe every argument in their power to induce the queen to comply with the wiſhes of the council. Elizabeth, for ſome time, refuſed to give up the prince; but at length, by the powerful arguments of the primate, ſhe was prevailed on to give her conſent. Accordingly, having embraced him with all the eagerneſs of maternal affection, ſhe delivered him into the hands of the archbiſhop, by whom he was immediately conducted to Glouceſter. Richard received the young prince with all the ſeeming marks of paternal tenderneſs, and after deſiring that he would conſider him as his guardian and father, conducted him to his brother in the biſhop's palace.

The two young princes ſeemed overjoyed at this interview, and began to think their uncle had a real regard for their intereſt. But in this they were greatly deceived. In a few days after they were both conveyed from the biſhop's palace to the tower, from whence, at that time, it was cuſtomary for the kings of England to ride in proceſſion through the ſtreets of London to their coronation at Weſtminſter.

Glouceſter had ſtill many obſtacles in his way to exclude him from the throne. But no reſtraints were ſufficient to check the violence of Richard, whoſe fierce and ſavage nature was ſuch that he ſtartled at no crimes, however enormous. The death of the earl of Rivers, and the other noble priſoners confined in Pontefract Caſtle, was now determined; and the Protector found no difficulty in obtaining the conſent of his party to that ſanguinary meaſure. Fearful, however, that a trial might fill the people with apprehenſions (eſpecially as no crime could be alledged againſt them of a capital nature) it was reſolved to diſpatch them without

without any legal proceſs; and orders were immediately ſent to Sir Ralph Ratcliffe (a man capable of the moſt enormous actions) to put them to death, which was accordingly done by their heads being ſevered from their bodies.

On the very day theſe bloody orders were executed, Richard ſummoned a council to meet in the tower; and having diſcovered, by his agents, that Haſtings, was unalterably attached to the children of his deceaſed maſter, determined to take him off, fearful leſt, from the great power and popularity of that nobleman, he might render his deſigns abortive.

Haſtings, not ſuſpecting any deſign was formed againſt his life, repaired to the council, where he met the protector, whoſe behaviour was remarkably affable. After a ſhort ſtay, Richard retired from the board, deſiring the lords to continue their deliberations during his abſence. He ſoon returned with an angry and enflamed countenance, biting his lips, and exhibiting all the marks of the moſt violent indignation. "My lords," ſaid he, "what puniſhment do thoſe deſerve who have "plotted againſt my life?" Haſtings replied, that they deſerved the puniſhment of traitors. "Theſe "traitors," replied the protector, "are thoſe "ſorcerers my brother's wife, and Jane Shore his "miſtreſs, with others their aſſociates. See to what "a condition they have reduced me by their in-"cantations and witchcraft!" On uttering theſe words, he uncovered his arm, which was ſhrivelled and decayed. The members of the council, who well knew that his arm had always been in that condition, were confounded, and looked upon each other with aſtoniſhment. After a conſiderable pauſe, Haſtings anſwered, certainly, my lord, *if* "they are guilty of theſe crimes, they deſerve the "ſevereſt puniſhment." "And you reply to "me," ſaid the protector, "with your *ifs* and "your *ands?* You are the chief abettor of that "witch Shore: you are yourſelf a traitor; and I "ſwear by St. Paul, that I will not dine before "your head be brought me!" On this he ſtruck the table violently with his hand; when a number of armed men ruſhed into the council-chamber, and ſeized ſeveral of the members. Haſtings was led immediately to the green before the chapel of the Tower, where, after confeſſion to a prieſt, who happened accidentally to be on the ſpot, he was beheaded on a log of timber lying on the green. The archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and lord Stanley, who aſſiſted at the council, were ſent to different apartments in the tower, and no perſon, except the keeper, ſuffered to ſee them.

As Richard was ſenſible that lord Haſtings was univerſally beloved by the people, he thought it prudent to make ſome public apology for the precipitate manner of his execution. He therefore iſſued out a proclamation, repreſenting the great crimes of which he had been guilty, and that his haſty execution aroſe from the ſuddenneſs of the diſcovery. To put a farther gloſs on his proceedings, he ordered Jane Shore to be apprehended, and tried before the council for ſorcery and witchcraft. No proofs, however, being found againſt her (notwithſtanding the ignorance and abſurdity of the age) ſhe was acquitted of the charge. But the Protector was determined ſhe ſhould not eſcape his vengeance. He cauſed her to be indicted before the ſpiritual court for lewdneſs and adultery; and ſhe did penance in a white ſheet at St. Paul's before all the people*.

As the deaths of lord Haſtings, and the noble priſoners in Pontefract Caſtle, had excited no inſurrection among the people, Glouceſter grew more and more confident of ſucceſs, and throwing off the maſk of diſſimulation, openly aſpired to the crown, which he claimed from the illegitimacy (as he aſſerted) of his brother Edward's children. Theſe vile aſſertions he cauſed to be promulgated from the pulpit. Dr. Ralph Shaw, an eminent orator of thoſe times (and brother to the mayor who was one of Richard's creatures) preached a ſermon at St. Paul's Croſs, taking for his text the following words from the Wiſdom of Solomon, "Baſtards ſlips ſhall not thrive." In the courſe of his ſermon he artfully advanced many arguments, by which he endeavoured to prove the illegitimacy of the ſons of Edward IV. He afterwards extolled the virtues of Richard duke of Glouceſter, repreſenting him as the legal heir to the crown, and the only hope of the nation; concluding his panegyric with calling aloud, "God ſave king Richard." But this fulſome parade and exaggeration was far from producing the intended effect. The audience kept a profound ſilence: the doctor loſt his popularity, and Richard was looked upon with contempt by the people.

In conſequence of this diſappointment it was the next day agreed by the council (which now conſiſted wholly of Richards creatures) that another attempt ſhould be made to obtain the voice of the people in his favour. Accordingly, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and livery of London were ſummoned to aſſemble at Guildhall, where the duke of Buckingham, in a ſtudied harangue, expatiated on the virtues of the duke of Glouceſter, and concluded with aſking, Whether they would have that prince for their king? A profound ſilence reigned through the whole aſſembly. The duke repeated the ſubſtance of his harangue, and aſked the ſame queſtion; but the ſame ſilence was continued. The mayor then deſired that the recorder might addreſs the aſſembly. The experiment was accordingly tried, but with no better ſucceſs, not a word eſcaping from the lips of the audience. "This is aſtoniſhing obſtinacy, (cried the duke) "declare your ſentiments one way or other. But "you ought to remember, that your conſent is "not conſidered as neceſſary. The Lords and "Commons have ſufficient authority to place "whom they pleaſe on the throne; and when we "aſk your conſent, it ſhould be conſidered as a "favour. However, I now demand, in plain "terms, whether you will, or will not, have the "protector for your ſovereign?" This ſpeech, which was conſidered rather as a menace than an appeal to their judgment, occaſioned a general murmur among the whole audience. At length ſome of the apprentices, excited by bribes from Richard's partiſans, ſet up a feeble cry of "Long live king Richard." This was conſidered as a ſufficient declaration of the ſentiments of the nation; and Buckingham haſtened to acquaint the Protector

* Jane Shore lived many years after this event, and was alive in the reign of Henry VIII. when Sir Thomas Moore knew her. But though ſhe had greatly recommended herſelf by acts of beneficence and humanity, though ſhe had removed the ſtings of poverty from the breaſts of the indigent, and applied the balm of comfort to the wounds of affliction, ſhe found no friends in adverſity, and ſpent the evening of her life in miſery and want.

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Engraved for **RAYMOND's** *History of England.*

Made Protector
May 27. 1483.

Crowned
July 6. 1483.

Slain at Bosworth
August 22. 1485.

ſector that he was called upon to aſſume the reins of government. Richard, at firſt pretended to be aſtoniſhed at the propoſal, declared he would obſerve inviolably his loyalty to his ſovereign, and hypocritically exhorted them to imitate his example. But he ſoon changed his note, by willingly ſuffering himſelf to be perſuaded to accept the crown; and from that moment he acted as the legitimate and legal poſſeſſor of the Engliſh throne. All acts of royalty received his ſignature, and the name of Edward was, as it were, buried in oblivion.

CHAP. V.

RICHARD III.

Richard III. proclaimed king, and crowned at Weſtminſter. Cauſes the two ſons of Edward IV. to be murdered in the Tower. The duke of Buckingham, in conjunction with the biſhop of Ely, forms a deſign of dethroning Richard, and inveſting the earl of Richmond with the ſovereignty. Buckingham raiſes a body of forces, who, deſerting him, he is taken priſoner and beheaded. The earl of Richmond embarks for England with five thouſand men, but his fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm, he is obliged to return to the court of Britany. Richard engages to marry the daughter of the Queen-Dowager. Richmond lands at Milford-Haven at the head of two thouſand foreign troops, marches to Haverfordweſt, and is joined by great numbers of the inhabitants. Richard marches againſt him, and takes up his poſt at Nottingham. Battle of Boſworth, and conſequences thereof. Death of Richard III.

A. D. 1483. RICHARD, duke of Glouceſter, having, by his own unparalleled artifices, and the aſſiſtance of his partizans, obtained the ſovereignty by a faint and forced conſent of a part of the people, was, on the 18th of June, proclaimed king of England and France by the title of Richard III. The next day he married Anne, youngeſt daughter of Rich Nevil, the great earl of Warwick, and relict of prince Edward, ſon of Henry VI. and on the 6th of July following they were both ſolemnly crowned at Weſtminſter.

Having thus fixed himſelf on that throne to which he had ſo ambitiouſly aſpired, Richard now determined, (in order to eſtabliſh himſelf in the ſeat of power) to put to death the two princes, who were ſtill confined in the tower. But in order to avoid being conſidered as acceſſary to this tragical ſcene, he made a tour through ſeveral of the counties of England, under pretence of reforming the abuſes, which had crept into the government.

After being abſent a few days he diſpatched a meſſenger to Sir Robert Brackenbury, then conſtable of the tower, with expreſs orders for him immediately to put the two young princes to death. But that gentleman, who was naturally humane, and poſſeſſed a true ſenſe of honour, refuſed having any ſhare in ſo infamous a tranſaction.

Diſappointed in this attempt, Richard next applied to Sir James Tyrrel, a man practiſed in the ſcenes of blood, who readily accepted the inhuman commiſſion. Tyrrel choſe three aſſociates, namely, Slater, Deighton and Foreſt; and having, by Richard's expreſs order, obtained the keys of the tower, he conducted his companions to the door of the chamber where the two princes lodged, bidding them execute their orders. The aſſaſſins finding the unſuſpecting innocents in a ſound ſleep, immediately ſuffocated them with the bolſters and pillows, after which they ſhewed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the ſtairs, and the place to be covered with an heap of rubbiſh *.

Richard, after paſſing through ſeveral of the counties in England, made a ſtop at York, where he appeared with his queen in all the pomp of royalty; and during his ſtay was crowned with great ceremony in the cathedral of that city.

After being abſent about ſix weeks Richard returned to London, and flattered himſelf with enjoying that crown he had ſo flagrantly uſurped without interruption. But he ſoon found himſelf miſtaken. The duke of Buckingham, not ſatisfied with the rewards which had been beſtowed on him for his ſervices, and irritated at being refuſed a favour which he aſked of Richard, left the court, and retired to his caſtle of Brecknock, where Moreton, biſhop of Ely (who had been committed to his cuſtody by Richard) was confined.

The biſhop was not only a perſon of ſingular penetration and addreſs, but likewiſe an able politician, and conſidering the diſguſt of the duke as a favourable incident, determined, if poſſible, to bring him over to his own party, in which he had great hopes from the family of that nobleman, having been zealous Lancaſtrians. The prelate was far from being diſappointed in his expectations. Buckingham liſtened, with great attention, to his arguments, and a ſcheme was concerted for removing Richard from the ſeat of power. It was agreed that they ſhould both declare for Henry, earl of Richmond (then at the court of Britany) who ſhould marry Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. and by that alliance unite the intereſt of both houſes in his favour.

Having concerted this plan they communicated their deſigns to the old ducheſs of Richmond and the queen-dowager, the latter of whom was ſtill in the

* The bones of theſe unhappy victims were not diſcovered till the reign of Charles II. the cauſe of which was as follows: The Six Clerks Office being too much crouded with records of bills and other matters neceſſary to be preſerved, orders were given to remove them to the White Tower, and a new ſtair caſe was made into the chapel for the more eaſy conveyance of them. The labourers, in digging at the foot of the old ſtairs, came to a wooden cheſt, containing human bones covered with ſtones and rubbiſh. Theſe were the bones of the royal infants ſo inhumanly murdered, which king Charles cauſed to be interred in Henry the Seventh's Chapel near two other royal children, viz. Mary and Sophia, daughters to James I. and over the place was an ornament of white marble with an inſcription on it in capital letters.

ſanctuary at Weſtminſter. They both readily approved of the propoſal, and a friendſhip was eſtabliſhed between them and the duke of Buckingham. In conſequence of this, meſſengers were diſpatched to the earl, acquainting him with the meaſures that had been entered into in his favour, and the terms on which he was invited to land in England.

The earl of Richmond no ſooner received this intelligence, than he immediately related the particulars to the duke, who promiſed to give him all the aſſiſtance in his power. In conſequence of this the earl immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to his mother and the duke of Buckingham, informing them of his approbation of the plan and the promiſe of the duke of Britany; and deſiring, at the ſame time, that they would prepare for his reception by the beginning of October.

Thus far every thing ſucceeded to the wiſhes of the conſpirators, who reſpectively began to exert their power and influence in promoting the main deſign; and their ſucceſs was far beyond their expectations. Richard had incurred the hatred of the nation in general: the partizans of the houſe of York were incenſed againſt him for the murder of the two young princes, while thoſe of Lancaſter chearfully embraced a propoſal that ſeemed likely to place a prince of that houſe * on the throne of England.

Though the utmoſt precaution had been taken to keep theſe proceedings a profound ſecret, yet they could not eſcape the penetrating eye of Richard, who no ſooner diſcovered the plot than he iſſued out orders for his troops to be in readineſs to march on the firſt notice. He then diſpatched a meſſenger to the duke of Buckingham (whom he imagined to be at the head of the conſpiracy) enjoining his immediate attendance at court; but the duke, inſtead of paying any regard to the order, employed himſelf in collecting his forces, hoping, in a ſhort time, to join thoſe of his confederates.

From the behaviour of Buckingham, Richard found it neceſſary to exert himſelf with the utmoſt expedition. Accordingly, having collected his forces, he began his march towards the weſtern counties, where he was informed the earl of Richmond propoſed to land, and where ſeveral of his friends were already in arms, expecting to be joined by the duke of Buckingham, at the head of his forces.

In the mean time, the duke, having raiſed a powerful army, advanced, by haſty marches, into the foreſt of Deane, with a deſign of croſſing the Severn, and joining his weſtern friends at Saliſbury. But on approaching the borders of the river, he found the waters had overflowed the banks in ſuch a manner that there was no poſſibility of paſſing it. His army conſiſted entirely of Welſh, who, alarmed with ſuperſtitious terrors at this extraordinary event, and at the ſame time diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, abandoned his camp, and Buckingham, in a few days was left with only one ſervant, who was faithful enough to attend him in his diſtreſs. In this hapleſs ſituation he took refuge in the houſe of one Banniſter, who had ſubſiſted by his bounty, and enjoyed a comfortable eſtate near Shrewſbury, and which had been given him by the duke. But this wretch, dead to all the feelings of honour and gratitude, betrayed his patron† into the hands of the ſheriff of Shropſhire, who conducted him to Richard, and the unfortunate duke was, without any form of proceſs, immediately beheaded.

Alarmed at the news of this diſaſter, and deſpairing of ſucceſs, the friends of the duke immediately diſperſed. The marquis of Dorſet, and biſhop of Ely, fled to the continent, while others concealed themſelves in different parts of the kingdom; but ſeveral, who were ſo unfortunate as to fall into the hands of the uſurper, were immediately put to death.

During theſe tranſactions the earl of Richmond had not been wanting on his part in endeavouring to join his friends at the time appointed. He embarked with 5000 men at St. Malos on board forty veſſels; but being overtaken by a terrible ſtorm his fleet was diſperſed, and himſelf obliged to return to the court of Britany, where he was informed of the fate of the duke of Buckingham, and the diſperſion of his friends.

A. D. 1484. This dangerous inſurrection being quelled, Richard returned to London, and immediately ſummoned a parliament, who recognized his authority, and acknowledged his title to the crown. His only ſon Edward was created prince of Wales; and duties of tonnage and poundage were granted him for life; and Richard, in order, if poſſible, to reconcile the people to his government, paſſed ſeveral acts, which tended to promote the happineſs of his ſubjects.

But Richard's mind was far from being yet eaſy: he had great reaſon to ſuſpect that many of his principal nobility were ſtrongly attached to the intereſt of the earl of Richmond, and only waited for a proper opportunity of diſcovering their ſentiments. Theſe were diſagreeable circumſtances; but what moſt concerned him was, the intended marriage between the earl of Richmond and the princeſs Elizabeth. He ſaw the danger of ſuch a connection, and determined, if poſſible, to prevent it. To effect this he paid his addreſſes to the queen-dowager with ſuch art, and made ſo many profeſſions of a ſincere and unalterable friendſhip, that Elizabeth, thinking her former projects totally deſtroyed, liſtened to his propoſals, and even promiſed him her daughter in marriage; the baſe and cruel Richard having made way for this ſtrange connection, by taking off his former wife by poiſon. The queen's conſent being obtained, Richard applied to the court of Rome for a diſpenſation for concluding the alliance with the princeſs, which was generally conſidered as inceſtuous. But before the papal inſtrument arrived the face of affairs was ſuddenly changed, and Richard hurled from that throne he had ſo baſely uſurped.

A. D. 1485. Though the earl of Richmond had failed in his late attempt, yet he determined to make another effort for obtaining the Engliſh diadem; to effect which he had, by his importunities, got conſiderable ſuccours from the court of France.

* The earl of Richmond was now conſidered as the head of the Lancaſtrian party. He was heir, by the female line, to the family of Somerſet, and grandſon to Sir Owen Tudor, who had married Catharine of France, the widow of Henry V.

† It is recorded of Banniſter that he was afterwards puniſhed in a moſt diſtinguiſhed manner for his ingratitude and perfidy. His eldeſt ſon went mad, and died raving in a hogſtye: his eldeſt daughter, who was very beautiful, was ſuddenly ſtricken with a foul leproſy: his ſecond ſon was deprived of the uſe of his limbs: his younger ſon was ſuffocated in a ditch of filthy water; and himſelf, at an extreme old age, found guilty of murder, but his life ſaved at the interceſſion of the clergy.

France. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he ſet out for Rouen, where he received letters from England, inviting him to land in Wales, aſſuring him that the people of thoſe parts were ſtrongly attached to his intereſt, and had raiſed a conſiderable ſum for his ſervice. He was at the ſame time informed that the whole kingdom was diſſatisfied with the character and conduct of Richard, and that he could not poſſibly land more opportunely than at a time when the tyrant had made no preparations for oppoſing his deſcent.

Animated with this intelligence the earl, accompanied by many noble exiles from England, and at the head of two thouſand foreign troops, embarked at Harfleur on the laſt day of July, and on the 6th of Auguſt landed with his forces at Milford Haven, without oppoſition. From hence he directed his march to Haverfordweſt, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants; and as he advanced was joined by ſuch numbers of the partiſans of both families, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a very conſiderable army.

As ſoon as Richard was informed of the landing of the earl of Richmond, and the ſucceſs that attended him, he collected together his forces, and marched with the utmoſt expedition to oppoſe him. He took up his poſt at Nottingham, being the moſt centrical town in the kingdom, and propoſed marching from thence, on the firſt alarm, to whatever place ſhould be moſt expoſed to danger.

Richard's affairs were now in a very critical ſituation, and he had much more to fear from his ſecret than his open enemies. The duke of Norfolk was the only nobleman ſincerely attached to his intereſt: the reſt were friends to the earl of Richmond, and only waited for a favourable opportunity of deſerting Richard's ſtandard. But the perſons who gave Richard the greateſt uneaſineſs were lord Stanley, and his brother Sir William, whoſe connections with the earl of Richmond were ſtrongly ſuſpected by the uſurper. He had, indeed, employed the former to levy a body of five thouſand men, but inſiſted that he ſhould leave his ſon, the lord Strange, as an hoſtage for his fidelity. This obliged lord Stanley to act with great precaution, and though he found means to inform Henry of his friendly intentions, yet, from his ambiguous behaviour, no certainty could be formed of his real deſigns.

Richard's alarms were greatly augmented by the continual increaſe of Henry's army; he therefore determined, at all events, to give him battle, and, by a general action, decide their diſpute for the Engliſh throne. He accordingly left Nottingham, and marching his forces with all expedition, the two armies came within ſight of each other at a place called Boſworth in Leiceſterſhire. The royal army which conſiſted of 12,000 men, all veterans, and well armed, were formed into two lines. The firſt was commanded by the duke of Norfolk; and the ſecond by Richard in perſon, who appeared that day with the royal diadem on his head. The earl's army did not conſiſt of much more than five thouſand men, but was alſo divided into two lines; the firſt commanded by the earl of Oxford, and the ſecond by himſelf in perſon: Sir Gilbert Talbot commanded the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left.

While the two armies, were preparing for battle, lord Stanley poſted himſelf, at the head of four thouſand men, on a piece of ground fronting the interval between the two armies, while his brother Sir William Stanley, with three thouſand, ſtood facing him on the other ſide of the interval. Richard, ſuſpecting Stanley's deſign, ſent him an order to join his army; but receiving an equivocal anſwer, he was ſo enraged, that he would have ſtruck off the head of his ſon, had he not been diſſuaded from that reſolution by ſome of his chief officers. They repreſented to him, that ſuch an act could be attended with no advantage, and would certainly provoke Stanley and his brother to join the enemy, though perhaps their intention at preſent might be to remain neuter, till near the concluſion of the battle, and then declare for the party that ſeemed to have gained the advantage. Richard ſubmitted to theſe reaſons, well knowing that if he ſhould defeat the earl of Richmond, he would then be enabled to take ample revenge on all his enemies.

The two armies now approached each other, and the battle was begun by a general diſcharge of arrows; after which the combat became cloſe and bloody. The duke of Norfolk made a motion to encloſe the left wing of Richmond's army, which being perceived by the earl of Oxford, he fell with the utmoſt fury upon Norfolk's diviſion, but was in the utmoſt danger of being ſurrounded. Lord Stanley ſaw that it would be impoſſible for him to extricate himſelf from his then ſituation without aſſiſtance, and therefore advanced at the head of his forces, and joining Oxford's line ſecured his flank, and ſtood ready to receive the front of the line commanded by the king in perſon. At the ſame time Sir William Stanley fell upon the flank of Richard's line, and drove them back upon the main body. Norfolk, however, advanced to the charge with more fury than ever, and a dreadful carnage enſued. But the battle was no longer equal; the royal forces were intimidated by the deſertion of Stanley and his brother; while it inſpired Henry's with unuſual courage. Senſible of his deſperate ſituation, the furious tyrant caſt his eyes around the field, and diſcovering his rival at no great diſtance, he ſoon opened himſelf a paſſage to the ſpot where Henry fought in perſon, killed Sir Henry Brandon, his ſtandard-bearer, unhorſed Sir John Cheyney, and advanced againſt Henry with all the fury of deſpair. He called aloud to him, challenging him to determine the conteſt by ſingle combat. This was readily accepted by Henry; but the two leaders were hardly engaged when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, ſurrounded Richard, who, after performing the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of valour, fell covered with wounds.

The death of Richard put an end to the conteſt; the royaliſts, deprived of their leader, immediately threw down their arms, and ſought their ſafety by a precipitate flight. No leſs than four thouſand of Richard's forces were ſlain on the field of battle, among whom were, the duke of Norfolk, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Piercy, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. Such was the iſſue of the battle of Boſworth, which terminated the quarrel between the two houſes of York and Lancaſter.

Richard's crown, being found in the field of battle, was brought to lord Stanley, who, placing it on Richmond's head, hailed him king; the victorious army repeatedly ſhouting, "Long live Henry VII. king of England.

The body of Richard being found among the ſlain was treated with the utmoſt indignity. It was faſtened acroſs a horſe, and in that ignominious manner conveyed to Leiceſter amidſt the ſhouts of the inſulting populace, where it was buried, with-

without any ceremony, in the church of the Grey Friers.

Henry, by a policy that tended greatly to augment his power, pardoned all who ſubmitted to him. Sir William Cateſby, the tool of Richard's crimes, was the only perſon that ſuffered. He was diſcovered after the battle, and being conveyed to Leiceſter, was there beheaded. Lord Lovel, and the two Staffords, who had incurred the univerſal odium of the people for their attachment to the tyrant, would, in all probability, have ſuffered the ſame fate, had they fallen into the hands of the victor; but they fortunately made their eſcape, and took ſanctuary in the abbey of Colcheſter.

Thus fell Richard III. in the 34th year of his age, and the third of his uſurped reign. He was one of the moſt deteſtable tyrants that ever diſgraced a throne. He was low in ſtature, and had a gloomy aſpect. One of his arms was withered, and one ſhoulder higher than the other, from whence he acquired the ſurname of Crook-back. Nor was his mind leſs deformed than his body: dark, ſilent and reſerved, he was ſuch a maſter of diſſimulation, that it was impoſſible to dive into his deſigns: falſe, treacherous and ungrateful, he ſcrupled not to violate the moſt ſacred ties of religion and conſcience, whenever he found it conducive to the gratification of his ambition. In ſhort, his numberleſs and atrocious crimes compoſe ſuch a ſcene of horrid guilt as hardly ever centered in any other perſon, and have rendered his name the object of univerſal deteſtation to all ſucceeding generations.

CHAP. VI.

HENRY VII.

Henry VII. after the battle of Boſworth, returns in triumph to London, and is ſoon after crowned at Weſtminſter. Marries the Princeſs Elizabeth. Quells an inſurrection raiſed by lord Lovel, and others. Birth of prince Arthur. Lambert Simnel's impoſture. Henry cauſes the Queen Dowager to be arreſted and impriſoned. Simnel is crowned king in Dublin, and afterwards arrives in England, where he is taken priſoner at the battle of Stoke. A rebellion in the north. Revolution in Scotland. Perkin Warbeck perſonates the duke of York, and lays claim to the Engliſh throne. Prince Henry appointed lieutenant of Ireland. A rebellion in Cornwall. James king of Scotland makes an irruption into England, but is repulſed. A truce between England and Scotland. Perkin Warbeck aſſumes the title of king of England, and beſieges the city of Exeter. Is compelled to raiſe the ſiege and retires to Taunton. Deſerts his followers, and takes ſanctuary in the monaſtery of Beaulieu. His adherents lay down their arms and are pardoned. Perkin accepts the king's pardon, and is led in mock triumph through the ſtreets of London. Eſcapes from his guard, and takes ſanctuary in the monaſtery of Shene. Again ſubmits to the king's mercy, is degraded, and impriſoned in the tower. Engages in a plot with the earl of Warwick, both of whom are detected, condemned and executed. Marriage of Arther prince of Wales and the princeſs Margaret. Deaths of Arthur and the queen. Extortions of the king and his miniſters Empſon and Dudley. Revolt of the earl of Suffolk. Henry becomes deſpotic, and aſſembles a parliament, who comply with his avaricious demands. Death and character of Henry VII.

A. D. 1485. THE victorious earl having by conqueſt ſecured a ſtill ſtronger title to the throne to which he had already an hereditary claim, made his triumphant entry into London on the twenty-ſeventh day of Auguſt, applauded by the ſhouts of a grateful people, who hailed him as their deliverer from a tyrant's power, and as the man whoſe happy union with the amiable princeſs Elizabeth was to put a total end to the civil diſſenſions which had for ſo many years ſubſiſted between the contending families of York and Lancaſter.

The firſt object which employed his attention, was gratitude to the Supreme Being, the God of battles, who had led him on to conqueſt, and had afforded him this joyful opportunity of offering up to him in his holy temple, the trophies he had obtained. In the cathedral of St. Paul's therefore he accordingly offered up the ſtandard of the enemy, and after divine ſervice, returned to his apartments in the epiſcopal palace, where in a council of the nobility aſſembled for that purpoſe, he renewed the oath he had before taken to eſpouſe the virtuous princeſs Elizabeth.

Having diſcharged his duty to his God, Henry's next care was to promote the friends who had aſſiſted him. Of theſe his uncle Jaſper, earl of Pembroke, the faithful guardian of his early years, and protector againſt the deſigns of his adverſaries, was rewarded with the title of duke of Bedford. His father-in-law Thomas Stanley, to whom he was indebted for his ſucceſs in Boſworth field, he created earl of Derby; and Edward lord Courteney, earl of Devonſhire.

On the thirtieth of October, (the day of his coronation, and which ſolemnity was performed by Bourchier archbiſhop of Canterbury) he inſtituted a body guard of fifty archers, under the command of a captain, which has been ever ſince maintained, and is ſtill known by the title of yeomen of the king's guard.

The parliament which met at Weſtminſter entailed the crown upon Henry, with perpetual reverſion to the legitimate heirs of his body. The next ſtep was to reverſe the attainder which had been iſſued againſt Henry and his adherents, and to paſs the ſame againſt ſeveral of thoſe who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the late uſurper Richard.

The amount of theſe confiſcations was ſo conſiderable as to preclude the neceſſity of aſking a ſupply from parliament, ſo that Henry found by theſe means an ample gratification both for his revenge and his avarice. And now in conſequence of a general pardon to thoſe who had taken up arms againſt him, great numbers quitted their ſanctuaries, and took an oath of allegiance to their new ſovereign.

On the diſſolution of the parliament, Henry remitted money to the French king, to reimburſe him for what he had advanced, towards the ſupplies he had furniſhed him with preparatory to his arrival

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

HENRY VII.

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Defeated Richard III. August 22. 1485. | *Crowned October 30. 1485.* | *Died April 22. 1509.*

OP 256.

arrival in England. John Moreton, biſhop of Ely, and Richard Fox biſhop of Exeter, were ſworn of his moſt honourable privy council, the former of whom ſucceeded cardinal Bourchier as archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to the latter was committed the cuſtody of the great ſeal, and theſe two prelates, from the great power with which they were inveſted, and the diſtinguiſhed protection of their royal maſter, directed the principal affairs of government.

A. D. 1486. In conſequence of his promiſe to eſpouſe the princeſs Elizabeth, Henry found himſelf indiſpenſibly bound to ſolemnize his nuptials with her, which were accordingly celebrated with great joy and feſtivity on the 18th of January. After the ceremony Henry took a journey into the northern counties, and paſſed his Eaſter holidays at Lincoln, in hopes of conciliating the affections of his people by his preſence and acts of liberality.

During his abode in that city, he was made acquainted with the news of lord Lovel, together with Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, having privately quitted their ſanctuary at Colcheſter. Undiſmayed, however, at theſe tidings, he purſued his journey to York, towards which city he was informed that three or four thouſand men were on their march with Lovel at their head, and that the city of Worceſter was already inveſted by the Staffords. Henry could not help being alarmed at this intelligence, as he ſuſpected thoſe rebellious leaders actually held a correſpondence at that time with the party among whom he now reſided. He, however, concealed his ſuſpicions, and iſſued commiſſions for immediately raiſing men throughout the county of York; which was ſo ſucceſsfully accompliſhed, that in a ſhort ſpace of time a body of three thouſand men was levied, and the command of them given to the duke of Bedford.

The duke thus empowered to act againſt the rebels, was nevertheleſs ſtrictly enjoined to avoid a general engagement, the men being not only undiſciplined, but alſo of a very ſuſpicious attachment; and on his approach, to declare the king's free pardon to all ſuch as ſhould lay down their arms. This wiſe expedient had the deſired effect; and Lovel, through fear of being deſerted by his troops, retired alone into Lancaſhire, from whence he croſſed the ſea, and repaired to the court of the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy.

This event being communicated to the Staffords, they quitted the ſiege of Worceſter, and being deſerted by their men, fled for ſanctuary to the church of Coleſham, near Abingdon; but the privileges of that place not extending to the crimes of high treaſon, they were forcibly dragged from thence, and Humphrey, the elder brother, was executed at Tyburn. The younger brother, Thomas, on account of his youth, and being conſidered as influenced by the evil ſuggeſtions of the other, obtained the king's pardon.

The queen's delivery of her ſon prince Arthur, which happened on the twentieth of September, gave hopes to the nation that the king's lukewarm affections would, by this fortunate event, be kindled into an ardour of conjugal love; but when they found him ſtill inſenſible to her attractions, and that he ſtill delayed her coronation, ſhewing on every occaſion a rooted inveteracy to the family of York, to whom the people were for the moſt part attached, their diſlike of him daily encreaſed, and they began to fear they had only exchanged one tyrant for another.

It may be ſuppoſed that his enemies were not backward in promulgating ſuch an inſinuation: reports were privately circulated, that he intended to murder the earl of Warwick; and that the duke of York had eſcaped from the power of his uncle Richard; and was ſtill in being on ſome part of the continent. The people greatly inclined to favour this report, ſuggeſted to one Richard Simon, an Oxford prieſt, a ſcheme equally hazardous and ridiculous. The eccleſiaſtic had a pupil named Lambert Simnel, natural ſon of a baker in that city, a youth of quick parts, and uncommon perſonal endowments; and his deſign was to inſtruct this youth to paſs himſelf upon the world for Richard duke of York, ſecond ſon of Edward IV.

While this ſcheme was in agitation, and the neceſſary inſtructions preparing, a rumour prevailed that Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, had eſcaped from the Tower: Simon therefore, thinking he had found out a more plauſible device, reſolved that Simnel ſhould perſonate that young nobleman, though pretty generally known among the people. Simon ſpared no pains in qualifying his pupil for the taſk, and when he looked upon him as ſufficiently inſtructed in his part, went with him over to Ireland, where he thought he would be leſs liable to detection than in England, and where the memory of Clarence, who had been their governor, was ſtill held in the higheſt reſpect.

Henry had been apprized of ſome deſigns forming in Ireland to his prejudice, and therefore ſummoned the earl of Kildare, (deputy to the duke of Bedford, viceroy of that kingdom) to appear perſonally at his court in London; but by the intereſt that nobleman had in the council, he found means to evade complying with the order, by ſtating the indiſpenſible neceſſity of his preſence in Ireland.

Immediately after Simnel's arrival in Dublin, he publickly aſſumed the character of the earl of Warwick, and as ſuch preſented himſelf to the earl of Kildare, to whom he gave a ſpecious account of his eſcape from the Tower, and though the deputy and his brother did not think it ſafe to eſpouſe his cauſe openly, they, by their connivance, ſecretly favoured the impoſture. Having concealed their own ſentiments till they ſhould diſcover thoſe of the people, they were ſoon convinced they might with ſafety avow them; for Simnel received a welcome reception as the ſon of that Clarence whom they had ſo highly eſteemed. The earl of Kildare and his brother the chancellor, having conſulted their friends upon the ſubject waited upon Simnel at his habitation, and conducted him with great pomp to the caſtle, where he was treated conformably to his ſuppoſed rank and diſtinction. Simnel, on his part, acquitted himſelf with ſo much dexterity, that he actually impoſed upon many, who had at firſt entertained ſuſpicions of the fraud; and the people in general ſoon became ſo attached to him, that he was ſhortly after proclaimed in Dublin king of England, by the title of Edward VI.

A. D. 1487. Alarmed at a circumſtance of ſuch weight and importance, the king's fears were not without reaſon excited, leſt the torch of diſcord, which had been ſo rapidly kindled in Ireland, ſhould communicate its deſtructive flames to England, and involve both kingdoms in one general conflagration. In the midſt of this perplexity, Henry called a council, to deliberate on the neceſſary ſteps to be taken to avert the impending danger; and the queen-dowager being, by Henry's order, arreſted and confined in the monaſtery of Ber-

mondsey, and her estate confiscated without the form of a trial, it has been generally supposed that his suspicions of her, as a party concerned, were the grounds of her severe treatment, especially as he could never be prevailed on to set her at liberty.

Henry now finding the people divided in their opinions of this story of Simnel, resolved to convince them of the delusion, by causing the real earl of Warwick to be conducted publickly through the streets of London, and he was even permitted to visit many individuals, who entertained the profoundest respect for his person and family. The impostor, however, notwithstanding this precaution, found a strenuous and zealous adherent in John earl of Lincoln, whom his uncle Richard III. had declared presumptive heir to the crown, and who, in support of his claim, actually embarked for Flanders, to concert with his aunt Margaret, duchess dowager of Burgundy, such measures as were most likely to facilitate the success of the undertaking.

The duchess, justly irritated at king Henry's treatment of her neice, and his unconquerable aversion to all the friends of the house of York, entered with alacrity into all the designs of Simnel, and with the concurrence of Lincoln and Lovel engaged to supply him with two thousand German troops of experienced valour, commanded by one Martin Swartz, an officer of great courage and conduct, who were to embark for Ireland, and form a junction with the forces of the newly created monarch.

About the beginning of May these auxiliaries arrived in Dublin, soon after which it was determined in the council to crown Simnel in the most public manner. A crown was accordingly taken from a statue of the Virgin Mary, carried to the cathedral church of Dublin, and there placed on the head of the impostor by the bishop of Meath.

The ceremony was no sooner finished than it was resolved, in the pretender's council, immediately to invade England, where they doubted not but all the zealous adherents of the family of York would readily join in every measure to dethrone Henry.

A. D. 1488. Having caused fortifications to be erected along the eastern coast, the king returned to London, where he had the mortification to hear that the earl of Lincoln and his continental supplies had landed in Ireland; in consequence of which he collected all the forces he could muster to the environs of Coventry, where he resolved to wait for more substantial information. Here he soon learned that Simnel and his party were landed in the county of Lancaster, and that some few malecontents had already repaired to his standard. In their progress towards York, however, instead of seeing their numbers increase as they had expected, they found themselves miserably deceived; for the inhabitants dreading the miscarriage of the enterprize, or not disposed to reverence a king set up by a confederacy of Irish and Germans, resolved to discountenance the scheme, and the earl of Lincoln fearing his troops might take the alarm at the backwardness of the English to support them, resolved to make the best use of the forces he had yet under his command, and engage the king's army, before their expected reinforcements should arrive.

In order to this he altered his manœuvres, and took his route towards Newark, which he formed a design of attacking before the royalists could receive any succours. The king in the mean time, with six thousand men, having reached Nottingham, was there joined by as many more, headed by the earl of Shrewsbury, and determined to risque a battle with the rebels at all events.

The two armies met in a small plain near the village of Stoke, where they attacked each other with amazing impetuosity; but fortune soon decided in favour of the royalists. The rebels after an obstinate resistance, sustained a total defeat, in which four thousand men, (among whom was Count Martin Swartz, and the earls of Lincoln and Kildare) were slain on the spot. Nor was the king's army exempted from loss on this day's action, one half of his foremost ranks having fallen victims to the fury of the rebels. The ideal prince and his instructor were both taken prisoners; but Henry, rightly conceiving that contempt was the propereſt punishment he could inflict on him, placed him in his kitchen where he discharged the office of a turnspit, and was ranked among the meanest of the king's menial domestics. Simon the priest was committed to prison, and no farther mention is afterwards made of him.

As soon as the rebellion was suppressed the king proceeded to Lincoln, and from thence to York, inflicting in his way severe punishments on all who had espoused the cause of Simnel, or who propagated a suggestion that the royal army had been defeated, as such a rumour had prevented some powerful barons from joining the king before the action. The lives of these delinquents, however, were spared, and their punishment confined either to confiscation of their fortunes and effects, or imprisonment for life.

In the course of his northern progress Henry discovered that the general discontent among his subjects arose from the severity shewn to the friends of the house of York, and the unaccountable delay of the queen's coronation. In order, therefore, to redress this grievance, having returned triumphantly to London about the beginning of November, he, on the following day, went to St. Paul's church, and joined in a publick thanksgiving for his late success against the rebels. The duke of Bedford was then appointed high-steward for the coronation of the queen, which was solemnized, with the usual formalities, on the twenty-fifth of November, upwards of two years after her marriage.

A. D. 1489. Henry being now called upon to assist the duke of Britany, he summoned a parliament, to whom he applied for a subsidy for that purpose. A tax was accordingly voted upon all personal estates and moveables. No difficulty was found in levying this tax in any part of the kingdom, except Yorkshire and the bishoprick of Durham, which counties being firmly attached to the interest of the House of York, detested the then government, and for that reason refused to submit to the payment of the new duty, which they considered as an intolerable imposition.

Finding the people so obstinate in their resistance, the commissioners were obliged to make application to the earl of Northumberland, who wrote to court for instructions how to act. The king absolutely refused to dispense with the assessment, alledging that such a partial exemption might afford just cause of complaint in the rest of the counties, which would certainly claim an equal right to dispute the payment of the tax.

The earl, having called a meeting of the justices and freeholders of the county, communicated to them the king's answer in so peremptory a manner, as not only confirmed them in their former resolutions

olutions, but provoked their reſentment againſt himelf, and a mob being raiſed, they ruſhed into his ouſe and murdered him and ſeveral of his domeſtics.

The people were inſtigated to this oppoſition by a ertain popular incendiary, named John Chamber, nd appointing for their leader Sir John Egremont, zealous adherent of the houſe of York, they declared their reſolution to march to London, and id defiance to the royaliſts. Henry, on hearing of this inſurrection, ſent a body of troops to oppoſe hem, commanded by the earl of Surry, who had been releaſed from the tower, and received again into favour.

This nobleman's firſt attack was ſo ſucceſsful, that the rebels were inſtantly defeated, and Chamber taken priſoner. Sir John Egremont, however, eſcaped and fled for refuge to the ducheſs-dowager of Burgundy. The king followed the earl of Surry with a very ſtrong reinforcement, and proceeded to York, where John Chamber and ſome of his accomplices were hanged, and the reſt of the malecontents received a pardon.

Having appointed the earl of Surry his lieutenant in the north, and Sir Richard Temſtal principal commiſſioner for levying the duties, his majeſty returned to London, where he received the melancholy tidings of the defeat of the duke of Britany at St. Aubin.

At this period likewiſe a rebellion was raiſed in Scotland againſt James III. at the inſtigation of his own ſon. James, having retired to Edinburgh caſtle, applied to the kings of England and France for aſſiſtance, and obtained a promiſe of ſupport. The rebels notwithſtanding prevailed, and his ſon James, then but fifteen years of age, was proclaimed king, and in July ambaſſadors arrived at the Engliſh court with the notification of his acceſſion to the throne of Scotland.

A. D. 1490. Henry now began to take into conſideration the neceſſary means for promoting the landed intereſt of the kingdom. And as the encouragement of agriculture was juſtly deemed the barrier of the Engliſh government, and its beſt defence againſt the encroachments of the nobility, this became the primary object of his attention, in purſuance of which his firſt ſtep was to aboliſh the feudal law, which placed upon an equal footing the gentleman and the ſlave. He had, by theſe means, an opportunity of obſerving that the progreſs of trade and agriculture advanced in proportion to the increaſe of freemen, and the conſequent decline of the power of the barons.

It is well known that war is ever the ruin of huſbandry; and the late commotions had proved ſo deſtructive to the peaſants, and had made ſuch dreadful havock in the realm, that the arable lands were for the moſt part converted to paſture; towns and villages were deſolated, the eccleſiaſtical revenues greatly diminiſhed, and the king deprived of many of his moſt valuable ſubjects.

To reſtore theſe paſtures to the beneficial purpoſes of the ſtate, by improving them and rendering them fit objects of cultivation, an act was paſſed, "that all houſes of huſbandry, that were occupied with twenty acres of ground and upwards, ſhould be manured and kept up for ever, together with a competent proportion of land to be uſed and occupied with it." This ſalutary law tended to aggrandize the fortunes of the cottagers or villains, and raiſe them from their abject ſituations, to the enviable ſtate of wealth and independence.

A. D. 1491. The marriage of the French king with the ducheſs of Britany, terminated the diſputes between the duke and that monarch, an event the moſt unwelcome and diſpleaſing to king Henry, who, though he long dreaded it, had neglected the proper means for its prevention. For at the time when, to ſatiate his avarice, he was employed in drawing a deed of ſecurity for the ſums he had advanced in Britany, he ſhould have turned his thoughts towards the reinforcement of the allied army.

A. D. 1492. Henry, having conceived a reſolution to re-aſſert the rights of his anceſtors to the kingdom of France, ſignified his intention to the parliament, which, at the commencement of the year, he had called together for that purpoſe. The brilliant ſucceſſes at Creſſy, Poictiers, and Agincourt, were alledged as inducements to put this great deſign in execution, together with the victories formerly obtained by the valour of a few brave Engliſhmen over the moſt formidable armies, in France. Arguments were drawn to urge the neceſſity of raiſing ſupplies adequate to the importance of the enterprize; and that theſe ſupplies might not prove a burden upon the induſtrious labourer and uſeful artificer, the king recommended to them, that they ſhould be drawn from the purſes of the opulent, who were beſt able to contribute towards them.

An object ſo important as the acquiſition of the kingdom of France, was not to be withſtood by the commons; ſo that they not only ſtimulated Henry to purſue his undertaking with vigour, but granted him the ſubſidy with the greateſt chearfulneſs, and, at his particular requeſt, authoriſed him to levy a contribution on the wealthieſt ſubjects throughout his dominions.

It appeared, however, that Henry's intentions were far from being directed towards applying theſe reſources to the purpoſe for which he had obtained them. As avarice was his ruling paſſion, to gratify that paſſiſion was the ſole aim of all his ſpecious pretences, and the parliament was no ſooner diſſolved, than he received an embaſſy from France with propoſals which he never thought fit to communicate; but as a peace was concluded in the courſe of the ſame year, it was judged that the preliminaries of that peace were the object of the embaſſy. By this treaty it was agreed that Charles ſhould diſcharge the debt contracted by his queen for the defence of Britany, and that Henry ſhould be paid the arrears of the ſubſidy granted by the late king of France to Edward the Fourth of England. No wonder then if an agreement from which the people were not to derive the leaſt advantage ſhould excite their reſentment, at being fleeced for the purpoſe of enriching himſelf, under the oſtenſible pretence of carrying on the war againſt the common enemy.

Nor was Henry himſelf unconſcious of having brought upon himſelf the popular clamour: he ſaw but too plainly the hearts of his ſubjects daily alienated from their allegiance. The general diſcontent which now prevailed was not a little fomented by a new pretender to the the crown, much more formidable than Simnel. This new claimant made his firſt appearance on the continent, under the name of Richard Plantagenet duke of York, ſecond ſon of Edward IV. ſuppoſed to have eſcaped from the tower after the death of his brother.

The father of this impoſtor was ſaid to have been a jew at Tournay, of the name of Oſbeck, or Warbeck, who after his converſion came over to England and reſided in London, where this ſon of his

his was born and baptized by the name of Peter, corrupted, after the Flemiſh manner, into Peterkin or Perkin. It was generally ſuppoſed that Edward had carried on an illicit correſpondence with the wife of Warbeck, which ſeems to account for the ſtriking reſemblance young Perkin bore to that monarch, and from this likeneſs he was judged a fit inſtrument to impoſe himſelf upon the people as the duke of York.

Perkin, after ſome years reſidence in England, had been removed by his parents to Flanders, where he retained his native language, and, by aſſociating with gentlemen of his own country, had acquired the moſt elegant accompliſhments of body and mind. Theſe attractions procured him the notice of the ducheſs-dowager of Burgundy, who, anxious to deſtroy the tranquillity of Henry, found this youth extremely well ſuited to her purpoſes. She accordingly furniſhed him with his inſtructions to repreſent the duke of York, and, in this aſſumed character, to aſſert his claim to the throne of England. That he might not be found deficient in any reſpect he was made acquainted with all the peculiarities relative to the duke he was to perſonate, together with the moſt minute deſcription of the perſons of his ſuppoſed parents and relations, and every tranſaction in the court of Edward, which a child of eleven years of age could be deemed capable of noticing and retaining.

To prevent, however, any ſuſpicion of her ſecret deſigns, ſhe contrived that Perkin ſhould accompany the Lady Brompton to Portugal, where he ſhould continue until Henry declared war againſt France. He was then ordered by the ducheſs to make his firſt appearance in Ireland, where he was moſt likely to gain credit and ſupport, from the invariable attachment of that nation to the family of York. Agreeable to theſe inſtructions the pretended Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, landed at Cork, as the ſecond ſon of king Edward IV. The credulity of the people gave him credit for his pretenſions, and great numbers flocked to him from all parts. Thus far encouraged he wrote to the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, ſoliciting their ſupport, in vindication of his rights, with the addition of all their dependents over whom they had any influence. The ſtrange ſtories he circulated concerning his eſcape from the cruel deſigns of his uncle Richard were ſwallowed with uncommon avidity; and the more incredible the particulars he related, the greater degree of confidence he ſeemed to obtain.

From Ireland his fame extended to France, whoſe monarch ſent ambaſſadors to invite him to his court, where he was received with all the honours due to the perſon he repreſented. At the concluſion of the late peace, Henry applied to Charles, but without effect, for the ſurrender of his perſon. But though the French king refuſed to infringe the laws of hoſpitality, he aſſured Henry, he ſhould have no aſſiſtance from him to ſupport his claim to the throne of England; ſo that finding himſelf bereft of every hope from that quarter, he was obliged to withdraw to Flanders, where he had the art to obtain admittance as a ſtranger into the preſence of the ducheſs-dowager, from whom he had received all his inſtructions.

That ſhe might, however, exempt herſelf from any ſuſpicion of privity to his deſigns, Margaret thought it neceſſary to pretend ignorance of his perſon, and ſeeming to doubt his veracity, cauſed him to undergo a public examination, in which he acquitted himſelf with ſo much dignity, that he left not the leaſt doubt in the whole aſſembly of his being the real Richard Plantagenet duke of York. Convinced, therefore, that ſhe ran no riſque in ſo doing, ſhe now acknowledged him as her nephew, and as ſhe thought proper to call him, the White Roſe of England, the diſtinction by which the houſe of York was known, as that of Lancaſter was by that of the red, during the civil broils between the two contending families.

The Engliſh, ready to avail themſelves of every opportunity of manifeſting their averſion to the king, partly from that motive, and partly from their natural credulity, were perfectly inclined to favour the impoſture. Lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaits, and Sir Robert Clifford, were among thoſe who joined in the confederacy to aſſert the pretenſions of Perkin; but the perſon whoſe influence bore the greateſt ſway in this aſſociation, was Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, whoſe brother (the celebrated lord Stanley) had been the principal inſtrument in placing Henry on the throne.

The abettors of this faction eſtabliſhed a correſpondence with the malcontents in Flanders, and emiſſaries were employed at the court of Burgundy, who, after converſing freely with the young pretender, wrote ſatisfactory letters to the confederates, to aſſure them of his veracity and identity.

While this conſpiracy was carrying on and daily acquiring new ſtrength from every quarter, Henry, who received but a confuſed intimation of it, diſpatched agents to find out the particulars of the impoſtor's birth and education, and to diſcover who were his ſecret abettors. The better to ſucceed in his enquiries, he deviſed a ſcheme by which he might diſcover the ſuſpected parties. He ordered all the agents he had employed in this inveſtigation to be excommunicated at St. Paul's, and their names entered in the bead-roll of the king's enemies, according to the eſtabliſhed practice of the times; beſides this, he endeavoured to come at the ſecret diſpoſitions of the nobility, by tampering with their ſervants for that purpoſe. And while he was ſo aſſiduous in procuring the deſired intelligence, he was no leſs ſo in producing the moſt incontrovertible evidences of the murder of the duke of York in the Tower. Among theſe were the confeſſions of Sir James Tyrrel and his ſervant Dighton, who made no ſcruple to avow themſelves the horrid perpetrators of this atrocious act of cruelty. This proof of the two young princes having been ſmothered in the tower, ſtanding barely upon the aſſertion of perſons of ſuch an infamous character, was but little credited, and ſeemed for want of better ſupport to confirm many in their belief that Perkin was the identical duke of York, and as ſuch entitled to every aſſiſtance they could give him.

The myſterious conduct of Henry on this occaſion ſerved but to ſtrengthen the general opinion as to the validity of Perkin's claim, for the intelligence he had received of the life of that adventurer was not publickly notified by proclamation, but only circulated in dark and incongruous reports by his courtiers and dependents.

While affairs remained in this perplexed and intricate ſituation, the king had diſperſed his ſpies throughout all Flanders, and by conſiderable bribes had gained over ſome whom he knew to be in the intereſt of his enemy. Sir Robert Clifford was the moſt conſpicuous among theſe, from whom he obtained the whole particulars of Perkin's birth and

and tranſactions, together with the names of thoſe who had ſecretly combined in his cauſe.

Henry now diſpatched ambaſſadors to the archduke, repreſenting Margaret as the contriver of this impoſture, and inſiſting on the ſurrender of Perkin, who had no right to protection according to the law of nations, but ought to be treated as a pirate, and a nuiſance to ſociety. The archduke in reply, teſtified his great regard to the Engliſh monarch, but alledged he had no power to controul the actions of the ducheſs-dowager, whoſe authority was abſolute in her own dominions.

Incenſed at the ingratitude of many of his courtiers, (a liſt of whom Sir Robert Clifford had delivered to the king, in which were inſerted the names of thoſe with whom the ducheſs and Perkin maintained a correſpondence) orders were iſſued for apprehending lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaits, William Daubigny, John and Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Creſſenor, and Thomas Aſhwood, who were arreſted, arraigned, convicted and condemned for holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the king's enemies. Mountford, Ratcliff, and Daubigny were immediately executed. The lord Fitz-Walter was conveyed to Calais, where, being unable to brook confinement, he made an attempt to eſcape, but being diſcovered was condemned to ſuffer death, and the reſt of the conſpirators were pardoned and ſet at liberty.

The principal delinquent ſtill remaining to be puniſhed was, Sir William Stanley, whoſe office of Chamberlain, and whoſe reſpectable connexions in the kingdom ſeemed to exempt him from cenſure. That he might not, however, elude the hand of juſtice, Clifford was ordered over to England, and to accuſe him in perſon, which he did to the ſurprize of all who heard him. Henry affected to receive this intelligence as falſe and malicious; but Clifford perſiſting in his charge, Stanley was committed to priſon, and ſhortly after brought before the privy-council. On his examination he readily acknowledged the juſtneſs of the charge exhibited againſt him by Clifford, either imagining that an open confeſſion might ſerve as an atonement, or relying on his former ſervices for ſafety and forgiveneſs. But in this he found himſelf miſtaken; for after a delay of ſix weeks, (during which the king affected to deliberate on his conduct) he was brought to trial, condemned, and ſhortly after beheaded.

A. D. 1494. Upon the extinction of this confederacy, Henry turned his attention to the affairs of Ireland, where he was informed Perkin had ſecured himſelf a very conſiderable party. He appointed his ſecond ſon Henry, then only in the third year of his age, Lieutenant of that kingdom, and Sir Edward Poynings his deputy in the adminiſtration of the civil and military departments of government.

Sir Edward, on his arrival in Ireland, made a very diligent and ſtrict enquiry into the conduct of all thoſe who had rendered themſelves liable to ſuſpicion, and particularly the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, who had carried on an epiſtolary correſpondence with the pretender. Theſe, however, both experienced the king's clemency, and received a free pardon, which was afterwards extended to all the rebels in that kingdom, the king wiſely judging that there was no way ſo likely to cruſh the ſeeds of rebellion as by acts of mercy, which for that reaſon he thought proper to adopt in preference to that rigour and ſeverity which had already created him ſo many enemies, and eſpecially in a country, the inhabitants of which were ſo generally attached to the intereſts of the houſe of York.

The influence of Henry's inſatiable avarice got the better of all the deſigns his clemency had ſuggeſted; and though he was deemed the richeſt ſovereign that ever ſat on the Engliſh throne, his abundance ſerved only to excite his rapacious deſires. Nothing could ſtop his avidity for accumulating riches. He enforced the execution of the penal laws, ſo that no ſubject, however exalted his ſtation, was ſafe. Payments only could protect the rich, and inability defend the poor.

The firſt object of his ſeverity was Sir William Capel, Alderman of London, who was falſely accuſed, and condemned in the ſum of 2700 pounds, 1600 of of which was accepted by way of compoſition; but the moſt flagrant inſtance of his extortion and ingratitude, was his proſecution of the lord chamberlain Stanley, by whoſe death the king found himſelf in poſſeſſion of an eſtate of three thouſand pounds a year, beſides forty thouſand marks in caſh and plate, together with jewels, furniture and effects, to an immenſe value, in his caſtle of Holt.

So many complicated inſtances of avarice and ingratitude could not fail to incur the popular reſentment, which was exhibited in the moſt acrimonious and ſatirical libels againſt the judges, the council, and the king himſelf, in revenge for which five perſons of inferior rank, who were detected in diſtributing them, were executed on a charge of high treaſon.

A. D. 1495. The next ſummer Henry took another journey into the North, under colour of paying a viſit to the earl of Derby, to vindicate to him his proceedings againſt the late lord chamberlain, who was brother to that nobleman.

Perkin Warbeck having been furniſhed with ſome ſhips and a number of forces to enable him to make a deſcent in England, reſolved not to neglect this favourable opportunity. In the month of July, therefore, he embarked and landing ſome of his party on the Kentiſh coaſt, began to ſound the diſpoſitions of the inhabitants.

Notwithſtanding an attempt made to perſuade the gentlemen of the country, that a powerful force was preparing in Flanders to ſupport the duke of York's pretenſions, they, inſtead of joining them as they were ſolicited, endeavoured, by fair promiſes, to decoy the impoſtor on ſhore, in order to ſecure his perſon and deliver him up to the king's reſentment. The cautious youth, however, refuſed to hazard his ſafety on theſe flattering aſſurances, and the diſappointed Engliſh avenged themſelves of his want of confidence, by putting to the ſword all whom he had landed, except about an hundred and fifty, who were conducted to London, and afterwards hanged on gibbets erected along the ſea-coaſt.

In conſequence of this diſaſter, Perkin returned to Flanders; but, in about three months after, effected a ſecond landing in Ireland, where he expected the like favourable reception he had before met with from the partizans of the houſe of York. But theſe hopes were now entirely defeated, the king having taken every meaſure for ſuppreſſing all tumults and inſurrections in that part of his dominions. Diſappointed, therefore, in his deſigns in Ireland, he determined to try his fortune in Scotland, where, indeed, his affairs ſeemed to wear a more

more benignant aſpect. On demanding an audience of James the Fourth of that nation, he was cordially received by that weak monarch, who not only gave implicit credit to the ſtory of his birth and adventures, but even honoured him with ſo great a degree of confidence, as to give him lady Catherine Gordon in marriage, a lady endowed with a great ſhare of beauty and underſtanding, who was daughter of the earl of Huntley, and nearly related to himſelf.

A. D. 1496. Nor did the favours of the Scottiſh king ſtop here; for, not ſatisfied with having afforded Perkin ſhelter at his court, he determined to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to put him in poſſeſſion of the crown of England. A manifeſto was according publiſhed, in which Henry was ſtigmatized as an uſurper, tyrant and murderer; and the moſt ſeducing promiſes held out to ſuch as ſhould join their lawful prince, and inveſt him with the crown of which he had been unjuſtly deprived. This proceeding, however, was attended with no ſucceſs notwithſtanding the ſpirited manner in which it was ſet on foot. The Engliſh were too well acquainted with the rigour of their reigning monarch, and thought it highly impolitic to entruſt their ſafety and poſſeſſions to a ſtranger, even though he ſhould prove to be the legitimate offspring of Edward IV. So that finding the Engliſh refuſed the leaſt aſſiſtance, James deſpaired of accompliſhing the buſineſs he had begun, and contented himſelf with ravaging the country, to indemnify himſelf for the charges of the expedition.

The conſequences, however, of this attempt, unſucceſsful as it proved, were not deemed worthy to be ſlighted by Henry, who could not but be conſcious of the progreſs Perkin had hitherto made in the affection of his ſubjects, the influence of the Yorkiſts over the Iriſh, together with the convenient ſituation of the invader, to embrace the firſt opportunity of making another trial. With this unfavourable proſpect before him, the king thought it beſt, at all events, to provide againſt contingencies, and therefore iſſued a general pardon to all the Iriſh who had taken up arms in behalf of the pretender, which he ſuppoſed would prevent their engaging a ſecond time in any future rebellion. And in order to ſecure an alliance with James, he empowered Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham, to offer that prince his eldeſt daughter in marriage.

A. D. 1497. The late interference of James in favour of Perkin furniſhed Henry with a pretence to apply for a new ſubſidy. In January therefore he called a parliament in which he urged the neceſſity of carrying on a war with Scotland, for which a ſum of money muſt be immediately raiſed, not that this plea had any foundation in reality, but that his boundleſs rapacity would in reſources find at leaſt a temporary gratification. Not doubting the ſucceſs of his negotiation with Scotland, he determined to be ſpeedy in levying the tax which had been granted, fearful leſt the concluſion of a peace might put it out of his power.

But the collection of this ſubſidy was attended with more difficulty than he had foreſeen; for the inhabitants of Cornwall abſolutely refuſed to contribute ſupplies for the ſafety of the weſtern counties, and reſolved never to ſubmit to ſo intolerable a grievance. Theſe diſcontents were greatly aggravated by Michael Joſeph, a farrier of Bodmin, who was ever a popular orator in the cauſe of faction. With him was joined Thomas Flammock, a clamorous lawyer; and theſe two undertook to harangue the people, who they ſaid ought not to be burdened with the expences of a Scottiſh war, as the fiefs of the crown were the proper funds appropriated to ſuch purpoſes. The populace thus convinced of the illegality of this meaſure, put themſelves under the guidance of Joſeph and Flammock, who readily quitted their reſpective profeſſions and undertook to conduct the enterprize, till ſome perſon of rank ſhould aſſume the command.

Weapons of various kinds were immediately procured, armed with which, and headed by theſe leaders, the inſurgents, marched through the counties of Devon and Somerſet, and picked up a number of ſtragglers in their way. Their firſt exploit was at Taunton, where they murdered a collector, who had been rather rigid in the diſcharge of his duty.

On their arrival at Wells they were joined by Lord Audley, a popular nobleman, of a reſtleſs ambitious and factious diſpoſition, to whom the command was now transferred, and who led them with all expedition towards London, threatning vengeance againſt the king's commiſſioners, but committing, however, no devaſtation, by the way. Nevertheleſs, inſtead of continuing their route to the capital, which had been their original intention, they pitched their camp on Blackheath, between Eltham and Greenwich. Their object in ſo doing was the hopes of being joined by the Kentiſh inhabitants, many of whom had been remarked for their zeal and attachment to the cauſe of freedom. But in this part of their project they failed, the nobility and freeholders having taken ſuch prudent precautions, that not a ſingle man could be obtained, which ſo intimidated many of the rebels, that they returned to their own habitations.

Although Henry had ſuffered the inſurgents to proceed thus far without interruption, he was yet reſolved to keep a conſiderable reſerve of troops in the ſouthern parts of the kingdom, having previouſly provided againſt the danger of a Scottiſh invaſion by detaching the earl of Surry with an army to defend the northern frontiers.

Hearing that the rebels had committed no acts of violence on their way, he put himſelf in no great haſte to oppoſe them, but employed himſelf in ſounding the diſpoſitions of the counties through which they paſſed, and flattered himſelf that the length and fatigue of their march would tire them out, and induce them to diſperſe.

The Londoners were, notwithſtanding, filled with dreadful apprehenſions, till they ſaw the king concert meaſures for their ſecurity, and even take up his ſtation between them and the enemy. Henry was no ſooner informed that the rebels had encamped on Black-heath, than he ranged his army in three diviſions, one of which commanded by the earl of Oxford was prepared to cut off their retreat, and attack them in the rear as occaſion ſhould require. Lord d'Aubigny having the command of the ſecond body, was to engage them in front, and Henry himſelf was encamped with the third diviſion in St. George's Fields, in order that he might be in readineſs to ſupply the other two with occaſional reinforcements, or, in caſe of accidents, to make a ſafe retreat to the metropolis.

Having given ſuch manifeſt inſtances of his caution and prudence, he ſignified his intentions of engaging the rebels on Monday, though his real deſign

sign was to attack them on Saturday, which manœuvre was attended with the desired success. In the afternoon of the 22d of June the Lord d'Aubigny, having arranged his troops in proper order, marched towards the enemy. On his arrival at Deptford, he repulsed an advanced guard of the rebels placed to secure the bridge, after which, ascending the hill, he found the main body on the heath seemingly in great disorder, not having suspected that any attack would be made till the ensuing Monday.

On the appearance of d'Aubigny they drew up their forces with all expedition, and defended themselves with such resolution, that upwards of three hundred of the king's troops were slain. D'Aubigny, in advancing to the charge, was taken prisoner, but the valour of his soldiers soon released him from captivity, and slew great numbers of the rebels, who, in their endeavours to escape by flight, were intercepted by that division commanded by the earl of Oxford.

In this action two thousand of the rebels were slain. Lord Audley, Flammock and Joseph were taken, and the remainder surrendered at discretion. Audley was beheaded on Tower-hill, Flammock and Joseph were hanged at Tyburn; and the rest, amounting to near sixteen thousand, were pardoned.

Such being the state of affairs in the south, we now proceed to give an account of what was doing in the northern parts of the kingdom. James, king of Scotland, having made a second irruption into England, had besieged the castle of Norham, but was soon obliged to retreat by the earl of Surry, who marched to relieve the place, and pursued him to his own country, where he reduced the castle of Ayton, between Berwick and Edinburgh. But conferences were soon afterwards held at Ayton, on the mediation of Don Pedro d'Ayala the Spanish ambassador, and with the joint consent of both sovereigns.

The negotiation was at first attended with some difficulty, on account of the fate of Perkin Warbeck, whom James refused to surrender. It was resolved, however, at length that the Pretender should be honorably dismissed, and that matters should continue in the same train as if he had never been received in Scotland. Whereupon James told Warbeck, that as he had exerted all his power in his behalf, and had met with no encouragement from the English, he could not expect that he should be able to establish him on the throne of that kingdom in direct opposition to their inclinations. He advised him, therefore, to prosecute some more likely methods for the attainment of his design, and withdraw to some other country; assuring him, that he would nevertheless equip him with a supply of money and shipping to convey him to a more eligible situation. Perkin's resolution supported him under the pressure of his misfortunes, and having obtained conveyance for himself and wife, he departed for Ireland, and landed at Corke, where he found still a considerable number of friends and adherents.

After his departure, the commissioners at Ayton concluded a truce for seven years, the substance of which was that hostilities should entirely cease between the two kings; that some particulars still undetermined, should be left to the decision of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and that the truce should continue for the space of twelve months, after the death of that party which should first happen. Though the treaty was wholly silent as to the marriage of James and the daughter of Henry, that event afterwards took place, and established the union between the two crowns.

A. D. 1498. Notwithstanding peace was now settled with all the powers of Europe, Henry was in a far different situation with respect to his own subjects. His clemency to the Cornish insurgents instead of conciliating their affections, tended only to create new disorders. On their arrival at their own habitations, they insinuated that the king's lenity proceeded from fear, and not from principle; and this opinion gained ground with the majority of the people. These sentiments encouraged them to make another effort against the government, in which they were joined by many of their friends and acquaintance: and still farther to strengthen their party and countenance their proceedings, Perkin was invited over from Ireland, to command their expedition.

Being assured that he should find many friends to support him, Perkin accepted the invitation, and embarking with about 70 men in four small vessels landed at Whitesand bay in the month of September.

Perkin no sooner made his appearance at Bodmin, than the populace to the number of three thousand flocked to his standard. Here he first assumed the title of Richard the fourth, king of England, and caused himself to be publickly proclaimed as such, exhorting the multitude to arm themselves in defence of his and their common rights, and to wrest the sceptre out of the hands of an usurper.

Resolving not to suffer the spirits of his party to languish, he led them on gallantly to the gates of Exeter, intending to establish a magazine in that town, and retain it as an asylum in case of misfortune. Finding the inhabitants obstinate in refusing him admittance, he resolved to take the city by storm. But being unprovided with artillery for that purpose, he had recourse to scaling the walls. All his attempts, however, proved fruitless: the inhabitants made a vigorous resistance, and the assailants were repulsed with the loss of two hundred men.

In the mean time Henry, having gained intelligence of the proceedings of Perkin, testified great satisfaction on the occasion, declaring himself overjoyed at the thoughts of having an interview with a person he had long desired to see. The nobility and gentry of Devonshire now raised troops at their own expence, equally zealous to repel the insurgents, and remove all suspicions of their fidelity to the king. The lords D'Aubigny and Brooke, the earl of Devonshire and the duke of Buckingham appeared at the head of their respective forces, anxious for an opportunity of displaying their courage and loyalty, and the king ordered D'Aubigny to march towards Exeter, to which place he promised soon to follow him with a numerous army.

Perkin, informed of these preparations, raised the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton, where he declared he would hazard a battle. His followers amounting to seven thousand men, appeared ready to support him; but his courage failing him, he stole away secretly from them in the night, and took sanctuary in the monastery of Beaulieu in the new forest. Lord d'Aubigny, hearing of his retreat, detached three hundred horse to beset the sanctuary, till farther orders.

The wretched adherents of Perkin, finding themselves deserted, laid down their arms, and submitted to the king's mercy, which was extended to all except a few of the principals, who alone were treated with capital severity. A detachment of cavalry was then ordered to St. Michael's

mount, to ſecure the lady Catherine Gordon, Perkin's wife, as the king foreſaw that in caſe of her pregnancy the rebellion might be continued to another generation. On her arrival in his majeſty's preſence he was ſo captivated with her beauty and graceful deportment, that he reſolved to ſhew her all the lenity due to her ſex and quality, promiſing her protection, appointing her a reputable ſtation near the perſon of the queen, and allowing her a conſiderable penſion, which ſhe enjoyed till her death.

Henry after this proceeded to Exeter, to the mayor of which he preſented his ſword in gratitude for his ſignal defence of the city, and the zeal he had teſtified to the royal cauſe. A council of war was now called to determine in what manner to diſpoſe of Perkin, who ſtill remained in the ſanctuary. By ſome it was ſuggeſted that he ſhould be dragged from his retreat, and made a public example; but the king was of opinion that mild methods would anſwer a much better purpoſe. Some perſons were, therefore, deputed to treat with Perkin, and to prevail with him, on aſſurance of pardon, to ſurrender himſelf to juſtice, and make a full confeſſion of every circumſtance of his impoſture. The deſperate ſtate of his affairs induced him to accept the king's offers, and to quit the ſanctuary, without heſitation. Henry, deſirous of ſeeing him, had him brought to court, where he looked at him from a window; but he was never admitted into his preſence. He was then led through the ſtreets in a kind of mock triumph from Weſtminſter to the Tower, where one of his chief abettors was executed; and himſelf ſigned a confeſſion, which was nevertheleſs ſo defective and contradictory, that, inſtead of explaining the impoſture, it ſerved but to involve it in ſtill greater myſtery and perplexity.

A. D. 1499. However, though Perkin's life was ſpared, he was ſtill kept in confinement, which not being long able to brook, he eſcaped from his guard, and flying to the ſanctuary of Shene, put himſelf into the hands of the prior of that monaſtery. He was a ſecond time requeſted to rely on the king's clemency; but this he refuſed, and, in order to degrade him to the moſt abject ſituation, he was ſet in the ſtocks at Weſtminſter and in Cheapſide, and compelled to read aloud the confeſſions he had formerly made. He was afterwards conducted to the Tower, where ſuch was his turbulent and active diſpoſition, that he engaged in a plot which coſt him his life. Having found means to obtain an intimacy with ſome ſervants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, and by their means effected a correſpondence with the unfortunate earl of Warwick, they agreed together to take the firſt opportunity of eſcaping. They, however, perceived that this could not be done without murdering the lieutenant, in order to which Perkin tampered with the ſervants, who, it is ſaid, agreed to perpetrate the horrid deed, and thus ſecure the gates of the Tower, by which the priſoners might make their eſcape to ſome ſecure part of the kingdom.

It has been conjectured that Perkin was permitted to enter into this correſpondence with the earl of Warwick by the connivance of the king, who hoped that his enterprizing ſpirit and inſinuating addreſs would engage the ſimple Warwick in ſome project, that would afford a pretence for taking away the life of that nobleman.

The deſigns of the ſagacious Henry were greatly facilitated by another commotion which was now raiſed in Kent, where a young man called Ralph Wilford, a ſhoemaker's ſon, perſonated the earl of Warwick, under the tuition of one Patrick an Auguſtine Monk, who, in his ſummons, exhorted the people to take up arms in his favour. The friar and pupil were both arreſted; and Wilford was hanged without ceremony, but the tutor, who had been employed as a tool by the king's emiſſaries, obtained his pardon. This was but the prologue to the tragedy of Perkin and the earl of Warwick, the former of whom being tried at Weſtminſter, and convicted on the evidence of the ſervants of the Tower, was hanged at Tyburn, together with John Walter, mayor of Corke, a firm adherent in his cauſe through all the viciſſitudes of his fortune. Blewet and Aſhwood, two of the ſervants, ſhared the ſame fate, but ſix of their accomplices, who had been likewiſe condemned, were afterwards pardoned. Within a few days after Perkin's execution, the wretched earl of Warwick was tried by his peers, and, being convicted of high treaſon, was beheaded on Tower-Hill on the 28th of November; and with him periſhed the laſt male heir of the Houſe of York.

A. D. 1500. Henry, having no longer any oppoſition to dread, reſolved to increaſe his opulence at the expence of his enemies. Pretending therefore that the rebels were amenable to the rigour of the law, he inſiſted that every one ſhould purchaſe his pardon ſeparately, from which device he obtained very conſiderable reſources. And in order to levy the money ariſing from theſe indulgencies, commiſſioners were appointed to diſcover who were the perſons that had been directly or indirectly engaged in the rebellion of Perkin or the Blackſmith. Theſe inquiſitors were authorized to demand a fine from every one who claimed the benefit of this pardon, and even to ſeize the effects of the deceaſed, ſhould their heirs refuſe to make a compoſition.

Theſe arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures were generally imputed to the pernicious counſels of cardinal Moreton, archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe death at this time diffuſed univerſal joy throughout the kingdom. This prelate was ſucceeded by Henry Dean, biſhop of Saliſbury, and it ſoon plainly appeared, that Moreton had been unjuſtly cenſured for an extortion which was the ſole effect of the king's own avarice.

A. D. 1501. An accident happened at the beginning of the year enſuing, which gave Henry great uneaſineſs, and was productive of ſome ſtate-commotions. The earl of Suffolk, (nephew to Edward IV. and brother to the earl of Lincoln, who loſt his life at the battle of Stoke) had in his paſſion killed a man, and though he was allied to the houſe of York, the king refuſed (and indeed very juſtly) to indulge him with a pardon, unleſs he ſhould appear and plead it publickly. This was conſidered by the earl as an indignity ill-ſuited to his pride, in reſentment of which he retired in diſguſt to his aunt the dutcheſs of Burgundy.

Henry was alarmed at the ſtep taken by Suffolk: he was fearful leſt he ſhould concert ſome deſign to his prejudice; and therefore diſpatched emiſſaries to the continent, with large offers and promiſes, to that nobleman, which being accepted, a reconciliation took place, and Suffolk returned to England.

The death of Perkin and the earl of Warwick having ſecured the crown to Henry againſt all pretenders, a marriage took place between Arthur prince

prince of Wales, and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand of Arragon, which was ſolemnized with great ſplendor on the fourteenth of November; the prince being in his ſixteenth, and the princeſs in her nineteenth year. Her dowry was ſaid to amount to two hundred thouſand ducats in ſpecie, beſides jewels and plate; and the jointure ſettled upon her, in caſe the prince ſhould die before his acceſſion to the throne, was a third part of the principality of Wales, the dukedom of Cornwall, and the earldom of Cheſter.

A. D. 1502. This marriage was ſoon after ſucceeded by another, between the king of Scotland and the princeſs Margaret, daughter of Henry; the treaty for which being ratified by the Scottiſh ambaſſadors in London, on the twenty-fourth of January, the nuptials were ſolemnized by proxy, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who hoped that in conſequence of this event, all differences would ſubſide between the two nations. Their joy, however, was but of ſhort duration, being greatly damped by the death of Arthur, who about five months after his marriage, departed this life at Ludlow, univerſally lamented by the Engliſh, who had formed great expectations from his extraordinary talents, had he lived to enjoy the crown. His title and dignities devolved upon his brother Henry, afterwards king of England.

A. D. 1503. The death of the queen in childbed, which happened the beginning of this year, inſtead of being conſidered by the king as a misfortune, gave him no little pleaſure, as his hatred to the family of York could never be eradicated.

As Henry advanced in years his avarice increaſed, and the methods he took to fill his coffers at the expence of his ſubjects were highly unjuſtifiable. For this purpoſe he had pitched upon two infamous miniſters, called Empſon and Dudley, as perfectly qualified to promote his avaricious deſigns. They both followed the practice of the law, the firſt of low extraction, brutiſh behaviour, and an unrelenting diſpoſition; the other better born indeed, and better bred, but equally inflexible and cruel. Their method was to prefer indictments againſt the objects of their oppreſſion, and commit them to priſon on falſe accuſations, which having done their liberty could only be obtained by heavy fines, which were extorted as mitigations and compoſitions as they were then called; and to ſuch a height of injuſtice were they at laſt arrived, that even the common forms of law were diſpenſed with, and cauſes were decided without the verdict of a jury. In this ſummary way did they determine upon the properties of the ſubjects, and confiſcate their eſtates to the royal treaſury.

Theſe oppreſſions were not only countenanced by the king, but he even condeſcended to practice them himſelf; nor could the remonſtrances of the ſuffering parties in the leaſt avail them againſt this unwarrantable exerciſe of arbitrary power. Nor was it his enemies only whom he plundered; but even his friends, and thoſe to whom he lay under the greateſt obligations were made to feel the effects of his boundleſs rapacity. One day when he was on a viſit to the earl of Oxford to whom he was in a great meaſure indebted for his crown, after having been entertained in a moſt ſumptuous and hoſpitable manner, as he was preparing to depart he ſaw ranged on both ſides a number of men dreſſed in rich liveries. The king ſurprized at ſeeing ſo many domeſtics, aſked his lordſhip whether he conſtantly retained in his ſervice ſo conſiderable a number of menial ſervants. The earl very modeſtly replied, they were only retained on this occaſion to do his majeſty the greater honour. The king ſtarted back, ſaying "By my faith, my lord, "I thank you for your good cheer; but I muſt "not ſuffer the laws to be broken before my "face; my attorney-general muſt talk with you." Nor did he ſcruple to verify his declaration, for the earl is ſaid to have paid no leſs than ſixteen thouſand marks for this pretended offence.

The reſult of theſe iniquitous proceedings was a general tumult among the people, whoſe violence was farther excited and encouraged by the earl of Suffolk, who having diſſipated and impoveriſhed his fortunes, was in hopes of repairing them by the contrivancce of new ſchemes againſt Henry's perſon and government. Becoming by degrees more and more popular, he found means to acquire a number of adherents, and went over to Flanders, with a view of obtaining ſuccours from Margaret of Burgundy.

Alarmed at his retreat, Henry employed Sir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hammes, to practiſe the ſelf ſame expedient, which had formerly fruſtrated all the meaſures of Perkin Warbeck. That officer acquitted himſelf ſo dexterouſly in the taſk aſſigned him, that in a ſhort time he inſinuated himſelf into the favours of Suffolk, and ſoon became acquainted with the names and perſons of all the parties concerned. In conſequence of this information, which Sir Robert immediately communicated to the king, writs were iſſued againſt William Courtney, earl of Devonſhire, Henry's brother-in-law, and huſband to the princeſs Catherine, daughter of Edward IV. William de la Pole, brother to the earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel and Sir John Wyndham, George, lord Abergavenny and Sir Thomas Green, were upon a ſlight ſuſpicion taken into cuſtody, but were ſoon diſcharged for want of evidence.

The earl of Devon and de la Pole were detained in confinement during the king's life, though no material charge was ever brought againſt them. Tyrrel, ſo notorious for his ſhare in the death of Edward V. with Wyndham, and ſome others of leſs conſequence, were executed as traitors. Suffolk found refuge for ſome time in Flanders, where he was protected by Philip the archduke of Auſtria, and entertained in a manner ſuitable to his character.

Finding himſelf ſecure from any farther apprehenſions in conſequence of the revolt of Suffolk, Henry directed his attention towards a buſineſs of very material importance. The late prince of Wales having died without iſſue, Henry perceived he muſt either ſend back his widow into Spain, and conſequently refund one half of her dowry, or if ſhe continued in England, put her in poſſeſſion of the jointure ſettled on her by treaty. In order to overcome this difficulty, and obviate theſe diſagreeable alternatives, to both of which he had equal objections, he propoſed to Ferdinand that the princeſs Catherine ſhould be married to Henry prince of Wales, brother to her late huſband. The Spaniſh monarch readily concurred with this propoſal, provided means could be found to procure the pope's diſpenſation, a ſtep highly neceſſary to eſtabliſh the validity of ſuch a prepoſterous and illegal union.

A. D. 1504. A parliament being now aſſembled, Henry obtained a ſubſidy for the portion of his eldeſt daughter, which amounted to a far greater ſum than that which he had paid to the king of Scotland. The government became at this period

in the higheſt degree deſpotic, of which nothing can be a ſtronger proof, than the choice they made of the venal and wicked Dudley as Speaker of the Houſe of Commons: and indeed the meanneſs of this parliament was perfectly correſpondent to the mercenary views of the ſovereign, which they teſtified their zeal to promote, by gratifying the king's avarice to the diſgrace of their own honour, and the moſt intolerable oppreſſion of their conſtituents, whom they were in duty bound to defend.

Henry now thought it neceſſary to amuſe the people with the oſtentatious parade of a ridiculous and unneceſſary pageantry. With this view he gave orders for removing the corpſe of Henry VI. from Windſor to Weſtminſter, where it was interred with great pomp and ſolemnity. The king even applied to the pope for the canonization of that monarch, but ſo little credit had been given to the miracles pretended to have been wrought by him after his deceaſe, that his holineſs would not admit him to a place among the ſaints, without ſuch a conſideration as Henry's avarice would not permit him to afford, ſo that he was obliged to relinquiſh that part of his deſign.

A. D. 1505. As the height of Henry's ambition was to amaſs wealth, and as all his thoughts were directed to this one point, he ſuppoſed that if he could effect a marriage with the widow of Ferdinand, king of Naples, he ſhould by that means get poſſeſſion of the vaſt dowry allotted to her in that kingdom. He therefore employed Francis Pearſon and other agents to make a minute enquiry into all the particulars of that lady's perſon and fortune; but the reſult of this enquiry was that the queen's large jointure in land had been converted into an annuity for life, ſo that theſe emiſſaries ſet out for Spain without making known the intention of their journey to Naples.

A. D. 1506. Philip and Joan having been proclaimed king and queen of Caſtile at Bruſſels, were nevertheleſs prevented from taking poſſeſſion of that kingdom, by the war in Guelderland, and the pregnancy of the queen, who was in a ſhort time delivered of the princeſs Mary, afterwards queen of Hungary. However, at the concluſion of the war, the queen being in a condition for travelling, on the tenth of January they both embarked with a powerful armament.

A violent ſtorm having overtaken them in the channel, the fleet was ſeparated, and the ſhip in which the royal paſſengers had embarked was driven into the harbour of Weymouth. Alarmed at the ſight of ſo large a ſquadron the peaſants took to their arms; but Sir Thomas Frenchford, a Devonſhire knight, hearing that the royal Caſtilians were landed, paid his reſpects to them in perſon, begging to have the honour of accommodating them till the king ſhould be informed of their arrival. With this requeſt Philip willingly complied, as the weather would not admit of their immediate embarkation.

When the news of their landing was communicated to Henry, he ſent the earl of Arundel with compliments of congratulation, and aſſurances of the pleaſure he ſhould feel in entertaining them, which he ſhould gladly embrace with all poſſible expedition, and in the mean time deſired they would conſider him and his dominions as wholly devoted to their ſervice.

The court being at this time kept at Windſor, Philip and his queen inſtantly repaired thither, and met with a very gracious and honourable reception. Henry reſolved to profit by this royal interview, and therefore propoſed to Philip that the treaty of commerce between England and the Low Countries ſhould be renewed, with ſome alterations favourable to England, and to which propoſition Philip readily acceeded.

Encouraged by his ſucceſs in this application, Henry then acquainted Philip with his intention of eſpouſing his ſiſter Margaret, widow to the duke of Savoy. The king of Caſtile tempted by the proſpect of an alliance ſo conſiderable, readily acquieſced with this propoſal, in conſequence of which the contract was ſigned, and Philip agreed to pay three hundred thouſand crowns, as a dowry to his ſiſter, together with an annuity to a very large amount.

Another point ſtill however remained to be obtained. It may be remembered that the earl of Suffolk had found an aſylum in the territories of Philip, and Henry ſtill feeling ſome apprehenſions of freſh commotions, determined to detain his royal gueſt, till he ſhould conſent to deliver up that nobleman into his power. In a private converſation with Philip therefore he addreſſed him in words to this effect: "Sir, you have been ſaved "on my coaſt, I hope you will not ſuffer me to be "wrecked on yours."

Surprized at this unexpected addreſs, the emotion with which it was delivered, and the ambiguous terms in which it was couched, Philip requeſted an explanation: Henry anſwered, "I mean "that wild extravagant fellow, my ſubject, the "earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your coun-"try, and begins to play the fool when others are "tired of the game." To this Philip replied, "I thought your preſent circumſtances had raiſed "you above all ſuch apprehenſions; but ſince his "reſidence in Flanders gives you diſquiet, I will "baniſh him from my dominions." Henry intimating ſtill a deſire of having him in his power, Philip told him with ſome heſitation, that his honour was engaged not to deliver him up, beſides that ſuch a requeſt would derogate from the character of the Engliſh monarch, as the world would thence conclude that he had treated his gueſt as a priſoner; "I will venture to incur the diſgrace," ſaid Henry," and ſo your honour will remain in-"violate." Philip finding him ſo importunate, anſwered, "Sir, you give law to me, and I will "dictate to you in my turn: Suffolk ſhall be de-"livered up to you, but on condition of your "paſſing your honour that his life ſhall be ſafe." This promiſe being obtained, Philip wrote to the earl, aſſuring him he had procured his pardon, which being confirmed by an expreſs meſſage from Henry, that nobleman returned to England, but was committed priſoner to the Tower.

On Suffolk's arrival, the king of Caſtile was ſuffered to purſue his voyage, after a reſidence of three months in England, during which he was inſtalled a knight of the garter, and in return confirmed the honour of the golden fleece on the prince of Wales.

A. D. 1507. Empſon and Dudley, the two infamous inſtruments of Henry's oppreſſion, among other acts of extortion and injuſtice, entered a ſevere proſecution againſt Sir William Capel, whom under colour of miſconduct in his mayoralty, they amerced in the ſum of two thouſand pounds; but being irritated by former exactions, he refuſed payment, and was committed to the Tower, where he continued in confinement during the remainder of Henry's reign.

But the wealth and opulence which Henry had now

now acquired by the moſt ſordid avarice, joined to the meaneſt frugality, could not ſhield him from the misfortunes incident to human nature. The gout which had ſeized him, fell upon his lungs, and in a ſhort time produced an aſthma; notwithſtanding which he continued his attention to buſineſs of the ſtate, till at length the decay of his health obliged him to direct his attention to affairs of a more ſerious nature.

A. D. 1508. The king's diſorder continuing to increaſe, notwithſtanding all the art of medicine, and there being great reaſon to imagine his diſſolution was near at hand, Henry was deſirous of performing ſome actions that might recommend him to the divine mercy, and, at the ſame time, in ſome meaſure, procure him the applauſe of the people. To effect this, he diſtributed alms, founded religious houſes, and granted a general pardon to all his ſubjects. He affected great concern at the extortions of Empſon and Dudley, diſcharged all debtors from confinement, under the ſum of forty ſhillings; and among other religious foundations, endowed the hoſpital of the Savoy, and erected that beautiful chapel in Weſtminſter Abbey, which ſtill bears his name.

A. D. 1509. Having made his will and bequeathed his crown to his ſon Henry, he died at Richmond on the twenty-ſecond day of April, in the twenty-fourth year of her reign, and fifty-third of his age.

Henry VII. was tall, ſtrait, and well ſhaped, though ſlender; a grave aſpect, and ſaturnine complexion: auſtere in addreſs, and reſerved in converſation, except when he had a favourite point to carry; and then he could fawn, flatter, and practiſe all the arts of inſinuation. He inherited a natural fund of ſagacity, which was improved by ſtudy and experience; nor was he deficient in perſonal bravery, or political courage. He was cool, cloſe, cunning, diſtruſtful and deſigning; and of all the princes that had ſat upon the Engliſh throne, the moſt ſordid, ſelfiſh, and ignoble. He poſſeſſed in a peculiar manner, the art of turning all his domeſtic troubles, and all his foreign diſputes, to his own advantage: hence he acquired the appellation of the Engliſh Solomon, and all the powers of the continent courted his alliance on account of his wealth, and uninterrupted proſperity. He entirely excluded the nobility from the adminiſtration of public affairs, and employed clergymen and lawyers, who, depending entirely upon his favour, were more obſequious to his will, and ready to concur in all his arbitrary meaſures. His mind was continually actuated by two ruling paſſions equally baſe and unkingly; namely, the fear of loſing his crown, and the deſire of amaſſing riches; and theſe motives influenced his whole conduct. Nevertheleſs, his apprehenſion and avarice redounded, on the whole, to the advantage of the nation. The firſt induced him to depreſs the nobility, and aboliſh the feudal tenures, which rendered them equally formidable to the prince and the people; and his avarice prompted him to encourage induſtry and trade, becauſe it improved his cuſtoms, and enriched his ſubjects, whom he could afterwards pillage at diſcretion. Such is the character of Henry VII. who (as the lord Bacon juſtly obſerves) may be ſaid to have "lived with employment, and died with repentance."

Remarkable Occurences during the reign of Henry VII.

A. D.

1483 Yeomen of the guard to attend on the king firſt inſtituted.
In September this year a diſeaſe (called the ſweating ſickneſs) prevailed throughout the kingdom, and, though it did not continue five weeks, carried off many thouſands of the inhabitants. A remedy was at length diſcovered to effect a cure, which was by keeping the patient moderately warm, and giving him cordials not too ſtrong.
1486 Bernard Andrews, appointed Poet Laureat to the king, and allowed ten marks as his ſalary, amounting to about ſix pounds.
1487 The court of Star-Chamber inſtituted.
1488 Maps and ſea charts firſt brought into England by Columbus.
1491 Greek firſt introduced into England.
1492 America diſcovered this year by Chriſtopher Columbus.
1493 Joan Boughton, a widow, burnt for hereſy.
1494 Alice Hackney, who had been buried 175 years, was dug up in the church of St. Mary Hill: the ſkin was whole, and the joints of the arms pliable.
1497 The Eaſt-Indies diſcovered this year by a Portugueſe.
1498 The Weſt-Indies diſcovered by Columbus.
1500 This year there happened a great plague in England, which, in a ſhort time, carried off no leſs than 30,000 people.
1501 The firſt annual city feaſt held at Guildhall, when Sir John Shaw was lord-mayor.
The company of Taylors ſtiled Merchant Taylors.
1504 Henry VIIth's chapel built at the eaſt end of Weſtminſter-abbey.
1505 Shillings firſt coined in England.
1507 This year the ſweating ſickneſs again broke out in England, and carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.

In this reign the intereſt of money, the profits of exchange and the exportation of plate and bullion were prohibited. Prices were fixed on woollen cloth and hats, and the wages of labourers were ſettled. Several neceſſary laws were enacted for the execution of juſtice and the puniſhment of murderers, and for ſubjecting the clergy to capital puniſhments for enormous offences.

The moſt conſpicuous perſons of genius and learning who flouriſhed during the reign of Henry VII. were, Sir John Forteſcue and Sir Thomas Lyttleton. The former was Lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench in the reign of Henry VI. to whom he was appointed chancellor, after Edward IV. had ſupplanted him in the throne. For his attachment to the houſe of Lancaſter, he was impriſoned ſoon after the battle of Tewkeſbury, and attainted with others of that party, but was afterwards pardoned by Edward IV. His principal productions were his celebrated book "De laudibus legum Angliæ," written for the uſe of prince Edward, and a treatiſe on the "Difference between an abſolute and a limited monarchy," the latter of which did not make its appearance in print, till the year 1714.

Sir Thomas Lyttleton, knight of the Bath, and a judge in the court of common pleas, wrote the book of "Tenures or Tithes," by which all poſſeſſions were formerly held in England, and was firſt publiſhed at Rouen about the year 1533.

BOOK XI.

From the Acceſſion of Henry VIII. to the Death of Queen Elizabeth.

CHAP. I.

HENRY VIII.

Acceſſion of Henry VIII. His marriage with the princeſs Catherine. League of Cambray. Cardinal Wolſey made prime miniſter. Henry makes war againſt France. Siege of Terouenne. Battle of the Spurs. Siege of Tournay. Battle of Floddon. Peace concluded with Scotland and France. Wolſey's rapid preferment. Battle of Marigano. The princeſs Mary betrothed to the dauphin of France. Interview of the Engliſh and French kings at Andres. War declared againſt France. Military proceedings on the continent. The king queſtions the legality of his marriage. Wolſey's diſgrace, and promotion of Cranmer. The king obtains a divorce, and marries Anne Boleyn. Is excommunicated by the pope. Impoſture of the maid of Kent. Death of Catherine. Execution of Anne Boleyn. The king married to lady Jane Seymour. Inſurrection in the north. Birth of Prince Edward, and death of the queen. Diſſolution of the monaſteries. The bible tranſlated into Engliſh. The king's marriage with Anne of Cleves. Execution of Cromwell earl of Eſſex. Henry's marriage with Catherine Howard. Divorce of Anne of Cleves. Counteſs of Saliſbury beheaded. The queen convicted of incontinency and put to death. Tranſactions in Scotland. Henry marries Catherine Parr. His fruitleſs expedition to France. The queen's artifice to elude the king's reſentment. Trial of Norfolk and Surry. Execution of the latter. Death and character of Henry VIII.

A. D. 1509. FREED from the avaricious tyranny of the late king, the nation conſidered the acceſſion of his ſon as an event that might be productive of their greateſt felicity. And as the peace of the kingdom was ſecured by powerful alliances, the higheſt expectations were conceived from the extraordinary abilities of young Henry, who, at the time of his acceſſion, was only in the eighteenth year of his age.

The diſpoſition of Henry was the very reverſe of that of his father's, for his liberality almoſt bordered on profuſion. Pleaſure ſucceeded to deſpondence, and avarice was exchanged for diſſipation. Titles and tournaments were exhibited with magnificence, and the treaſures amaſſed by the late king were laviſhed by his ſucceſſor with an unbounded luxury.

Henry was, nevertheleſs, attentive to the remonſtrances of his people, and ſuch as had exerciſed their lawleſs oppreſſions over them now felt the force of royal reſentment and popular indignation. Among theſe the foremoſt were Empſon and Dudley, who were cited before the council to anſwer for their delinquencies: but they ſoon found means to evade the charges exhibited againſt them. They urged that all they had done was in conformity to their maſter's orders; that it was not their office to alter or amend, but to enforce the laws, whoſe validity they had no right to diſpute. Theſe arguments were deemed unanſwerable, in conſequence of which the council could only commit them to the Tower till freſh matter ſhould be found to convict them. A few days after a charge of high treaſon was brought againſt them, wherein it was alledged, "that, conſcious of the popular odium, they had concerted meaſures, while "the king lay on his death-bed, to ſecure themſelves from the peoples reſentment." Theſe meaſures were conſtrued into a conſpiracy againſt the new king, of which they were found guilty, and ſoon after beheaded.

The next object which engaged the attention of the council, was to deliberate on the legality of the king's intended marriage with Catherine of Arragon. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſtrongly ſupported the meaſure. Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was againſt it, urging, that a marriage with a brother's widow was ſtrictly prohibited by God himſelf, and that the pope's diſpenſation, therefore, was of no force. In anſwer to this, Fox pointed out the abſolute authority of Chriſt's vicar, with many other arguments religious and political, tending to prove the validity of the diſpenſation, and the neceſſity of conſummating the nuptials. He diſplayed the mental and perſonal graces of the princeſs, her love for the king, the large dowry ſhe brought, and the expediency of forming a ſtrict alliance with Spain, to balance the power of France; and in conſequence of theſe forcible arguments, the marriage was accordingly ſolemnized.

But notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of Wincheſter in this particular, his intereſt ſoon began to decline. His own notions of frugality were ill calculated to countenance the young king's prodigality, againſt which he could not forbear to remonſtrate, while the earl of Surry's ſelfiſh principles led him to encourage the prevailing taſte for ſplendor and magnificence. This conduct of Surry ſo incenſed the biſhop of Wincheſter, that he determined to find out ſome proper perſon to inſpect into his actions; and the one who ſeemed beſt calculated for this office was Dr. Thomas Wolſey, a perſon eminently diſtinguiſhed for his mental abilities. This inſinuating young gentleman having recommended himſelf, by his addreſs, and pleaſurable propenſities, to the notice of the king, ſoon became a moſt conſpicuous object of his favour, as will farther appear in the courſe of this reign.

A. D. 1510. The wars of Italy now attracted the attention of all Europe. A league had been formed at Cambray at the inſtance of pope Julius II. in

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in conjunction with the kings of France and Spain, for ſtripping the republic of Venice of her continental territories. Abſorbed in the aggrandizement of the holy ſee, this pontiff made no ſcruple of involving Italy in a deluge of blood. No ſooner had the French recovered the territories claimed by the contracting parties, than the pope, having obtained poſſeſſion of the dominions which he pretended belonged to the church, determined to break the alliance, and reduce the power of Lewis, which he thought much too formidable. Having excited the reſt of the European ſtates againſt him, he endeavoured to gain over the king of England on his ſide, and to that end ſent him a conſecrated golden roſe as a mark of his favour and attention. He alſo engaged Ferdinand of Spain to aſſiſt him, concluded a treaty with the provinces of Switzerland, and with this powerful confederacy attacked the duke of Ferrara, an ally of France.

Lewis, not ſuſpecting any attack, had made no preparations for defence; but he determined to ſupport his ally with his utmoſt force. Chamont, his general, hearing the pontiff was arrived at Boulogne, reſolved to ſurprize him, and led his army towards the city; but inſtead of puſhing the ſiege with vigour, he accepted propoſals from Julius which that inſidious churchman never intended to perform. Hoſtilities thus ſuſpended, the Venetians threw themſelves into the caſtle, and Chamont, for want of artillery, was obliged to relinquiſh his undertaking.

Lewis, after trying all methods to obtain a peace with the pope, determined to depoſe him at the council of Piſa. But no danger intimidated the pontiff, who, though ſeventy years of age, laid ſiege to Mirandola in perſon, and at length entered the breach, and put his forces in full poſſeſſion of the place.

A. D. 1512. In the beginning of this year Henry, at the inſtigation of Ferdinand, who had joined the pope, declared war againſt France. His ambition to render himſelf ſerviceable to the pope, and the hopes of conquering the provinces once annexed to the Engliſh crown, ſtimulated the young king to engage in this enterprize. Ferdinand perſuaded Henry to undertake the conqueſt of Guienne, in which he promiſed to aſſiſt him with a Spaniſh army, while his real intention was to turn this force to the acquiſition of the kingdom of Navarre.

The Engliſh monarch, little ſuſpecting the deſigns of Ferdinand, agreed to the propoſal, and an army was accordingly collected with the utmoſt expedition, the command of which was given to the marquis of Dorſet, who embarked at Portſmouth, and, after an eaſy paſſage, landed in the province of Guipuſcoa. The Engliſh admiral made ſeveral ſucceſsful deſcents upon the coaſt of Britany, and being joined by a ſquadron under the command of Sir Thomas Knivet, the depredations were continued with advantage. The Engliſh and French fleets ſoon after came to an engagement, in which Primauget the French admiral's ſhip was ſet on fire, but reſolving not to periſh alone, he bore down upon the Engliſh admiral, and grappling together, both became involved in the ſame inevitable deſtruction. In this dreadful cataſtrophe, ſixteen hundred men loſt their lives, and both parties were ſo affected, that they gave up the engagement, the French retiring to Breſt, and the Engliſh continuing to cruize in the channel.

The marquis of Dorſet having, by this time, penetrated into the deſigns of the Spaniſh monarch, complained to him that inſtead of undertaking the ſiege of Bayonne, his forces had changed their route towards the frontiers of Navarre, and obtaining but an evaſive anſwer, he refuſed to give him any farther aſſiſtance, reſolving not to ſacrifice the intereſts of his maſter to the ſelfiſh views of Ferdinand in the reduction of Navarre. The ſeaſon was now too far advanced for Dorſet to think of making any progreſs towards the conqueſt of Guienne, ſo that he returned to England without having been able to effect any thing worthy of notice. Henry was greatly diſpleaſed at the failure of this enterprize, and could hardly be perſuaded by Dorſet to impute the miſcarriage to the deceitful behaviour of Ferdinand.

A. D. 1513. This war, though it proved diſadvantageous to the Engliſh, ſerved to weaken the powers of France. Obliged to recall his troops for the defence of his dominions, Lewis loſt all his conqueſts in Italy. Julius triumphed in the diſgrace of the French king; but he did not long enjoy his good fortune, for on the twenty firſt of February he paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded by John de Medici, under the title of Leo X. one of the greateſt pontiffs that ever filled the papal chair.

The celebrated Wolſey, now at the head of public affairs, did his utmoſt to encourage the king's inclination for war, and to provide an army that might retrieve the ancient glory of the kingdom. The deciſive blow was to be ſtruck on the continent. The van of the army, conſiſted of eight thouſand men, commanded by the earl of Shrewſbury, aſſiſted by the earl of Derby, lords Fitzwalter, Haſtings and Cobham, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, captain of the light horſe. This diviſion, being landed at Calais, was ſupported by another body of ſix thouſand, under lord Herbert, attended by the earls of Northumberland and Kent, the lords Audley and Delawar, with many other perſons of rank and fortune. Henry prepared to follow, but before his departure gave orders for the execution of the earl of Suffolk, who was accordingly beheaded on Tower-hill. His reaſons for this cruel action are not ſufficiently known. It is imagined, that the unfortunate earl was ſacrificed to the king's reſentment againſt his brother Edward de la Pole.

An Engliſh fleet preſented itſelf before Breſt, but was obliged to retire. The French too made an unſucceſsful attempt upon the coaſt of Suſſex. The continent alone ſeemed the fitteſt place for action, and on the thirteenth of June, Henry, attended by the duke of Buckingham and others of the nobility, landed the third diviſion at Calais. The Swiſs who had been offended by Lewis the twelfth, engaged to invade Burgundy. The emperor Maximilian too had promiſed to reinforce the Engliſh with ſeven or eight thouſand men, but was not able to fulfil his engagement; and in order to exculpate himſelf, entered as a ſoldier, and joined Henry with a ſmall body of troops.

Before the king's arrival, the earl of Shrewſbury and lord Herbert had planned the ſiege of Terouenne on the borders of Picardy. The garriſon made a vigorous defence; but being reduced to great extremity for want of ſupplies, Lewis determined to run a dangerous riſque in ſending them. Eight hundred cavalry, each of whom carried a quantity of gunpowder and proviſions, forced their way through a part of the Engliſh

camp, and advancing to the Foſs-Way, threw down every man his burden; and galloping back again, ſuſtained very little loſs in their return. But the party that was diſpatched to cover their retreat was not ſo ſucceſsful. Theſe troops, though commanded by ſome of the braveſt captains in the ſervice of France, were ſo exceedingly diſmayed at the ſight of the Engliſh, that they betook themſelves to flight, and many of their beſt officers were taken priſoners. This action was called by the French the battle of Guinegaſte; but by the Engliſh the "Battle of the Spurs," as the French, on that occaſion, made more uſe of their ſpurs than their ſwords. Had Henry made a proper advantage of this victory, it might have been attended with very important conſequences; but, inſtead of conducting his army into the heart of France, he returned to the ſiege of the little town of Terouenne, which had made ſuch an obſtinate reſiſtance, and when forced to ſurrender, neither recompenced the blood, nor the delay expended in its reduction.

Nor did the ſiege of Tournay afford Henry much greater advantage, though the place capitulated in a little time after it had been inveſted. Sir Edward Poinings was appointed governor, and the biſhoprick confirmed on Wolſey, who immediately took poſſeſſion of its ample revenues.

This ſiege, though of no long duration, ſerved to retard the great object, which was, the conqueſt of France; and Henry, hearing that the Swiſs had retreated, reſolved to return to England, where he arrived on the ſeventeenth of October, and where flattery was put to the torture, to congratulate him on the ſucceſs of this ridiculous expedition. A truce was ſoon after concluded between the two kingdoms.

While Henry had been employed on the continent, James IV. king of Scotland, was ravaging the northern parts of Northumberland, with an army of fifty thouſand men. The earl of Surry, at the head of twenty-ſix thouſand men, ſet forward to oppoſe him. The Scots were encamped on an eminence near Cheviot hills. The river Till, which ran between the armies, prevented an engagement, for which reaſon Surry ſent an herald to the Scottiſh monarch, offering to meet him in the plain of Milfield, which lay to the ſouth, and there to try their valour on a day appointed for that purpoſe. But this offer being rejected, he made a feint of marching towards Berwick, which putting the Scotch in motion to annoy his rear, he took advantage of a great ſmoke, cauſed by the firing their huts, and paſſed the little river, which had hitherto prevented their coming to action. Both armies now finding that a battle was inevitable, prepared for the attack with great compoſure and regularity. The Engliſh army was divided into two lines; lord Howard led the main body of the firſt line, Sir Edmund Howard the right wing, and Sir Marmaduke Conſtable the left; the earl of Surry himſelf commanded the main body of the ſecond line, ſupported by lord Dacres and Sir Edward Stanley on the right and left. The Scots, on the other hand, formed themſelves into three diviſions, the middle commanded by the king himſelf, the right by the earl of Huntley, and the left by the earls of Lenox and Argyle; beſides a fourth diviſion, as a body of reſerve under the command of the earl of Bothwell. The charge was begun with ſuch impetuoſity by lord Huntley, on the diviſion of lord Howard, that the latter was immediately routed and put into great diſorder. Lord Dacres, however, came ſo ſeaſonably to his ſupport, that the troops rallied, and a general battle enſued. Both armies fought a long time with amazing fury, until the Highlanders, headed by James and his principal nobility, who were moſt forward in engaging the Engliſh, broke in ſword in hand upon the main body commanded by the earl of Surry. This they did with ſuch amazing velocity, as to be encompaſſed by the Engliſh forces. Although thus ſituated, James reſolved to maintain his ground to the utmoſt, and alighting from his horſe, formed his forces into a circle, and in this poſition, exerted ſuch a degree of fortitude, as, for a time, rendered victory doubtful. The Engliſh were now obliged to ply their bows and arrows, which did dreadful execution; but night ſeparating the combatants, it was not till the day following, that lord Howard found the victory decided greatly in his favour. The Engliſh loſs was very inconſiderable, but the whole flower of the Scotch nobility were ſlain in the battle. Ten thouſand of the common men were cut off, and a body ſuppoſed to be that of the Scottiſh monarch was found among the dead, and conveyed to London, where it remained unburied, under a ſentence of excommunication denounced againſt James, for having leagued with France againſt the holy ſee. Henry, however, obtained a reverſal of the ſentence from the pope, and the body was permitted to be interred. The Scots, however, believed their king to be ſtill living, and cauſed a report to be ſpread that he was gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Such was the event of the battle of Floddon, which was fought on the ninth of September.

Henry had now an opportunity of making his own terms with Scotland; but he generouſly liſtened to the requeſt of his ſiſter, who, by the death of her huſband, became regent of that kingdom, during her ſon's minority, and concluded a treaty of peace with that princeſs.

A. D. 1514. In the beginning of this year a negotiation was opened for bringing about a peace between England and France, which was at length effected on the following terms: that the Engliſh ſhould be allowed to keep poſſeſſion of Tournay, that Richard de la Pole, ſhould be baniſhed to Metz; that Henry ſhould receive the arrears due to his father and himſelf, and that the princeſs Mary ſhould be given in marriage to Lewis, with a portion of four hundred thouſand crowns, and a jointure equal to that of the former queen of France, who was heireſs of Britany. This princeſs, who was endowed with a great ſhare of beauty, and other accompliſhments, was then in her twentieth year, and Lewis in his fifty-ſixth. The nuptials were celebrated at Abbeville, but Lewis did not long enjoy the company of his amiable conſort. His conſtitution being greatly impaired, he yielded to the decay of nature, and died within three months after his marriage, beloved and ſincerely regretted as the "Father of his country," which honourable appellation he had deſervedly obtained. His youthful queen was ſoon after eſpouſed to Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

In the mean time Henry, intoxicated with his ſucceſſes, gave himſelf up to his favourite pleaſures, while his treaſury was exhauſted by the ſupplies for repeated expeditions. As he had for ſome time diſdained to be adviſed by the miniſters of his father, and deſpairing of their concurrence in his frivolous and extravagant purſuits, he placed his

his chief confidence in the more welcome counſels of Thomas (afterwards cardinal) Wolſey, whoſe ready acquieſcence flattered and gave a ſanction to his conduct.

Wolſey was the ſon, (not of a butcher as ſome hiſtorians have repreſented him, but) of a private gentleman at Ipſwich: he was ſo early ſent to Oxford, that at the age of eighteen he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts, and was diſtinguiſhed in the college by the title of the Boy Batchelor. On quitting the univerſity, he obtained one preferment after another, till he became rector of Lymington in Hampſhire, to which he was preſented by the marquis of Dorſet, whoſe children he had inſtructed. So inconſiſtent, however, was his behaviour with the duties of his profeſſion, that ſoon after his induction to this living, he was put in the ſtocks by order of a juſtice of the peace, for raiſing diſturbances at a neighbouring fair. This diſgrace, however, did not obſtruct his promotion, for he was recommended as chaplain to Henry VII. and acquitted himſelf with diligence and credit in negotiating that king's intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy. Having obtained a commiſſion from that monarch to Maximilian, who then reſided at Bruſſels, he, in leſs than three days after, preſented himſelf to the king to his infinite ſurprize, who, ſuppoſing he had been tardy in the undertaking, began to reprove him for his delay. Wolſey, however, ſatisfied him with teſtimonials of his having diſcharged his truſt, and punctually fulfilled all his majeſty's commands. His diſpatch on that occaſion procured him the deanery of Lincoln, in which character he was introduced by Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, to the attention of the ſucceeding monarch, in hopes that he would be able to ſupplant the earl of Surry, who then ſtood high in the king's favour; and herein the conjectures of Fox were fully verified. Soon after his introduction at court he was honoured with a ſeat in the privy council; and by that means had frequent opportunities of ingratiating himſelf with the young king. As he was of a temporizing and ſubmiſſive diſpoſition, he took every method to accommodate himſelf to the royal temper, and entered into every degree of libertiniſm, then practiſed in the court; neither his age, which was that of forty, nor his ſacred function, produced any reſtraint, or had any tendency to check, by unſeaſonable ſeverity, the gaiety of his aſſociates. To a prince of Henry's weak and vicious inclinations, theſe qualifications were highly meritorious, and Wolſey ſoon gained ſuch an aſcendancy over his maſter, that he was entruſted with the chief management of ſtate affairs.

The new favourite's ſervile condeſcenſion in ſoothing the king's follies, and his haughty demeanour to his fellow ſubjects, ſoon excited the popular indignation. The people had long taken notice of the arrogance and oſtentation of the clergy, and Wolſey's promotions reflected a new diſgrace upon that body, already the object of their envy and abhorrence. The more elevated his character appeared, the greater ſtill was the diſlike of him. Ungovernable in his deſires, and magnificent in his profuſion; of extenſive abilities, and ſtill more unlimited in his undertakings; ambitious of authority, and ſtill more covetous of glory; ſometimes fawning, creeping, and inſinuating, and at others lofty, vindictive, and commanding; inſolent to his equals, but affable to his dependents; oppreſſive to the people, but generous to his friends; more liberal than grateful; and proud of aſſuming a conſequence incompatible with true dignity and real ſuperiority.

A. D. 1515. Wolſey had been early advanced to the biſhoprick of Lincoln, which he afterwards reſigned on being promoted to the archiepiſcopal ſee of York, an opportunity for which occurred by the death of the late prelate, who had been poiſoned at Rome by his chaplain, in revenge for a blow he received from him. This aſpiring churchman now governed both king and kingdom. Preferments were heaped upon him with unbounded profuſion. He was not only Archbiſhop of York, but had got poſſeſſion, at very moderate leaſes, of the revenues of Bath, Worceſter, and Hereford, which he filled by perſons, who were permitted to reſide abroad, on making a ſuitable compenſation for that indulgence. Beſides many other church preferments, he was allowed to unite with the ſee of York the biſhopricks of Durham and Wincheſter; his avarice ſeeming to encreaſe in proportion to its gratifications. The pope obſerving Wolſey's influence over the king, thought to engage him in his intereſt, and in order thereto created him a cardinal. He had eight hundred ſervants in his retinue, many of whom were knights and gentlemen; even ſome of the nobility ſent their children into his family for education, and the adepts in the arts or ſciences paid court to the cardinal, ambitious of his patronage and protection. He was the firſt clergyman in England who wore ſilk and gold, not only on his habit but alſo his ſaddles and the trappings of his horſes. The croſs of York was always carried before him, though in the dioceſe of Canterbury, in contempt of the privileges of that primate.

Beſides theſe important diſtinctions, the pope conferred upon him that of legate, deſigning to make him inſtrumental in draining the kingdom of money, on pretence of enabling him to carry on a war with the Turks, but, in reality, to enrich his own coffers. In this part he acquitted himſelf ſo much to the ſatisfaction of his pontifical employer, as in ſome little time after that office was made perpetual to him; and he now united in his perſon the dignities of legate, cardinal, archbiſhop, and prime miniſter.

About this time Warham, chancellor and archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man of a very moderate diſpoſition, choſe rather to retire from public employment, than maintain a diſputed ſuperiority with the haughty cardinal. He accordingly reſigned the great ſeal into the hands of the king, who, two days after, committed it to the cuſtody of Wolſey. Even Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, who had ſo long directed the affairs of government, and had been the firſt to introduce Wolſey to the king, impatient of the neglect ſhewn towards him, obtained leave to retire to his biſhoprick, and, at leaving the council-board, recommended to the king, "not to ſuffer the ſervant to become greater than his maſter." "Fear not, my good lord biſhop," replied Henry, "I know how to make all my ſubjects obey me."

Theſe prodigious ſtretches of power ſerved but to render this greedy churchman ſtill more inſatiable. He procured a bull from the pope, impowering him to create knights and counts, to legitimate baſtards, to confer degrees in arts, law, phyſic and divinity, and to grant diſpenſations of every kind. The nobility could not but be juſtly offended at all this pride and power beſtowed on the avaritious and ambitious cardinal; yet

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ſo well was his vindictive temper known, that none dared publickly to expreſs their indignation.

Francis I. who ſucceeded Lewis XII. on the throne of France, renewed the treaty made by his predeceſſor with Henry, and, inſtigated with a deſire of conqueſt, paſſed over into Italy. His aim was to re-conquer the duchy of Milan, which Lewis had loſt. He was ſupported by the Venetians, who had the ſame deſigns againſt Maximilian, who had ſtripped them of the Veroneſe. His oppoſers were Leo X. and Maximilian the debilitated emperor; but his moſt formidable enemies were the Swiſs, who were irritated againſt France by the refuſal of Lewis XII. to fulfil the treaty concluded before Dijon. They had aſſumed the title of "Defenders of the popes, and protectors of princes," and, indeed, within the laſt ten years not without a plauſible foundation.

In his progreſs to Milan, Francis continued to negotiate with that nation. Skilled in diſſimulation, they amuſed the king, till the military cheſt of France arrived, when they deſcended into the plains, and though deſtitute of cavalry, determined to oppoſe the French arms. A deſperate battle enſued at Marigano, near Milan, which was continued with great perſeverance on both ſides, till the darkneſs of the night parted the combatants. The king ſlept on the carriage of a cannon within forty paces of a Swiſs battalion. The battle was vigorouſly renewed with the morning dawn, and it was not till the Swiſs had loſt the braveſt of their troops that they could be prevailed upon to retire. The killed on both ſides amounted to twenty thouſand, and the old marſhal Trivulcio, who had ſeen eighteen pitched battles, denominated this "The battle of the giants." The victory of Marigano was followed by the reduction of the Milaneſe, and Maximilian was contented to live in France a wretched dependant on the bounty of Francis.

Wolſey now employed his attention to cultivate and increaſe the jealouſy which Henry had conceived at the ſucceſs of the French monarch. The cardinal enjoyed the revenues of the biſhoprick of Tournay; but could not help regretting that the titular biſhop of that ſee was protected at the court of France. He perſuaded Maximilian to renew the war in Italy; but the undertaking was rendered abortive: ſo that by this failure Henry and his miniſter were diſappointed in their deſigns to weaken the power of France.

A. D. 1516. Charles V. king of Spain, ſucceſſor to Ferdinand, was a man endowed with great natural talents, which had been improved by an excellent education. Francis, fearful of the power of Charles, formed a treaty with that monarch, in which he engaged to give him his eldeſt daughter, then an infant, in marriage: that Francis ſhould relinquiſh all pretenſions to the kingdom of Naples; that he ſhould allow Charles an hundred thouſand crowns a year till the conſummation of the marriage, and that he ſhould give the king of Navarre ſatisfaction with regard to his dominions.

A. D. 1517-18. But notwithſtanding this treaty, Francis was fearful of the increaſing power of Charles, and therefore reſolved to take the ſureſt method of gaining the friendſhip of the Engliſh monarch, by an aſſiduous application to his favourite Wolſey. Having ſucceeded in this buſineſs, he ſent his admiral Bonnivert to the court of London, in quality of ambaſſador. That ſubtle politician negotiated a treaty with the cardinal, in which the reſtitution of Tournay was one of the articles. It was farther ſtipulated, that the princeſs Mary ſhould be betrothed to the dauphin, though they were both infants; that Tournay ſhould be the dowry of that princeſs; that Francis ſhould pay ſix hundred thouſand crowns, as a compenſation for the expence of the citadel which had been erected there; and that he ſhould allow the cardinal a penſion of twelve thouſand livres, in lieu of the revenues of the biſhoprick.

Germany was now agitated with thoſe religious diſputes, which produced the reformation. Pope Leo X. by his encouragement of learning, furniſhed arms againſt himſelf, and gave riſe to that remarkable revolution, in which the Engliſh monarch had afterwards ſo great a ſhare. In order to defray the expence of a deſign, began by Julius II. his predeceſſor, of erecting a ſtructure in Rome ſuperior to that of St. Sophia at Conſtantinople, Leo had recourſe to the ſale of indulgencies, which the popes were ſuppoſed to have a power of diſtributing, on certain conditions, to the greateſt and moſt profligate ſinners, as a full remiſſion of their manifold offences. Theſe indulgencies were at firſt confined to the relaxation of penances and church diſcipline. Urban II. was the firſt that granted a full remiſſion of all ſins to ſuch as ſhould take up arms for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidels. At length theſe ſpiritual favours were extended to thoſe who took the field againſt heretics, or ſuch as were enemies to the Romiſh church. By theſe means great ſums were raiſed, the Auguſtine friars were made the brokers of this ſcandalous commerce, and each of them was entruſted with a ſet of indulgencies of all prices, and for the moſt atrocious ſins of any denomination whatever.

Leo X. had employed the dominicans in this ſpecies of traffic, inaſmuch as they had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by exaggerating the benefits to be derived from indulgencies. The Auguſtines were highly affronted at this preference. Martin Luther, an Auguſtine friar, and profeſſor of divinity at Wirtemberg, ſhocked at theſe proceedings, was loud in his declamations againſt the church of Rome. Nor did his invectives want a ſufficient foundation. A variety of ſuperſtitious ceremonies had been introduced into the exerciſe of religion. Divinity was involved in ſophiſtry, the clergy abſorbed in luxury, and the court of Rome guilty of numberleſs frauds and uſurpations. Reformation being therefore univerſally demanded, Luther knew how to take advantage of it. His firſt writings were confined to the doctrine of indulgencies; but he afterwards carried the matter farther than he is ſuppoſed to have intended; as is the general caſe in all diſputes, whether civil, political, or religious.

The Dominicans, ſupported by the pope's nuncio in Germany, cauſed his books to be burnt. The pope thundered out a bull againſt him; but being protected by the princes of Germany, he was ſo far from being intimidated, that he even ordered the pope's bull to be burnt in the market-place of Wirtemberg.

During theſe tranſactions on the continent, the Engliſh enjoyed the bleſſings of peace. Arts, trade and manufactures flouriſhed and improved. Cardinal Wolſey executed his power in promoting the good of his country. Never was juſtice better adminiſtered than by him. He was a firm ſupporter of the poor, and enforced ſeveral ſalutary laws for the protection of commerce and induſtry.

try. He introduced a taſte for literature, and beſtowed rewards on men of genius and ſcience, and literary merit was the beſt recommendation to his favour. He alſo founded lectures at Oxford for the improvement of learning, and his laudable and patriotic views met with the king's ſupport and encouragement.

A. D. 1519. From theſe literary purſuits, however, the attention of Wolſey was called by the death of the emperor Maximilian. Francis I. and Charles V. were the candidates for the imperial throne, both of whom were worthy of the dignity to which they aſpired. Henry ſupported the election of Charles, which, by his aſſiſtance, he gained by a majority only of a ſingle voice.

A. D. 1520. Francis, deſirous of cultivating the friendſhip of Henry, ſolicited an interview with him at Calais. Wolſey, proud of diſplaying his power and grandeur, ſeconded the requeſt, and Henry, excited by the ſame oſtentatious views, acceded to the propoſal. Charles was alarmed at this intended interview, and would gladly have prevented its taking place. The cardinal guided the helm of ſtate, and had no rival in the cabinet. His pomp was equal to his power, and he celebrated maſs with all the magnificence of the Roman pontiff. He was ſerved by biſhops; and even the nobility preſented him with the water and the towel. His dreſs was ſuperb to an extreme: he wore regal veſtments; his ſhoes were of ſilver gilt, and enriched with pearls of precious ſtones. When he went abroad, two large croſſes of maſſy ſilver were carried before him, together with two pole-axes, two pillars of maſſy ſilver, golden cuſhions, and a train of ſtately horſes. Yet all the power and wealth he enjoyed in England could not ſatisfy him, while there was one eccleſiaſtical dignity to which he had not attained. He now began to aſpire to the papal throne, the thoughts of which increaſed his natural pride and auſterity, and he was extremely rigid to the laity; but as all exertion of deſpotic power, when levelled at the lives and liberties of mankind, become highly obnoxious, his intolerable ſeverities were repreſented to the king, who expreſſed his great diſſatisfaction, and Wolſey ſet bounds to his power, and greater moderation and caution were obſerved in his future deciſions.

In this ſituation was Wolſey, when Charles V. landed at Dover, in order to obtain an interview with Henry previous to that concerted with Francis I. Wolſey was immediately ſent to congratulate the new Emperor, and the next day he was met by Henry, who conducted him to Canterbury where he was ſumptuouſly entertained. Charles found means to ſoothe the vanity and ambition of Wolſey, by promiſing him his aſſiſtance in procuring the papacy, of which, however, there was but little proſpect, as Leo X. was a young man, and conſequently likely to ſurvive the cardinal.

On the ſame day that Charles left England, Henry, with his queen and the whole court, paſſed over to Calais. Francis, attended in the ſame manner, came to Ardres, a ſmall town in the vicinity of Calais. The interviews were at firſt carried on with the greateſt ceremony: but the French king, diſdaining to ſhew any diſtruſt, viſited the Engliſh monarch without guards or attendants: Henry followed his generous example, and they viſited each other without the leaſt precaution. Their time was paſſed in tilts and tournaments, in which they reſpectively diſtinguiſhed themſelves; but no ſerious buſineſs was tranſacted during the whole time.

A. D. 1521. In ſpite of all the endeavours of Henry to ſuppreſs the enmity ſubſiſting between Charles and Francis, hoſtilities were now carried on with great violence between them. Henry, however, affected to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and the two monarchs having ravaged the territories of each other, referred their diſputes to Henry. Conferences were accordingly opened at Calais, and Wolſey was deputed to ſettle the differences; but Francis refuſing to accede to the demands of Charles, the conferences were broke off, and the cardinal ſoon after made a journey to Bruges, where he was received by the emperor, with as much ſtate, as if he had been the king of England himſelf; and he concluded, in the name of his maſter, an alliance offenſive and defenſive with the pope and the emperor againſt France.

Soon after Wolſey's return he ſet on foot a proſecution againſt the duke of Buckingham, ſon of him who loſt his life in the reign of Richard III. This nobleman had been often heard to treat Wolſey's pride and profuſion with juſt contempt; and being, perhaps, too unguarded in his reſentment, informers were not wanting to communicate the whole to the cardinal. The ſubſtance of his accuſation was that he had conſulted a fortune-teller concerning his right of ſucceſſion to the crown, being a deſcendant in the female line from the duke of Glouceſter, ſon of Edward III. This was but a ſlight pretext to take away the life of a nobleman, whoſe father had died in defence of the late king; he was, however, brought to trial, and the duke of Norfolk, whoſe ſon had married his daughter, was created lord Steward to preſide at this tribunal. Being found guilty by a jury of his peers, he was condemned and afterwards executed on Tower Hill. But as his crime ſeemed ſolely the effect of imprudence, his ſentence was generally imputed to the malice and revenge of the cardinal.

In the mean time the religious diſputes in Germany ſtill ſubſiſted, and ſeveral of its princes had declared in favour of Luther's reformation. And ſuch are the capricious terms of fate in human affairs, that Henry himſelf became a party in this diſpute. He was ſtrictly attached by education to the court of Rome, and had been incenſed againſt Luther, for having ſpoken contemptuouſly of Thomas Aquinas his favourite author, that reſentment, and not religion, prompted Henry to write in oppoſition to the doctrine of his adverſary. The book when finiſhed was received at Rome with rapture, and the pope beſtowed upon Henry and his ſucceſſors, the title of "Defenders of the Faith." Luther, who paid no reſpect to the dignity of the author, in his anſwer, treated the king with that acrimony and virulence to which he had been ſo long accuſtomed. Henry's interference rendered the controverſy the more illuſtrious. Mankind grew daily more and more intereſted therein; and the Lutheran party gained ground in every part of Europe. The pope was ſtigmatized with the name of Antichriſt, and Rome with that of Babylon; and as theſe appellations, however applied, were, notwithſtanding, ſcriptural, it is no wonder that they ſhould be adopted in this eccleſiaſtical controverſy.

In the infancy of this diſpute, Leo X. departed this life in the prime of life, and in the ninth year of his pontificate. His death tended greatly to

advance the rapid progreſs of the reformation, which he had moſt ſteadily oppoſed. He was ſucceeded by pope Adrian VI. who had been tutor to Charles the then emperor. Such was the virulence of the reformers againſt the Romiſh church, that the candour and moderation of this pontiff rather hurt them, though he could not help owning that many abuſes and unwarrantable practices prevailed in the court of Rome.

A. D. 1522. Wolſey had flattered himſelf that he ſhould have been choſen to ſupply the vacant chair, and was found upon a ſcrutiny to have had no leſs than nineteen voices in his favour. He nevertheleſs loſt his election. But the age and infirmities of Adrian ſtill gave him hopes of being ſoon able to gratify his ambition. Charles V. never wiſhed to ſee Wolſey arrive at this honour. What he wanted was to have a pope entirely at his devotion, and this he knew he muſt never expect in the imperious temper of the cardinal. He ſtill, however, affected to countenance his pretenſions, and his diſſimulation had the deſired effect. Wolſey ſhewed no ſigns of reſentment, the late treaty was renewed, and it was reſolved in council to declare war againſt France. In conſequence of this, Henry fitted out a ſtrong fleet, the command of which was given to the earl of Surry, who was now made lord high admiral of England. Surry accordingly embarked for the continent, and after taking ſome towns in Britany, proceeded to Calais, and laid ſiege to Heſden; but not being able to take the place, he re-embarked his forces, and returned to England.

A. D. 1523. The ancient league between France and Scotland having been renewed, the duke of Albany was now preparing to invade the northern parts of England. The earl of Surry was ſent with an army to oppoſe him, and having entered Scotland, he committed the moſt terrible ravages, burnt the town of Jedburgh, with ſeveral neighbouring villages and caſtles, and returned to Newcaſtle. Albany then ſent an herald to Surry to offer him battle, but the earl told him that though he diſdained to follow the dictates of an enemy, he ſhould never decline an engagement. Albany therefore paſſed the Tweed and inveſted the caſtle of Wark. Sir William Liſle the governor, conſcious that the fortreſs was not in a condition to ſupport a long ſiege, made a deſperate ſally, and repulſed the enemy, with the loſs of three hundred men. The Scots were ſo much intimidated by this miſcarriage, that they withdrew into their own country, and a truce was concluded for a year.

The army which was fitted out againſt Scotland about the middle of Auguſt, was tranſplanted to Calais, and the command given to the duke of Suffolk, who was joined at St. Omer's by three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe in the Imperial ſervice. It was now determined to march along the banks of the Somme, and, if poſſible, provoke the French to a deciſive engagement; but they contented themſelves with harraſſing the Engliſh army, relying on the ſtrength of their garriſons, and the advanced ſeaſon of the year to prevent them from taking up their winter quarters in France.

In this conjecture they were not miſtaken, for though the duke had got ſeveral conſiderable places into his poſſeſſion, (among which were Bray, Montdier, Roye and ſome others) and had even advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, he found it impoſſible to canton his forces in the places he had conquered, as the duke of Vendeſme had a large body of troops in Paris, and the marſhal Tremouille was forming another army from the garriſons in Picardy. He was therefore obliged to take up his winter quarters at Calais, but before his troops could reach that place many of them periſhed by the inclemency of the weather.

Notwithſtanding theſe miſcarriages of the Engliſh, the alliance proved in the end too powerful for Francis, and the deſertion of the duke of Bourbon, conſtable of France to the emperor, together with the ill ſucceſs of Bonnivet the French general in his invaſion of Milan, whoſe abilities were in no wiſe equal to his enterprize, gave a diſaſtrous turn to the affairs of Francis, and the campaign ended on his part in fruitleſs attempts and unavailing expeditions.

The death of pope Adrian VI. which happened at this time, and the acceſſion of Clement VII. to the pontificate through the intereſt of the Imperial party, convinced Wolſey of the inſincerity of the emperor, and of the improbability of his ever ſucceeding to the papacy by his means. He, nevertheleſs, diſſembled his reſentment, congratulated the new pope on his election, and ſolicited a continuation of the legatine powers he had enjoyed under the two laſt pontiffs. Clement, well knowing the neceſſity of maintaining the friendſhip of this imperious miniſter, not only granted his requeſt, but ſent him a commiſſion for life, by which Wolſey obtained the whole papal authority in England. In conſequence of this extenſive authority, he erected a college at Oxford, and another at Ipſwich, and invited learned men to preſide in theſe colleges, a meaſure greatly approved by the court of Rome, as there was now a neceſſity for ſuch to defend the church againſt the alarming innovations of the reformers.

A. D. 1524. Bonnivet, the French general, who had retired to Piedmont, having, by his inſolent deportment, offended the Swiſs, they abandoned the French army, and returned to their own country. The general being thus deſerted, quitted his camp, and was purſued by the allied army. A fierce conflict enſued, in which Bonnivet's rear was moſtly deſtroyed. The chevalier Bayard, who, diſtinguiſhed for his magnanimity, had been honoured by his ſoldiers with the title of "the knight without fear and without reproach," was mortally wounded. When this valiant hero could no longer keep his ſeat on horſeback, he ordered his attendants to place him under a tree, with his face to to the enemy, that he might die in that poſition. Every one ſeemed to lament his fate. The ſoldiers dropped a tear as they paſſed by him, and the allied generals expreſſed their concern for his hapleſs ſituation. Seeing among the reſt the conſtable of France "Pity not me," cried he to Bourbon, "I die in the diſcharge of my duty: they alone are objects of pity, who fight againſt their prince and their country."

The pope was now alarmed for Italy. He proceeded, however, ſo far in his oppoſition to Charles, that he ordered his nuncio at London to mediate a reconciliation between France and England. But this was an honour Wolſey reſerved for himſelf; he therefore prevailed on Henry to refuſe the pope's mediation; and Charles and Henry agreed upon the invaſion of France.

In conſequence of a treaty concluded for this purpoſe, the duke of Bourbon entered Provence with ten thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and eighteen pieces of cannon. Antibes, Frejus, Vig-

olles and Aix were presently reduced; and on the ineteenth of August the constable sat down before Marseilles, whose garrison consisted of three thou- nd foot, and two hundred men at arms, besides ine thousand inhabitants who took up arms for s defence. The siege was carried on for about month, when the approach of Francis with forty housand men obliged Bourbon to relinquish the iege, and retire with some precipitation into taly.

A.D. 1525—6. So inconsiderable was the pro- gress of industry and commerce in Europe, that Charles, notwithstanding his extensive possessions, ad not a sum sufficient to pay his forces. Even Bourbon pawned his jewels; and with the money, nd his personal interest together, levied twelve housand men, and joined the Imperial generals Piscarra and Lannoy, who had collected forces rom all parts of Italy. The army, thus com- pleated, advanced to raise the siege of Pavia, here Francis persisted in his design, though he met with insuperable difficulties. The French camp was surrounded with such strong entrench- ments, that the emperor's generals were contented with cannonading the enemy for several days, when the Swiss attacked the entrenchments of the be- siegers on the twenty-fifth of February about mid- night.

Upon the first alarm, Francis, at the head of two housand cavalry, fell so furiously upon Piscarra's division, that the general was dismounted, and dangerously wounded, and the whole corps would have been entirely defeated, had not Bourbon, has- tened to his assistance, after having made a most dreadful slaughter in another part of the camp. The contest was now unequal, and the French, to defend their king, fought as if driven to despair. La Plesse, Tremouille, Galeas de San Severino, nd general Bonnivet were slain by his side. The king himself made a vigorous defence: his horse was killed under him, and he continued fighting on foot, after receiving a desperate wound in his leg.

An officer of rank named Pomerant, who had revolted with the duke of Bourbon, seeing the king thus exposed to danger, assisted him in keep- ng off the soldiers, who were endeavouring to take him alive. He then ordered Bourbon to be alled, to receive the king as a prisoner. The en- aged monarch, however, declared, he would ooner die than yield up his sword to a traitor. Send," said he, "for Lannoy, viceroy of Na- les, to him I will surrender." That officer coming up, the king said to him, "M. de Lannoy, take his sword; it is that of a king, who is not a pri- oner from cowardice, but the accidents of for- ne." Lannoy received the sword upon his knee, issed his hand with the profoundest respect, and resented him his own sword, saying, "I beg your ajesty will be so good as to receive mine, which as this day spared the lives of many Frenchmen. does not become an officer of the emperor to ave a king disarmed, though a prisoner." Lannoy d not, however, think Francis safe in the army; earing the Germans might seize his person as a se- urity for their pay, he carried him to the castle of izzighitone, where he was treated by Alvazon, e Spanish governor, with the respect due to his rson and dignity.

The king of England had been, for some time, atisfied with the emperor's conduct; and his de now completed the disgust of Henry. Charles d hitherto written to him in his own hand, and subscribed himself "Your affectionate son and cousin," but he had now laid aside his usual com- plaisance, and, elated with prosperity, dictated his letters to his secretary, and subscribed himself Charles." Henry could ill brook this change of sentiment and expression, and Wolsey still retained the remembrance of his duplicity, with regard to the papacy. He was now furnished with a sufficient excuse for breaking with him. Henry soon after engaged to procure the liberty of Francis on very reasonable terms, for which he negotiated with his mother the duchess of Angouleme, regent of France. It was agreed, that he should enjoy an annual pension of seven hundred crowns, and at the same time the regent should acknowledge that France owed him one million eight hundred thousand crowns. The cardinal was to receive the arrears of his pension, granted him instead of the revenues of the bishopric of Tournay, besides the additional sum of an hundred thousand crowns.

A war with the emperor was the natural conse- quence of this alliance, the supplies for which, Henry empowered the cardinal to raise; but the measures he took to effect this were very opposite to the designs of the king. Without calling a par- liament, Wolsey issued a decree, in the king's name, for levying one sixth of all the lay revenues, and one fourth of those of the clergy. This tax was deemed so violent an encroachment on the li- berties of the subject, that a rebellion had like to have ensued; and the king was so alarmed, that he actually disowned the measure, declaring, "that no necessities of the crown should make him at- tempt to raise money any other way than by con- sent of parliament."

This, and similar exactions, so incensed Henry, that the favourite was obliged to have recourse to the most abject submission to appease him. He produced his will, wherein he had bequeathed all his riches to the king, and endeavoured to per- suade him that all he had done was with a view to promote the king's honour, and would, in the end, prove of infinite advantage to him. At the same time he made him a present of his magnificent pa- lace at Hampton court, which he had newly erected.

A. D. 1528. On the fourteenth of January, a treaty was signed at Madrid for the purpose of li- berating the French king; wherein it was stipu- lated, "that Francis should resign the duchy of Burgundy to the emperor, that he should be set at liberty in his own kingdom by the tenth of March, and that the duke of Orleans, and his two eldest sons, should be put into the emperor's hands as hostages. That Francis should resign all his pre- tensions to the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, the lordship of Genoa, the counties of Asti, Arras, Tournay, Mortaigne, St. Arnaud, Lisle, Donay, Orchies, Hedin; and also his so- vereignty over the countries of Flanders and Ar- tois: that the emperor should give up all his claims to the cities and lordships of Peronne, Montdidier, Rouen, Guisnes, and Ponthieu; with all the cities and territories on the river Somme: and, that the duke of Bourbon should be restored to all his for- mer estates and possessions."

These articles Francis engaged to ratify at the first town he should enter in his own dominions. But however tenacious of his honour he might be in other respects, he by no means considered him- self as bound by a promise extorted from him by compulsion, and which was strenuously opposed by the states of Burgundy. This circumstance

Charles

Charles ſhould have foreſeen; but his uſual policy forſook him on this occaſion. Francis would have compounded with the emperor for Burgundy at the expence of two millions of crowns, but Charles would accept of no compoſition, or recede in the leaſt from any one article of the treaty. The French, therefore, concluded an alliance with Clement VII. the Venetians, and the reſt of the Italian ſtates, againſt the emperor, and the king of England was declared protector of the confederacy. The conſtable of Bourbon, however, conquered the Milaneſe; but not having money to pay his troops, he was conducted to Rome, where he was killed in ſcaling the walls. His death inſpired the ſoldiers with fury and revenge. Rome was taken by aſſault and pillaged, and the pope was taken priſoner, and confined in the caſtle of St. Angelo.

Irritated beyond meaſure at the news of Clement's misfortune, the kings of England and France reſolved to carry their arms into Italy. They therefore concluded a new treaty, by which Henry renounced his ancient chimerical pretenſions to the crown of France, and his ally engaged for himſelf and his ſucceſſors to pay a penſion of fifty thouſand crowns to the kings of England.

While affairs were in this ſituation on the continent, a new ſeries of events excited the attention of all Europe. Henry had now been married eighteen years to Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, and as ſhe was ſix years older than the king, and had loſt his affections, he was grown heartily tired of her. Though ſhe had brought him three children, of whom the princeſs Mary was ſtill living, and had ſuſtained an irreproachable character, yet all her accompliſhments were unable to fix a heart addicted to variety. Her marriage with the king had been conſidered as illegal by moſt of the foreign ſtates, and as ſuch had been oppoſed by Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe opinion had been confirmed by both houſes of convocation. The curſe of ſterility is denounced in the levitical law againſt any one who ſhould marry his brother's widow, and as all Henry's children, except the princeſs Mary, had died in their infancy, he could not but think himſelf obnoxious to this malediction. The great progreſs Henry had made in caſuiſtical divinity, enabled him thoroughly to examine this queſtion, and his favourite author Thomas Aquinas, (to whoſe authority in eccleſiaſtical matters he gave implicit credit) had treated of this very caſe in the following terms: "the prohibitions contained in Leviticus (ſays that celebrated caſuiſt) and among the reſt that of marrying a brother's widow, are moral, eternal, and founded on a divine ſanction; and though the pope may diſpenſe with the rules of the church, the laws of God cannot be ſet aſide by any authority leſs than that which enacted them."

Henry was now convinced of the illegality of his marriage, and a circumſtance fell out, at this time, which confirmed him in his reſolution to obtain a divorce. Anne Boleyn, a beautiful and accompliſhed young lady, had been lately appointed maid of honour to the queen, and ſoon attracted the notice and affections of Henry. Finding her proof againſt all the arts of ſeduction, he determined to raiſe her to the throne; but he had many obſtacles to encounter before this could be effected, and as Catherine was aunt to the emperor, her repudiation was not eaſily to be accompliſhed.

A. D. 1529. The firſt ſtep to be taken was to get the bull of pope Julius annulled; but this, however neceſſary, was a meaſure very difficult to reconcile with the pontifical authority. Clement VII. however, ſtill a priſoner to the emperor, thought it highly eſſential to maintain a friendſhip with Henry, and therefore liſtened to the propoſitions which were made to him. He gave Wolſey a commiſſion to examine, as legate, into the validity of the marriage, and promiſed, in due time, to expedite the divorce. But the pope, with all his parts and addreſs, was deficient in courage and integrity. The emperor, knowing his diſpoſition, threatened to depoſe him on pretence of baſtardy, he being only the reputed ſon of Julian de Medicis. He flattered himſelf, too, with the hope of re-eſtabliſhing the houſe of Medicis, againſt which the Florentines had revolted. Preſſed by the ſolicitations of Henry, he conſented to an examination of his marriage: he joined Campeggio to Wolſey, but without engaging not to revoke the commiſſion. The ſtudied delays of Campeggio, at firſt, gave ſome offence, till at length he arrived with the wiſhed-for bull. Henry and Wolſey were the only perſons permitted to ſee it. It was not to take place till the marriage was ſet aſide. The two legates, therefore, prepared to begin this important proceſs.

Nothing could be more affecting than the behaviour of the queen, when ſhe and the king were cited before their tribunal. Inſtead of anſwering to her name, as the king had done, ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and addreſſed him in the moſt pathetic manner. She urged the implacability of her enemies to a friendleſs woman, in a country where ſhe was a ſtranger, pleaded her irreproachable conduct, and proteſted, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that her former marriage had never been conſummated; that in eſpouſing him ſhe had only conformed to the will of two able monarchs, Henry VII. and Ferdinand the catholic. She expreſſed her ſuſpicion of the commiſſioners impartiality, appealed from them to the pope, and at length left the court, with a firm reſolution to appear there no more. Henry bore witneſs to her virtue; but inſiſted on the ſcruples which diſturbed his peace. He proved, in a plauſible manner, the conſummation of the queen's marriage with his brother Arthur, declared his doubts of the validity of the diſpenſation of pope Julius, and demanded judgment to be given according to the laws of equity and religion. The affair was protracted to a conſiderable length. Clement was either influenced by the promiſes, or intimidated by the threats of Charles the Fifth. Campeggio ſuſpended the proceedings, the cauſe was evoked to Rome, and the decretal bull thrown into the fire.

Henry, being thus diſappointed in the expected ſucceſs of his wiſhes, began to ſuſpect Wolſey of treachery; and from this æra we may juſtly date the favourite's downfall. The emperor joined his endeavours to accompliſh that event, and the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk exerted all their influence to ſupplant him. But the chief inſtrument in the fall of Wolſey was Anne Boleyn, whoſe aſcendancy over the mind of Henry was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that the cardinal found his authority likely to be ſhaken by her extraordinary influence.

The diſgrace of Wolſey was expected to have been the immediate conſequence of the reference of the cauſe to the court of Rome: but Henry had ſo far the the government of his paſſions, as to conceal his diſlike of his miniſter's proceedings. No ſooner, however, had the pope's legate obtained

ined his audience of leave, than Henry, to di-
ert his chagrin, made a progreſs through ſome
f the neighbouring counties, unaccompanied by
Wolſey. This neglect the cardinal knew fore-
oded him no good. Yet, as he flattered himſelf
e might ſtill find means to avert his impending
uin, he diſcharged the duties of his office with
is accuſtomed punctuality. But Anne Boleyn,
nd the reſt of his enemies, had worked up the
ing's reſentment to ſuch a degree, that, on his re-
urn to London, the dukes of Norfolk and Suf-
olk, Wolſey's inveterate foes, were ſent to de-
and the great ſeal. Wolſey at firſt refuſed to de-
iver it, on pretence of holding it by patent for
ife; but the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk return-
ng next day with orders, beſides the king's ſignet,
Wolſey immediately reſigned it into their hands;
pon which the king gave it to Sir Thomas More,
man of profound literature, and unblemiſhed in-
egrity; Wolſey was ordered to quit York pa-
lace, which, a few days after, though it belonged
to the archiepiſcopal ſee, was ſeized by Henry,
nd became afterwards a royal reſidence, under
the title of Whitehall. A cup-board of maſſy
gold, with all his other valuable furniture, beſides
a thouſand pieces of fine Holland, were convert-
d to the king's uſe, and Wolſey, having diſmiſſed
his ſplendid retinue, retired to his ſeat at Eſher,
on the banks of the Thames.

But notwithſtanding this ſeverity, Henry ſtill
expreſſed ſome affection for the cardinal; but yield-
ing to the ſolicitations of his enemies, he at laſt
gave him up to a parliamentary enquiry. The
houſe of lords exhibited no leſs than forty-four ar-
ticles againſt him, all of which were rejected by
the commons. Thomas Cromwell, an old ſervant
to Wolſey, undertook his defence with great reſo-
lution and ſtrength of argument; a ſtep which,
far from retarding his promotion, as might have
been expected, laid the firſt foundation of thoſe
favours he afterwards received from the king. The
cardinal was, however, condemned for having ſo-
licited bulls from Rome, a pretext the more fri-
volous, as all he had done was ſanctioned by his
maſter's conſent. The king, however, ſoftened
the rigour of the proſecution, granted him a par-
don for all offences, and continued to intimate,
from time to time, that he ſtill retained for him
his former friendſhip and eſteem.

The policy of Clement VII. (together with the
intrigues and powers of Charles V.) had, by this
time, deprived the king of all hopes of ſucceeding
in his application to the court of Rome for a di-
vorce. It was, therefore, neceſſary to find out
ſome other expedient to gain his ends. From
this difficulty he was at length extricated by the aſ-
ſiſtance of Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jeſus
College, Cambridge, who propoſed to conſult all
the univerſities of Europe on this ſubject. "If
they," ſaid he, "approve of our marriage with
Catherine of Arragon, your ſcruples muſt neceſ-
ſarily ſubmit to their ſuffrages; if they declare the
marriage unlawful, the pope cannot refuſe his con-
ſent to the divorce." This propoſition was well
received by the king, who agreed that it ſhould be
carried into immediate execution. Finding that
Cranmer's piety and moderation were equal to his
extraordinary abilities, he ſent for him to court,
and placed him near his perſon. In the mean time
agents were diſpatched to all the univerſities of Eu-
rope on the propoſed commiſſion.

A. D. 1530. The reſult of this enquiry termi-
nated in favour of the monarch. Several of the
univerſities, without heſitation, maintained, "that
the marriage of any perſon with a brother's wi-
dow was contrary to the divine law; and, conſe-
quently, could not be authoriſed by any diſpen-
ſation."

The court of Rome, however, paid no regard
to this deciſion, which had given Henry ſo much
ſatisfaction. A ſpirited letter was, therefore, writ-
ten to the pope, ſigned by many of the lords ſpiri-
tual and temporal, in which they plainly told him,
"that if he continued to perſiſt in refuſing the
king that juſtice which he had a right to demand,
and after he had obtained the ſanction of ſo many
learned univerſities, they would renounce their
obedience to the holy ſee, who had ſo long a-
muſed the king, and to ſo little purpoſe. All
theſe events tended to the ruin of the Romiſh
church, the reſpect of the people for the pontifi-
cal authority daily diminiſhed, and as for the king,
the more oppoſitions he met with, the ſtronger
were his reſolutions to overcome every obſtacle
which ſtood in the way of his deſires.

Wolſey ſtill entertained hopes of retrieving the
royal favour, having been already re-inſtated in
the revenues of his archbiſhoprick, and thoſe of
the ſee of Wincheſter. This alarmed the coun-
cil, who procured an order from the king, that
he ſhould remove to his archiepiſcopal ſee. In
conſequence of this, he retired to Cawood in
Yorkſhire, where he ſoon gained popularity, by
a diligent diſcharge of his paſtoral duties.
Short, however, was the date of the happi-
neſs he now enjoyed. He was ſoon after arreſted
for high treaſon, by the earl of Northumberland
and Sir Peter Walſh, who were ſent down for that
purpoſe.

In compliance with the king's commands, he ſet
out for London with ſeeming chearfulneſs; but
partly by the fatigue of his journey, and partly
by the anxiety of his mind, he was ſeized with a
diſorder which ſoon turned to a dyſentary; ſo that
it was with the greateſt difficulty he reached Lei-
ceſter. On his arrival there, he was immediately
carried to his bed, from which he never more
aroſe. Convinced of the vanity of all ambitious
purſuits, and ſublunary grandeur, he ſincerely re-
gretted his compliance with the unruly paſſions of
an ungrateful maſter. "Had I," ſaid he, "ſerved
my God, as diligently as I ſerved my king, he
would not have forſaken me in my grey hairs." He
died ſoon after in all the pangs of remorſe, on the
twenty-third of November, in the ſixtieth year of
his age, and was, at his own requeſt, buried in the
chapel of Leiceſter abbey.

A. D. 1531. The parliament, which met ſoon
after Wolſey's deceaſe, availed themſelves of the
ſame act, which had deſtroyed the cardinal, to en-
rich the crown at the expence of the clergy, on
whoſe humiliation Henry ſeemed firmly reſolved.
The Proteſtant faith was, at this time, privately
embraced by many of the Engliſh, whoſe ignorance
and ſuperſtition had been, in a great meaſure, re-
moved by the writings and ſermons of Wickliff
and his diſciples. But, however deſirous the com-
mons might be of humbling the clergy, moſt of
them found themſelves in the ſame predicament;
for having maintained cauſes in the eccleſiaſtical
courts, they became apprehenſive for their own
ſafety. Having, however, found means to get
themſelves included in a pardon, which the clergy
had purchaſed at a great expence, they exulted in
their ſucceſs, and extolled to the ſkies their ſove-
reign's clemency.

A. D. 1532. The whole kingdom was now ſufficiently convinced of Henry's intention to marry Anne Boleyn, in defiance of the pope's authority, and the obedience which the king owed to the holy ſee. Sir Thomas More, incapable of making his religion ſubſervient to his intereſt, and totally indifferent to the advancement of his fortune, was overjoyed at being permitted to reſign the ſeals; ſoon after which, Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature. This was a moſt flattering circumſtance to Henry; for though the deceaſed prelate had been convinced of the illegality of the king's marriage with Catherine, he was too much devoted to the ſee of Rome, to do any thing in oppoſition to the papal power. Dr. Thomas Cranmer was ſoon after appointed his ſucceſſor.

Not all the eloquence of the ſubtle Henry could induce Catherine to withdraw her appeal from Rome; ſo that having concluded a treaty of alliance with Francis I. he privately married Anne Boleyn on the 14th of November.

A. D. 1533. The queen's pregnancy, which ſoon after appeared, made it neceſſary for Henry to own his marriage publickly; in conſequence of which it was determined in council, that Cranmer ſhould pronounce the ſentence of divorce againſt Catherine. The archbiſhop accordingly repaired to Dunſtable, in the neighbourhood of which Catherine reſided, and cited her to appear before him. As ſhe paid no regard to the ſummons, ſhe was declared contumacious, and the primate, after examining into the merits of the cauſe, annulled the king's marriage with Catherine, as illegal. He afterwards ratified his marriage with Anne Boleyn, who was publickly crowned, with great ceremony and magnificence. On the 7th of September the new queen was delivered of a daughter, who was named Elizabeth, and who afterwards governed the realm with ſuch merited applauſe. Henry conferred on her the title of Princeſs of Wales, though ſhe was only preſumptive heir to the crown.

Theſe proceedings were no ſooner known at Rome, than the whole conſiſtory was thrown into the moſt violent ferment. The king was threatened with excommunication if he did not, within a limited time, make atonement for the criminal acts he had committed. The mediation of Francis I. whoſe ſecond ſon, the duke of Orleans, was to marry Catherine de Medicis, the pope's neice, ſeemed to promiſe a favourable accommodation. Henry conſented to ſubmit his cauſe to the judgment of the conſiſtory, provided all the cardinals of the imperial party were excluded, and the pope ſeemed diſpoſed to comply with his requeſt. The court of Rome expected the king's poſitive anſwer. The courier not arriving on the day he was expected, the enraged pontiff entered the conſiſtory, pronounced the legality of Henry's marriage with Catherine, and declared him excommunicated, if he refuſed to acknowledge the ſentence. Two days after the meſſenger arrived with the monarch's letter; but it was then too late to remedy the evil, and the kingdom of all others in Europe moſt devoted to the ſee of Rome, and moſt laviſh in its contributions, became the moſt irreconſileable enemy.

A. D. 1534. In the enſuing parliament laws were enacted wholly ſubverſive of the papal authority, which was then declared to be confined within the limits of the dioceſe of Rome. The ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt heretics was moderated. No ſynod was to be convoked without the king's permiſſion. It was further enacted, that the pope ſhould have no ſhare in the election of biſhops, and that the biſhops, elected by the chapter, ſhould ſwear fealty to the king. That no one ſhould apply to the biſhop of Rome on any religious account whatever. That peter-pence, and all diſpenſations iſſued by the court of Rome, ſhould be aboliſhed. That the archbiſhop of Canterbury ſhould be empowered to grant diſpenſations, the profits ariſing from which to be paid into the king's exchequer. That all religious houſes ſhould be ſubject to the archbiſhop's viſitation, that the king's marriage with Catherine ſhould be null and void, and that the ſucceſſion ſhould devolve upon the iſſue of Anne Boleyn, his lawful wife. An act of attainder was alſo paſſed againſt Elizabeth Barton, (commonly called *The Holy Maid of Kent*) and her accomplices, for treaſonable practices.

This female enthuſiaſt, who was ſubject to a very extraordinary kind of hyſteric convulſions, was inſtructed, by ſome clerical impoſtors, to aſſume the character of an inſpired perſon; and to feign a miraculous cure, in order to attract a number of credulous perſons to an image of the Virgin.

When the people became thoroughly perſuaded of her being divinely commiſſioned, ſhe was taught to declaim not only againſt the reformation, which ſhe called hereſy, but againſt all eccleſiaſtical innovations, and againſt the king's divorce: nay, ſhe even threatened him with death if he perſiſted in his crime. Henry, for ſome time, diſdained to take any notice of this woman, conſidering her pretended prophecies as the effects of a diſtempered brain; but finding her ſupported not only by the monks, but alſo by all the pope's agents in England, he determined to proſecute her with the utmoſt rigour. She and her accomplices were accordingly arreſted, and, being examined in the Star-Chamber, confeſſed their guilt, and were all committed to priſon.

The detection of this impoſture greatly injured the credit of the eccleſiaſtics, eſpecially the monks, who ſeverely felt the weight of Henry's reſentment. John Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, and Sir Thomas More, were committed to the tower, for refuſing to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy.

But though Henry had renounced the pope's authority, he was far from being a friend to the reformers, whoſe tenets were, notwithſtanding, embraced by great numbers in the kingdom. The king's book againſt Luther had gained him reſpect with the catholics, but the contemptuous anſwer of that reformer had hurt his pride. He did not, therefore, abandon the tenets of the Romiſh faith, though he had diſclaimed the authority of the pontiff. His courtiers knew not which religion to adopt, and ſeemed exceeding cautious in declaring their ſentiments. The duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, though they pretended to acknowledge the king's ſupremacy, were very rigid againſt the reformers. On the other hand, the queen, with archbiſhop Cranmer and ſecretary Cromwell, were as violent againſt the profeſſors of the Romiſh religion. In conſequence of this, perſecution prevailed on both ſides, and it was equally unſafe to acknowledge the pope's ſupremacy, as to embrace the tenets of Luther. The prior of the Carthuſian monks, the prior of Hexham, Benaſe, a monk of Sion-College, and John Haile, vicar of Iſleworth, were put to death for denying the pope's ſupremacy. Theſe, and too many more inſtances of the like horrid perſecution,

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

ANNE BOLEYN.

Wale delin. *Walker sculp.*

Married to Henry 8. November 14. 1532. | *Crowned June 1. 1533.* | *Beheaded May 19. 1536.*

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ons, which disgrace the close of this reign, evince the direful effects of a misguided zeal in matters of a religious nature.

Nor did the reformers escape the violence of the king, who was highly offended at that spirit of liberty cherished by the whole sect. A gentleman of the Temple, and a clergyman, were put to the torture for embracing the doctrines of the reformation; but, being unable to endure their sufferings, they abjured the tenets of Luther, and were set at liberty. However, feeling afterwards the deepest compunction for their timidity, they boldly preached against the superstitions of the established religion, and were condemned to the flames, the violence of which they endured with amazing fortitude, glorying in the faith for which they yielded up their lives.

It was, indeed, exceeding difficult to avoid incurring the king's displeasure. Such were the effects of his furious bigotry, that the most innocent actions were deemed heretical. To teach children the Lord's Prayer in the vulgar tongue, to read the English translation of the New Testament, to speak against pilgrimages, and to omit observing the fasts of the church, were considered as highly criminal, and the offenders punished with the utmost severity.

A. D. 1535. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were still confined in the tower. The pope, who imputed the sufferings of Fisher to his attachment to the church of Rome, sent him, during his imprisonment, a cardinal's hat; but this promotion could not exempt him from punishment. He was, at last, tried and condemned to lose his life, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, and submitted to his fate with great calmness and fortitude. Sir Thomas More also fell a victim to Henry's fury for the same offence. When conducted to the scaffold, neither the serenity of his mind, no the usual chearfulness of his temper, forsook him. He entreated the executioner to stay till he had just put aside his beard; "for (said he) that has never committed treason." The resolution of this great and good man will be remembered with respect, while the malice of his enemies will be recollected with abhorrence.

Paul III. who had lately succeeded Clement VII. in the papacy, had flattered himself with being able to reconcile Henry to the see of Rome. He was more desirous than Clement himself to bring about an accommodation. While this business seemed to wear a prospect of success, and terms were negotiating for this purpose, the news of Fisher's execution re-kindled the resentment of the sacred college. A cardinal put to death for defending the rights of the holy see, called aloud for vengeance on the royal aggressor, and the thunder of the vatican was hurled against him. Henry was cited to appear before the pope's tribunal, excommunicated for his refusal, his marriage with Anne Boleyn declared illegal, his subjects freed from their allegiance, his kingdom delivered up to the first invader, and his leagues with all catholic princes dissolved. These censures the pope, however, delayed to publish, till all hopes of an accommodation should prove abortive, and till Charles V. (then employed against the Turks and the protestants of Germany) should be able to assist him in putting these menaces into execution.

The league of Smalcalde, where the reformers assumed the name of Protestants, formed a strong barrier to the ambition of this formidable sovereign. The kings of England and France made some advances to be admitted into this league. But their rigorous persecution of their heretical subjects, or those who were only suspected as such, and their bigoted zeal for the support of the antient faith, did not allow the German princes to place any dependence on them. A league formed upon religion and policy required a conformity of sentiments as well as of interests.

A. D. 1536. During these religious controversies, queen Catherine was attacked with a distemper which put a period to her existence on the 6th of January, in the 50th year of her age. When her last moments were approaching, she wrote a very affecting letter to the king, whom she stiled, "her most dear lord, king and husband." Henry was greatly moved with this last proof of Catherine's affection, given at such a period. But very different was the behaviour of Anne Boleyn, who openly expressed her satisfaction at the death of Catherine, and seemed pleased in making it publickly known, little thinking how soon she was to be sacrificed to the ungovernable passion of her husband. Catherine's remains were deposited in the abbey of Peterborough, which Henry afterwards converted into an episcopal cathedral.

The affronts which Henry had received from the monks were now threatened to be repaid with ample vengeance. Conscious of their connexion with the Roman see, they had strained every nerve in depreciating the reformation. They declaimed, with the utmost violence, against the adherents of Luther, who, on the other hand, reproached the monks with their laziness, sophistry, and superstition. The revenues of the convents had, probably, inspired Henry with a desire of appropriating them to his own use: the design, however, appeared to him exceeding hazardous, they having been long considered as sacred and inviolable. Some caution was, therefore, necessary to be observed; and it was resolved in council, that a general visitation should be made of all the monasteries, that a strict inquest should be taken of all their titles and revenues, and that the morals and regulations of the whole fraternity should be minutely inspected. Cromwell was created vicar-general and inquisitor-general of all the monasteries; and the result of this enquiry, by discovering unparalleled scenes of vice and licentiousness, seemed to justify the necessity of such a salutary proceeding. Nothing was more easy than to detect these abuses and enormities; but a great number were, indeed, rather imputed, than really existed. Doubtful evidences were admitted as facts, calumnies were aggravated into proofs, and several convents of both sexes were represented as exhibiting scenes of the most abandoned lewdness. Violent dissentions, the grossest superstitions, laziness, effeminacy, and ignorance, were among the least imputations with which these societies stood charged. The account of this visitation was published, in order to render them more execrable in the eyes of the nation. And now the first blow was given to these religious orders. The vows of the religious under the age of twenty-four were cancelled, all of whom were obliged to leave their convents; while others above that age were left at their liberty of renouncing the cloister if they thought proper. The parliament, who were merely the tools of Henry, suppressed all the smaller monasteries, the revenues of each of which did not amount to less than two hundred pounds. No less than three hundred and seventy-six of these were accordingly abolished at one time. Their lands were confiscated to the king's use; and his

his yearly revenue was thereby encreaſed to thirty thouſand pounds, beſides an immenſe perſonal property, which was computed at one hundred thouſand pounds.

While the parliament was employed in ſuppreſſing the leſſer monaſteries, an affair of great importance to the proteſtants engaged the attention of the convocation. Tindal's Verſion of the Bible, publiſhed ſome years before, had been found inaccurate, and was condemned to be burnt. A new tranſlation of the Scriptures was, therefore, propoſed. This motion, long oppoſed by the papiſts, and favoured by the reformers, was at length carried, and perſons properly qualified were engaged in the undertaking.

The decline of the Romiſh religion was, in a great meaſure, owing to Henry's paſſion for Anne Boleyn, who had now loſt that aſcendancy ſhe formerly poſſeſſed over the king's paſſions. Jane Seymour, one of her maids of honour (a lady of ſingular beauty and merit) had newly gained his affections, and, immoderate in his deſires, he did not ſcruple to ſacrifice a wife to a miſtreſs. The diſpoſition of Anne Boleyn, though perfectly conſonant with virtue, was, nevertheleſs, gay and lively, and had, perhaps, an appearance of gallantry, which, allowing for the freedoms practiſed in the court of France, where ſhe had been bred, is not to be wondered at. Calumny had converted her moſt inoffenſive actions into crimes, and Henry, taking it into his head to doubt her fidelity, determined on the deſtruction of one whom he had, ſo ſhort a time before, extravagantly admired. She was, therefore, arreſted and accuſed of adultery and inceſt, by having had a criminal connexion with her brother the viſcount Rochford and others, for which charge there was not the leaſt ſhadow of a foundation. Such, however, was the ſlaviſh compliance of the parliament with the king's will, that, though no evidence appeared againſt her, ſhe was condemned to death. She declared her innocence to the laſt, and, in a moſt pathetic letter to the king, which ſhe ſent when juſt going to aſcend the ſcaffold, ſhe ſays, "You have been con-
"tinually raiſing me: from a private gentlewoman
"you made me a marchioneſs; from a marchio-
"neſs, a queen; and as you can raiſe me no higher
"in this world, you are this day ſending me to be
"a ſaint in heaven." She recommended to him her daughter Elizabeth, and received the ſtroke of death with the greateſt compoſure and reſolution, on the 19th of May; and her remains were privately interred in the tower.

The very next day after the execution of Anne Boleyn, Henry married lady Jane Seymour, ſo eager was he to ſatisfy his inordinate deſires. Nor was he content with putting Anne Boleyn to death; he even declared his marriage with her illegal, under pretence of her former contract with the earl of Northumberland, and, by this act of cruelty, rendered the princeſs Elizabeth illegitimate.

The ſame obſequiouſneſs appeared in the new parliament as in the former. They confirmed the divorce of Catherine, declared the two princeſſes (Mary and Elizabeth) illegitimate, and adjudged the crown to devolve on the iſſue of the then, or any future, marriage of the king.

In revenge for the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, Henry was again excommunicated, the kingdom laid under an interdict, and the people abſolved from their allegiance. In conſequence of this a rebellion was excited by the monks, who perſuaded the people that it was their duty to take up arms againſt a prince who had trampled under foot all their civil and religious liberties. Upwards of twenty thouſand perſons aſſembled in Lincolnſhire, headed by Thomas Mackerels, prior of Barlings; but being unable to reſiſt a body of regulars ſent under the duke of Suffolk to oppoſe them, they diſperſed of themſelves, on condition of a pardon: but their leader was taken, and paid his life as a forfeit for his treaſon.

This inſurrection was ſucceeded by one of much greater importance in Yorkſhire, under the influence and command of one Aſke, a gentleman of that country, poſſeſſed of talents ſuited to the purpoſes of rebellion. The rebels marched under the banner of the croſs, and ſtiled their enterprize, "The pilgrimage of grace," which they pretended to have undertaken for the love of God, the ſervice of the king, the re-eſtabliſhment of the church, and the ſuppreſſion of heretics. So great was the effect of this deluſion, that Aſke ſoon found himſelf at the head of forty thouſand men. Pontefract-caſtle ſoon yielded to their attacks, as did likewiſe York and Hull, and Aſke compelled all the nobility of the coutry to join him, except Henry Clifford, earl of Northumberland, who defended Skipton caſtle againſt all their attempts.

The prudence of the duke of Norfolk, whom the king had ſent againſt them, with an army of only five thouſand men, tended to impede their progreſs. The river Till, which was rendered impaſſable by violent rains, had twice prevented their coming to an engagement. Perſuaded that heaven oppoſed their deſign, ſuperſtition got the better of their courage, and they accepted of a pardon from the duke of Norfolk, which the king afterwards confirmed.

The prieſts, in a ſhort time, re-kindled the torch of diſcord at the ſhrine of religion, and perſuaded the people once more to undertake the defence of their ſuperſtitious worſhip. The duke of Norfolk was obliged to continue in the north during the winter, but by the exerciſe of martial law, he encreaſed, inſtead of abated, the diſorders. Muſgrave and Treby, two gentlemen, at the head of eight thouſand peaſants, made an attempt on Carliſle, but were defeated by the duke of Norfolk: Muſgrave eſcaped, but Treby, and ſeventy of his adherents, were all hanged on the walls of that city.

A. D. 1537. In order to prevent any farther inſurrections, Henry ſent for the ring-leaders to court. Aſke obeyed the ſummons, and was favourably received; but the lords Darcy and Huſſey, with ſeveral other rebel officers, refuſing obedience to the royal commands, were ſeized, and beheaded on Tower-Hill. Aſke, intimidated by their fate, retired into the country without leave, and was ſoon afterwards hanged at York.

Inured to ſlaughter, the practice of it became familiar to Henry. Thomas Fitzgerald and five of his uncles, who had been long impriſoned in the tower, for a revolt in Ireland, were ordered for execution. The earl's youngeſt ſon Stephen, however, fled to the continent, and was engaged by cardinal Pole, in his attempts to re-eſtabliſh the papal authority in England.

The wiſhes of the king were now happily gratified by the birth of a ſon, the indiſputable heir to his crown; but his ſatisfaction received a conſiderable alloy by the death of the queen in childbed. Of all his wives ſhe was the moſt eſteemed by him, and reſpected by the people for the affability

fability and humility of her diſpoſition. Her loſs was ſo much regretted by the king, that he ſecluded himſelf from all company for ſeveral days. The young prince was baptiſed by the name of Edward, and had the titles of prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, conferred on him.

A. D. 1538. This fortunate event greatly conduced to the aggrandiſement of Henry's power; he was dreaded by his ſubjects, and his friendſhip ſolicited by the greateſt princes of Europe. He therefore now determined on a total ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries. A new viſitation of theſe receſſes was ordered by the parliament, and guilt and innocence were confounded by the viſitors. In many of the monaſteries were found artificial relics, and various inventions were diſcovered for impoſing on the credulous.

A remarkable crucifix at Boxley in Kent was held in ſacred veneration. This inſtrument of idolatry, which was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of "The rood of grace," was contrived by means of ſprings placed within it, to ſhake its head, open its lips, and perform ſundry motions of the human body. This object of bigotted devotion was broken in pieces at St. Paul's croſs, by Hilſey, biſhop of Rocheſter, who expoſed the manner in which the deception had been practiſed, to the conviction of a deluded croud of ſpectators.

Impoſitions of this flagrant nature could not but expoſe their detected authors to public deteſtation and abhorrence. Henry reaped all the advantage from them he could deſire, and the monks, finding all reſiſtance fruitleſs, conſented to abandon their ſanctuaries and receive penſions for their ſubſiſtence. The number of monaſteries diſſolved was ſix hundred and forty-five, twenty-eight of which had abbots who ſat in parliament. Ninety colleges, two thouſand three hundred and ten hoſpitals, were demoliſhed in different parts of the kingdom: and the whole confiſcated revenues amounted to the annual ſum of one hundred and ſixty thouſand one hundred pounds.

The moſt reſpected object, however, was the ſhrine of Thomas à Becket, which, though it had hitherto eſcaped, could not be overlooked by this vindictive enemy to the holy ſee. Henry could not bear the thought that the memory of this arch-rebel to his ſovereign, ſhould be held in ſuch pious veneration by the people, and his tomb loaded with the ſuperb offerings of the pilgrims who conſtantly reſorted to it. The actions of Becket were recapitulated, his pretended miracles expoſed, his name expunged from the calendar, the office for his feſtival omitted in the breviary, his bones burnt, and his aſhes ſcattered by the winds. Among other ſpoils of the ſaint, which Henry appropriated to his own uſe, was a diamond of infinite value, preſented by Lewis VII. of France, who had made a pilgrimage to the ſhrine of St. Thomas. This jewel was ſet in a ring and worn by Henry on his thumb. To reconcile the people to theſe innovations, the king erected ſix new biſhopricks, made ample donations to his courtiers, and ſettled ſalaries on ſome of the abbots and monks.

Theſe violent proceedings excited the reſentment of the court of Rome, which vented itſelf in reproaches and anathemas againſt the perſon and conduct of Henry, who was repreſented as the moſt ſacrilegious tyrant that ever diſgraced the dignity of a throne. Libels were publiſhed in which he was degraded below the character of Julian the apoſtate. The king eaſily recognized, in theſe invectives, the ſtyle of cardinal Pole, his relation; and his pride and ſanguinary temper prompted him to revenge the inſult. The cardinal, indeed, who reſided in Italy, was out of the reach of his reſentment. But as he was ſuſpected of having formed a conſpiracy againſt him, ſome lords, and particularly two of the cardinal's brothers, were arreſted as his accomplices: Sir Geoffrey de la Pole alone eſcaped with his life, by diſcovering the conſpiracy.

Pope Paul III. finding all hopes of a reconciliation with Henry impoſſible, reſolved to publiſh the ſentence of excommunication againſt him, which he had hitherto ſuſpended. He uſed his utmoſt endeavours to exaſperate the neighbouring princes againſt him, and even promiſed the crown to James of Scotland, provided he would aſſiſt in dethroning Henry. But the power of the Engliſh monarch enabled him to ſet his holineſs at defiance, and to exact a new oath from the clergy, to abjure the authority of the biſhop of Rome. The new tranſlation of the bible was now compleated, and preſented to the king by Cromwell, who was of opinion, that a free toleration of the ſcriptures, in the vulgar tongue, would effectually eradicate the Romiſh ſuperſtition. Henry, however, who was but half a proteſtant, would indulge the people only in a partial uſe of the ſcriptures, to which they were reſtricted by a public proclamation. This indulgence, however, was embraced by the reformers as a great acquiſition, eſpecially as the clergy, were permitted to read the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the decalogue in Engliſh. They were alſo recommended to preach good works, and the inefficacy of relics, roſaries, and other inſtruments of popery, to procure ſalvation.

A. D. 1539. Notwithſtanding the pope's excommunication, and his inveteracy againſt the Romiſh clergy, Henry conſtantly piqued himſelf on an ardent zeal for the Catholic doctrine; which he gloried in defending by diſputation as well as perſecution. Of all the inconſiſtencies of that doctrine, was, that moſt abſurd one tranſubſtantiation, which he maintained with the moſt ridiculous obſtinacy. One Lambert, a ſchoolmaſter, had maintained unorthodox opinions concerning the real preſence, and, being cited before the biſhops, appealed to the king. Henry was overjoyed at this opportunity of diſplaying his theological talents. The prelates, peers, and other perſons of diſtinction, being aſſembled in Weſtminſter Hall, the royal theologiſt, ſeated on the throne, challenged Lambert to defend his opinion with reſpect to the Euchariſt. The pedagogue acquitted himſelf in the taſk with great courage, but the king, aſſiſted by ten biſhops, who all engaged in the diſpute, effectually confounded the diſputant, after a conference of five hours. He concluded by propoſing to him to alter his ſentiments, or be burnt alive. Lambert, confounded, but not convinced, preferred the fire to the ſhame of retracting, and periſhed with amazing reſolution amidſt the moſt dreadful tortures. The monarch, intoxicated with the applauſe beſtowed upon him for his ſucceſs in this diſpute, expected a more implicit ſubmiſſion to his principles than before. To think differently from him in eccleſiaſtical matters was deemed a capital tranſgreſſion; and he availed himſelf of the ſervility of his parliament, to make his own opinion the

ſtandard of orthodoxy in England. A bill was drawn up, and preſented to the houſe, where it paſſed into a law, called the bill of the ſix articles, or, as the proteſtants juſtly ſtiled it, "The bloody bill." By this act the preſence in the Eucahriſt; communion in one kind; the perpetual obligation to vows of chaſtity; the celibacy of the prieſthood; the utility of private maſſes; and the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion, were eſtabliſhed, on pain of death; fines, confiſcations, and impriſonment, according to the heinouſneſs of the crimes committed in breach of this law. Cranmer alone had the reſolution to oppoſe this bill, but when it was paſſed into a law, he immediatcly ſeparated from his wife, and the king was contented with this inſtance of his ſubmiſſion.

By an act yet more ſtrange, in which the parliament ſhewed themſelves equally regardleſs of their civil as of their religious liberties, they even gave to the king's proclamation the ſame force as an act of parliament; thus transferring the legiſlative power to the crown, and totally ſubverting the Engliſh conſtitution.

Nor did the meanneſs of their condeſcenſion ſtop here. In compliance with the king's hatred to cardinal Pole, they paſſed bills of attainder, not only againſt his adherents, but alſo againſt his mother the counteſs of Saliſbury, the marchioneſs of Exeter, Sir Adrian Forteſcue, and Sir Thomas Dingley, without the leaſt proof of their guilt. The two gentlemen were executed, the marchioneſs received a pardon, and the counteſs was reprieved. The ſtatute of the ſix articles reduced the proteſtants to deſpair, but Cranmer and Cromwell ſuſpended the execution of them, and the capricious monarch himſelf favoured at one time the party he oppreſſed at another, by allowing every perſon to have the tranſlation of the bible in his own family.

The final deciſion of theſe religious diſputes ſeemed to depend upon Henry's choice of a future conſort, he having given ſeveral hints of his deſigns to enter into a new matrimonial engagement. He at firſt caſt his eyes upon a daughter of the duke of Guiſe, but found ſhe had been betrothed to the king of Scotland. Cromwell recommended to him Anne of Cleves, whoſe father, the duke of Cleves, and brother-in-law, the elector of Saxony, held a conſiderable rank among the princes of Germany. Henry had been ſtruck with her beauty by a flattering picture of her, drawn by Hans Holbein; and the marriage was ſoon after concluded with her father's conſent, though contrary to the will of her brother-in-law. This union (had it ſubſtantially taken place) would have been very likely to have fruſtrated all the attempts of the catholic party, but no ſooner was the princeſs introduced to him at Rocheſter, than, irritated at his diſappointment, he ſwore "they had ſent him a great Fanders mare." But when he found that ſhe could ſpeak only German, which he did not underſtand, and that the charms of her converſation would not atone for the homelineſs of her perſon, he would have broken off the match abruptly, had not the friendſhip of the German princes been neceſſary to his affairs. He, therefore, determined to complete his marriage, and told Cromwell that as matters were gone ſo far, he muſt e'en put his neck into the yoke.

A. D. 1540. On the ſixth of January the nuptials were accordingly celebrated, and the next morning Cromwell was deſirous of knowing whether the king liked his ſpouſe any better. Henry told him, he hated her more than ever, that her perſon was more loathſome the nearer he approached her, and that he was reſolved never to cohabit with her. He behaved, however, very kindly to her, and diſſembled even with Cromwell the diſguſt he had conceived againſt him for the ſhare he had taken in this tranſaction. He even created him earl of Eſſex and knight of the garter. Cromwell harangued the parliament in his character of vicar-general; and the houſe of lords, thinking to pleaſe the king by flattering his miniſter, told him, he merited to be vicar-general of the univerſe.

At length, however, the ſtorm broke over the head of Cromwell, which the duke of Norfolk and Gardiner contributed all in their power to aggravate. Jealous of his influence at court, they failed not to improve every circumſtance to his diſadvantage. Obnoxious to the Romiſh party on account of his enmity to their principles, a ſtratagem was projected to effect his ruin. They introduced Catherine Howard, neice to the duke of Norfolk, a lady of exceeding beauty, at court, and obſerving ſhe had gained the king's affections, the duke made uſe of her influence, to precipitate the fall of a miniſter whom, in reality, he now deteſted. Henry readily liſtened to all the inſinuations of the duke and Gardiner, and it was determined that the miniſter ſhould fall a victim to the reſentment of the public; in conſequence of which, he was arreſted at the council board, and cloſely committed to the Tower. Cromwell now found himſelf forſaken by all the friends of his proſperity, and ſupported only by Cranmer, his faithful adherent in affliction. The more highly the parliament had flattered him, the more eager were they now to oppreſs him. He was accuſed of hereſy and treaſon, and condemned to the Scaffold without examination and without evidence. In vain did he implore the king's clemency, a virtue to which Henry was a ſtranger. The miniſter was executed without delay, and all his ſervices diſregarded or forgotten. This nobleman certainly deſerved a better fate; for, though elevated from the loweſt origin to the ſummit of human grandeur, he had neither been arrogant to his inferiors, nor ungrateful to his friends.

The king became more and more enamoured of lady Catherine: and Gardiner made frequent entertainments at his own houſe, for the royal lover and his miſtreſs, to whom he had now made offers of partaking a ſhare in his throne. Theſe propoſals having been accepted, Henry determined to procure a divorce from Anne of Cleves, and found no difficulty in obtaining a deciſion from the convocation in his favour. They declared the marriage void, on pretence that ſhe had been affianced in her youth to the duke of Lorrain; that the king had not "inwardly" given his conſent, and that the marriage had never been conſummated. Theſe objections were certainly very frivolous; but as the queen made no oppoſition, the ſentence of divorce was paſſed by the clergy, and ratified by the parliament. Anne acquieſced in the decree on condition of three thouſand pounds a year, and a patent of precedency, with the choice of living either in France or England.

This great point being obtained, and all obſtacles removed, Henry married Catherine Howard, who was ſoon after crowned queen of England. But this marriage, pleaſing as it was to Henry, had not the leaſt effect in ſoftening his diſpoſition. Proteſtants and papiſts were equally the objects of perſe-

perſecution; a ſpirit not a little enflamed by the enthuſiaſtic zeal of the duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter. They executed ri-gorouſly the ſtatutes of the ſix articles. They conſigned to the flames the unhappy proteſtants, who ſuffered triumphantly in the cauſe of truth. Dr. Barnes, Thomas Gerard, a reforming miniſter, and William Jerome, vicar of Stepney, were condemned to the ſtake for hereſy; but they did not ſuffer alone; three bigotted catholics ſhared the ſame fate for denying the king's ſupremacy. Barnes diſputed on theological points even at the ſtake; and the ſheriff preſſing him on the invocation of ſaints, "I doubt," ſaid he, "whether the ſaints can pray for the living; but if they can, I hope in half an hour to be praying for you, and the reſt of the people here aſſembled." This indiſcriminate exerciſe of tyranny excited great murmurs among the people, and produced ſome appearance of an inſurrection. Cardinal Pole was ſuſpected; and on this ſuſpicion, the king ordered his mother the counteſs of Saliſbury, the laſt remains of the blood-royal of Plantagenet, to be executed.

Bigotry and enthuſiaſm had been equally employed in kindling the torch of diſcord in Scotland as well as England. Patrick Hamilton, a young man of noble deſcent, having, about the year 1527, been ſent abroad to receive an education to qualify him for the church, had imbibed the principles of the reformed religion, and, on his return to Scotland, did not ſcruple openly to avow them. A treacherous Dominican, who had inſinuated himſelf into his friendſhip, accuſed him before the archbiſhop of St. Andrews. He was accordingly ſentenced to be burnt, and ſuffered with the reſolution of a martyr. The Dominican, probably overcome by remorſe, ſoon after died diſtracted. Hamilton's martyrdom brought over great numbers of proſelytes to the proteſtant faith, among whom was one friar Foreſt, who became an aſſiduous preacher, and, for his zealous attachment to the holy ſcriptures, was condemned, and ſuffered death as an heretic.

Such was the ſituation of religion in Scotland when James received an invitation from Henry to meet him at York, which the Scottiſh nobility perſuaded him to accept. But the clergy, alarmed at the conſequences of ſuch an interview, which they feared might tend to aggrandize the nobility at the expence of the church, made uſe of ſuch powerful arguments, as induced him to lay aſide his intentions. After a few days delay, he ſent excuſes to Henry, who was waiting for him at York. An inſult of this nature fired the Engliſh monarch with reſentment; but his revenge was, for a time, diverted by an event, which demanded his return to the capital.

A. D. 1541—2. During the king's abſence, one Laſcelles had waited on archbiſhop Cranmer in London, and from the information of this man's ſiſter, who had been a ſervant to the ducheſs dowager of Norfolk, gave a very ſurpriſing account of the queen's incontinency. He avowed, that ſhe had led a very lewd life before her marriage with the king, and had carried on a criminal correſpondence with two men, named Derham and Mannock; and that ſhe had continued to indulge herſelf in the ſame guilty pleaſures, ſince her elevation to the throne.

Equally aſtoniſhed and perplexed, Cranmer communicated this intelligence to the chancellor, and ſome other members of the privy-council, who adviſed him to make the king acquainted with the affair. The archbiſhop not only knew the danger of interfering in matters of ſuch delicacy, but alſo the danger of concealing this information. He, therefore, reſolved to commit what he had heard to writing, in the form of a memorial, which he ſhortly after delivered into the king's own hand, deſiring his majeſty to peruſe it in private. Henry, at firſt affecting to diſbelieve the report, ordered the keeper of the privy-ſeal to examine Laſcelles, who not only perſiſted in his former ſtory, but even brought his ſiſter to confirm it. Derham and Mannock were accordingly arreſted, and being examined, confeſſed their own guilt, and the queen's incontinency. Beſides this, they impeached the old lady Rochford, who had formerly been ſo inſtrumental in procuring the death of Anne Boleyn. They aſſerted, that this lady had introduced one Culpepper into the queen's bed-chamber, who continued with her there during the whole night. On the queen's firſt examination, ſhe denied the charge, but afterwards, finding her accomplices were her accuſers, ſhe confeſſed her incontinence before marriage, but denied her having ever diſhonoured the king's bed. Three maids of honour, however, who had been entruſted with her ſecrets, ſtill further corroborated her guilt, and ſome of them confeſſed having paſſed the night in the ſame bed with her and her lovers. The king was ſo affected at this diſcovery, that he burſt into a flood of tears, and bitterly lamented his misfortunes. Derham, Mannock, and Culpepper were convicted and executed; but Henry was reſolved to throw the odium of the queen's death upon the parliament, who had been always ready to contribute to his ſeverities. Theſe ſervile creatures, on being informed of the queen's crime and confeſſion, ſoon found her guilty, and petitioned the king that ſhe might ſuffer capital puniſhment; that the ſame might be alſo inflicted on lady Rochford the accomplice of her debaucheries, and that her grand-mother, the dutcheſs dowager of Norfolk, together with her father, mother, and nine others, as having been privy to the queen's irregularities, ſhould ſhare in her puniſhment. It is not to be wondered at that the king ſhould readily comply with this petition; the conſequence of which was, that they were condemned to death by an act of attainder, which, at the ſame time, made it capital for any perſon to conceal the debaucheries of any future queen. It was alſo enacted, that if the king married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, ſhe ſhould be guilty of treaſon, in caſe ſhe did not previouſly reveal her ſituation. The people diverted themſelves with this abſurd and brutal ſtatute, and ſaid "the king muſt look out for a widow."

After all theſe laws were paſſed, the queen was beheaded on the twelfth of February on Tower hill, together with the lady Rochford. The queen was greatly pitied; ſhe owned having led a diſſolute life before marriage; but denied, in her laſt moments, and with the utmoſt ſolemnity, having ever been inconſtant after her marriage with the king. The public exclaimed ſo loudly againſt the ſeverity of the act, which included ſo many of her accomplices, that the king did not think proper to put them to death, though ſome of them were long detained in confinement.

Henry, having thus, by various acts of tyranny, ſhewn that he was abandoned to all ideas of juſtice and humanity, at laſt took it into his head to compoſe

poſe a book of religion, which was to be the code by which his ſubjects ſhould, for the future, regulate all their principles and practices. Having procured an act of parliament for this purpoſe, in which all ſpiritual ſupremacy was declared to be veſted in him, he publiſhed a ſmall volume ſoon after, called "The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man," which was favourably received by the convocation, and voted to be the infallible ſtandard of orthodoxy. All the abſtruſe points of juſtification, faith, free-will, good works, and grace, were there defined, with a leaning towards the opinion of the reformers; while the ſacraments, which a few years before were only allowed to be three, are there extended to their original number of ſeven, conformable to the ſentiments of the catholics. But the king was not long ſatisfied with this code of belief; for he ſoon after procured a new book to be compoſed, called "The Erudition of a Chriſtian Man," which he publiſhed upon his own authority; and though this new creed differed much from the former, yet he was no leſs poſitive in requiring aſſent to this, than he had been to the former. In both theſe books he was very explicit in enforcing the doctrine of paſſive obedience; ſo that his inſtitutions were not likely to weaken what he ſo powerfully enforced by his ſeverities.

Henry now found himſelf at leiſure to revenge the affront offered him by the king of Scotland. He declared war by a manifeſto, in which after reproaching his nephew with having broken his word, with giving an aſylum to ſome rebels, and retaining ſome territory which belonged to his kingdom, he renewed his ancient pretenſions to the crown of Scotland, and ſummoned him to do him homage as his liege lord. An Engliſh army paſſed the Tweed at Berwick, but retreated on the firſt approach of the enemy. James was eager to purſue them; but the nobility, reſenting the preference he had ſhewn to the clergy, refuſed to aſſiſt him. A body of ten thouſand men, commanded by lord Maxwell, were defeated at Solway by the Engliſh; an event which threw James into a deſpairing condition, and the grief of which ſhortly put an end to his life. Hearing, juſt before his death that his queen was delivered of a daughter, he lamented the approaching miſeries of his kingdom; of which, ſaid he, "Henry will make himſelf maſter either by arms or marriage."

The death of James, and birth of a daughter, ſole heireſs of a kingdom, whoſe friendſhip was of ſo much importance to England, gave a new turn to the deliberations of the Engliſh councils. Inſtead of exaſperating the Scots, by availing themſelves of the benefits of the late victory, the Engliſh adopted a ſcheme for uniting the two kingdoms by a marriage between Edward, prince of Wales, and Mary the infant queen of Scotland.

A. D. 1543. The Scottiſh priſoners, who had been ſet at liberty in conſequence of this new projected alliance, found, on their return, their country involved in confuſion. James Hamilton, earl of Arran, preſumptive heir to the crown, next to the princeſs, was a nobleman of a ſlender capacity and pacific diſpoſition, not at all calculated to rule the helm of ſtate in thoſe turbulent times. He was, however, perſuaded by the proteſtants, to whom he was attached, to claim the regency by virtue of his proximity of blood. The earl liſtened to their arguments, and reſolved to demand it at the meeting of the next parliament. He was ſtrongly oppoſed by the catholic faction, headed by cardinal Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland, a prelate of unpopular manners, and a perſecuting ſpirit. Beaton publiſhed the late king's will ſoon after his deceaſe, in which that prince had left the government to him in conjunction with the earls of Argyle, Huntley and Murray. By virtue of this inſtrument, which the ambitious churchman is ſaid to have forged, he took poſſeſſion of the government; and having joined his intereſt with that of the queen dowager, ſiſter to the duke of Guiſe, he obtained the conſent of the convention of the ſtates, and excluded the pretenſions of the earl of Arran.

His power, however, was but of ſhort exiſtence. The majority of the parliament declared in favour of Arran, and the cardinal was committed to priſon. A negotiation was immediately entered into with Sir Ralph Sadler, the Engliſh ambaſſador, and a treaty of marriage was concluded, by which it was agreed, that the queen ſhould continue in Scotland till ſhe was ten years of age, when ſhe ſhould be ſent to England for education, and that Scotland, notwithſtanding this union, ſhould ſtill retain its laws and privileges. But Beaton having found means to eſcape from priſon, ſtirred up the clergy againſt this treaty, and awakened the natural antipathy of the Scots againſt the Engliſh: ſo that, inſtead of the propoſed union, a war ſeemed likely to take place between the two kingdoms, in which Francis engaged to ſupport the intereſt of Scotland.

The French king, however, being engaged in a war with the Emperor, was little able to fulfil his engagement. Matthew Stewart, earl of Lenox, was then at the French court, and Francis, knowing his hereditary enmity to the family of Hamilton, by whom his father had been murdered, perſuaded him to return home, and aſſiſt the queen-mother and the cardinal, promiſing to ſend after him a ſupply of pecuniary and military ſuccours. He was alſo flattered with the hopes of eſpouſing the queen dowager, and, in caſe of the death of Mary, of aſcending the throne of Scotland in preference to the earl of Arran, whoſe legitimacy was diſputeable. Lenox, allured by theſe expectations, agreed to the propoſal, and on his arrival in his native country, exerted all his endeavours to break off the marriage treaty. He aſſembled a number of forces in order to reſcue the young queen out of the hands of the regent, who being either not inclined, or not ſtrong enough to contend with his enemies, agreed to an accommodation. The queen and cardinal having now no farther occaſion for Lenox, deſired Francis to recall him; but the earl, aware of their deſign, retired to his caſtle at Dumbarton, and the following year threw himſelf into the arms of the Engliſh.

In about a twelve-month after the death of the late queen, Henry married his ſixth and laſt wife, Catherine Parr, widow of the late Neville, lord Latimer, who was allowed to be a woman of diſcretion and virtue, and well affected to the proteſtant cauſe. But this event did not put a ſtop to the perſecutions of the times. Anthony Perſonne, a prieſt, Robert Teſtwood, a ſinging-man, and Henry Fulmer, a taylor, were, at Gardiner's inſtigation, burnt at Windſor for hereſy. And the biſhop's own ſecretary was executed for denying the king's ſupremacy.

A. D. 1544. The winter ſeaſon having put a period

period to military operations, Henry called a parliament, when the princeſſes Mary and Elizabeth were reſtored to their rights of ſucceſſion; but the king would not ſuffer the ſtatute, which declared their illegitimacy, to be reverſed. As ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit a fleet and army were fitted out to invade Scotland. The former was commanded by Dudley lord Liſle, and the latter by the earl of Hertford. The troops landed near Leith, which town they took, and thence proceeded to Edinburgh, and ſet that city on fire, after plundering the inhabitants. The regent and cardinal, unable to oppoſe them, retired to Stirling. After burning the towns of Haddington and Dunbar, the forces were withdrawn; for Henry having, in conjunction with the emperor, formed a deſign for an invaſion of France, was deſirous of employing his whole army in that expedition.

In conſequence of this plan, they had agreed to march directly to Paris, and without entering upon any ſiege, to proceed from thence to the entire conqueſt of the kingdom. But fortunately for the French king, the emperor had taken the field before Henry landed at Calais, and without waiting for his ally, had ſet down before Luxemburg and taken poſſeſſion of the place. Commercy on the Meuſe, and Ligny alſo, ſoon ſurrendered, but at St. Dezier on the Maine, he met with a powerful reſiſtance from Monſ. Sancerre the Governor.

While the emperor was thus employed, Henry landed at Calais, and hearing of Charles's ſucceſs, determined to follow his example, and accordingly inveſted Montreuil and Boulogne. Theſe ſieges produced delays; and Charles, finding the ſeaſon ſo far advanced, that the ſcheme of ſubduing France would be likely to prove abortive, concluded a ſeparate peace with Francis. In conſequence of this treaty, the count de Buren, who had joined the Engliſh army, withdrew his forces, and Henry was compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Montreuil, and return to England, where he found his ſubjects ready to offer him their accuſtomed adulation, and to praiſe him for an enterprize in which he had laviſhed away great ſums of money, and from which not the leaſt benefit could be derived.

A. D. 1545. Francis, whoſe thoughts were turned towards the diſtreſſing of Henry, employed the whole winter in equipping a fleet to invade the coaſt of England. They ſailed the beginning of July, and proceeded towards the Engliſh fleet then riding at St. Helens. But being unable to do any execution againſt them, they landed on the Iſle of Wight, and committed dreadful ravages, till they were driven back to their ſhips, by the militia of the country.

Finding the expences of the war too great for him to ſupport, Henry again applied to the parliament, and obtained a ſmall ſubſidy. But this not being ſufficient he ſolicited aſſiſtance from the clergy, who (as uſual) were found to be more liberal than the laity; which made the emperor obſerve, that, on the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, "the king had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs." But, tenacious as the parliament had been of their own money, they were amazingly profuſe with what did not belong to them. They granted to Henry all the revenues of the univerſities, chapels, and hoſpitals; but the king took care to inform the univerſities, that he did not intend to encroach upon their endowments.

A. D. 1546. No ſooner was the campaign opened for which the parliament had voted ſome ſupplies, than an accident happened which afforded the Engliſh little hopes of ſucceſs. The earl of Surry, who commanded Henry's forces in Boulogne attempting to intercept a convoy of proviſions going to the fort of Outre Eau at the entrance of that harbour, was compelled to return with ſome loſs without effecting his purpoſe. Yet, not intimidated by his unſucceſsful effort, he attacked the marſhal de Biez, who was eſcorting a much larger convoy. In this attempt he again miſcarried, and ſuſtained a loſs of about eight hundred men killed on the ſpot, and one hundred and twenty taken priſoners, among whom was Sir Edward Poynings.

Theſe misfortunes, added to Henry's natural decay, which boded his approaching diſſolution, inclined him to liſten to terms of accommodation, and a peace was once more eſtabliſhed, in which the emperor and the Scots were included. Thus ended a war which coſt Henry upwards of one million three hundred and forty-three thouſand pounds, without gaining any material advantage; and ſimilar to this was the ſucceſs of almoſt all Henry's expeditions.

Among other alterations in the form of public worſhip, Henry now permitted the Litany to be read in Engliſh, and ordered that the following words ſhould be added: "to be delivered from the tyranny of the biſhop of Rome, and all his deteſtable enormities." Cranmer endeavoured to make farther innovations in favour of the proteſtants, but Gardiner, then at the emperor's court as ambaſſador from England, wrote to inform the king, that if he carried his oppoſition againſt the catholic faith any farther, the emperor would break off all correſpondence with him. The archbiſhop himſelf was at the brink of deſtruction at court. He had, at this time, loſt a ſincere and powerful friend by the death of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law to the king, a nobleman of diſtinguiſhed merit, and who, according to the teſtimony of Henry himſelf, had never ſpoken a word to the prejudice of any one. The enemies of Cranmer, hiding their malice under the maſk of orthodoxy, endeavoured to ruin him as a concealed heretic. This ſo dangerous an accuſation did not, however, for the preſent, ſucceed, a circumſtance the more ſingular, as thoſe times produced the moſt ſhocking inſtances of perſecution.

Anne Aſcue, a beautiful young woman, highly eſteemed, and honoured by the friendſhip even of the queen herſelf, was accuſed of having in converſation expreſſed her diſbelief of the doctrine of the real preſence. The menaces of biſhop Bonner drew from her an imperfect recantation, with which he was not ſatisfied. Being thrown into priſon, and animated, rather than diſcouraged, by this rigour, ſhe wrote to the king, telling him, that in the myſtery of the Euchariſt, ſhe confirmed her belief to the words of Chriſt, and the doctrine of the church; but not being able to admit that ſenſe of it which his majeſty gave, ſhe expected her enemies would make a crime to him of her letter. The chancellor Wriotheſley was ſent to interrogate her on the correſpondencies ſhe had at court. Amidſt all the torments of the rack, ſhe kept the ſecret with unſhaken conſtancy. After diſlocating her limbs by the torture, they carried her to the place of execution, where, not being able to prevail on her to recant, ſhe was burnt alive. Three other unhappy perſons, executed at the ſame

and for the ſame cauſe, imitated her courage, and gloried in their ſufferings.

The queen now ſaw herſelf on the point of being ſacrificed to her huſband's dogmatical zeal. Henry was now grown very corpulent, and was afflicted with an ulcer in his leg, that encreaſed his natural peeviſhneſs. The tenderneſs and aſſiduity of Catherine, on this occaſion, were remarkable. The king's favourite topic was theology, and Catherine was frequently obliged to diſcuſs the moſt abſtruſe tenets of religion with him. In the heat of one of theſe converſations ſhe ſuffered too much of her ſentiment to appear. The ſuſpicion of hereſy awakened all the native cruelty of Henry's heart. Gardiner and the chancellor envenomed the wound. They perſuaded the king to have articles of impeachment drawn up againſt her, which were ſoon after brought for him to ſign. The fatal paper, being luckily dropt by the chancellor, was found by one of the queen's friends, and put into her hands. Senſible of her danger, ſhe exerted all her prudence to avert the ſtorm. She accordingly paid her uſual viſit to the king, and found him in a more ſerene diſpoſition than ordinary. The converſation turning on religious ſubjects, Henry challenged her to maintain her uſual arguments. To this ſhe replied, that ſuch profound ſpeculations were above her comprehenſion, and in her opinion very ill adapted to the imbecillities of her ſex. That ſhe had, indeed, engaged in ſuch ſpeculation with him, merely to divert his pain, and profit by his inſtructions: to effect this, ſhe had made uſe of arguments, which ſhe knew when ſhe uſed them were far from being concluſive. "And is it ſo, ſweetheart? replied Henry; then, by St. Mary, we are friends again." After which, embracing her with great tenderneſs, he diſmiſſed her with aſſurances of his kindneſs and protection.

The next day as the royal pair were walking in the palace garden, the biſhop of Wincheſter, who was a ſtranger to this reconciliation, appeared with a guard to ſeize the queen, and convey her to the tower. The king no ſooner ſaw him approach, than taking him aſide, he was obſerved to ſpeak to him in an angry tone of voice. The queen was greatly alarmed on overhearing the terms knave, fool, and beaſt frequently repeated. On the prelate's retiring in great confuſion, the queen generouſly interpoſed to appeaſe the king's reſentment: but Henry replied, "Poor ſoul! you know not how little that man is intitled to your favour." The queen was very cautious in future of incurring her huſband's diſpleaſure, and Gardiner never more recovered the king's good opinion.

A. D. 1547. Though Henry's health was declining very faſt, his implacable cruelties were not the leſs frequent. Theſe were indiſcriminately exerciſed on proteſtants and catholics. The laſt objects of his groundleſs ſuſpicion were the duke of Norfolk and his ſon the earl of Surry. The latter excelled in all the military exerciſes, encouraged the arts by his practice and example, and was the firſt whoſe poetry brought our language to any degree of refinement. Theſe qualifications, however, were no ſecurity againſt Henry's ſuſpicions; the earl had dropt ſome expreſſions of reſentment againſt the king's miniſters, on being removed from the government of Boulogne; and the whole family was become obnoxious from the late incontinency of Catherine Howard. Private orders were therefore given for arreſting father and ſon, which being carried into execution, they were both the ſame day committed to the tower. Surry, being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; and as to proofs, there were many informers baſe enough to betray the intimacies of private confidence, and all the connection of conſanguinity. The ducheſs dowager of Richmond, Surry's own ſiſter, was among the number of his accuſers; and Sir Richard Southwell, his moſt intimate friend, charged him with infidelity to the king. It ſeemed, at this dreary period, as if all faith and honour had fled out of the nation; Surry denied the charge, and challenged his accuſer to ſingle combat. This favour was refuſed him; and it was alledged that he had quartered the arms of Edward the Confeſſor on his eſcutcheon, which was of itſelf ſufficient to convict him of aſpiring to the crown. To this he could make no reply; and, indeed, no anſwer would have availed him; for neither parliament nor juries, during this reign, ſeem to be guided by any other will than that of the crown. This young nobleman was, therefore, condemned for high treaſon, notwithſtanding his eloquent and ſpirited defence; and the ſentence was ſoon after executed upon him on Tower-hill. The duke, in the mean time, endeavoured to ſoften the king by the moſt ſubmiſſive letters; but the monſter's hard heart was rarely ſuſceptible of tender impreſſions. The parliament meeting on the fourteenth of January, a bill of attainder was found againſt the duke of Norfolk, it being thought he could not ſo eaſily have been convicted on a fair hearing by his peers. The only crime alledged againſt him was, that he had once ſaid the king was ſickly, and could not hold out long; and that the kingdom was likely to be torn between the contending parties of different perſuaſions. Cranmer, though for many years engaged in oppoſite party to Norfolk, would have no ſhare in the unjuſt proſecution; but retired to his ſeat at Croydon. The death warrant, however, was made out, and immediately ſent to the lieutenant of the Tower. The duke prepared for death, and the next morning was to be his laſt; but an event of greater conſequence to the kingdom intervened, and prevented his execution.

The king had been, for ſome time, approaching faſt towards his end; and for ſeveral days all thoſe about his perſon plainly ſaw that his ſpeedy death was inevitable. The diſorder in his leg was now grown exceeding painful, which, added to his monſtrous corpulency, rendered him unable to move. Ever ſtern and ſevere, he was now become outrageous. In this ſtate he had continued for near four days before his death, the terror of all, and the tormentor of himſelf; his courtiers having no inclination to make an enemy of him, as they were more ardently employed in conſpiring the deaths of each other. Thus, therefore, was he ſuffered to ſtruggle, none of his domeſtics having the courage to warn him of his approaching end, as, in the courſe of this reign, perſons had already been put to death for foretelling the death of the king. At laſt, Sir Anthony Denny undertook to diſcloſe to him the dreadful ſecret; and, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, he received the tidings with an expreſſion of reſignation. His anguiſh and remorſe, at this time, were beyond conception; he deſired that Cranmer might be ſent for; but, before the arrival of that prelate he was ſpeechleſs. Cranmer entreated him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the faith of Chriſt; upon which he ſqueezed his hand, and immediately expired, on the 28th of January,

January, after a reign of thirty ſeven years and nine months, and in the fifty-ſixth year of his age.

The character of this monarch may be but collected from his actions. His conduct was ſo totally inconſiſtent with itſelf in the different periods of his life, that it is very difficult, if not impoſſible, to deſcribe. In his youth he was ſincere, open and liberal; in his advanced years, he grew froward, rapacious, and, withal, ſo exceſſively cruel, that he ſeemed to delight in the blood of his ſubjects. The gratification of his ſenſual and brutal appetites, appears to have been the ultimate object of his purſuits, for to this he ſacrificed every obligation of juſtice, every feeling of humanity. And it is reported, that he reproached himſelf when dying, "with having ſpared no woman in his luſt, nor man in his anger."

With all his vices and imperfections, however, he boldly rejected a ſlaviſh ſubjection to the ſee of Rome, and by that means laid the foundation of religious, and, in the end, of civil liberty; nevertheleſs, even in this laudable work, he ſeems to have been actuated rather by the impulſe of his vicious and unruly paſſions, than by the motives of conſcience and religion, from whence we may draw this concluſion, that divine wiſdom, by means undiſcoverable to human underſtanding, and in a courſe highly improbable to human reaſon, frequently accompliſhes the moſt gracious purpoſes and benevolent deſigns.

Remarkable Occurences during the reign of Henry VIII.

A. D.

1509 The art of gardening firſt brought into England from the Netherlands.

1510 Hats for men made in London, before which they wore cloſe knit woolen caps.

1512 The royal navy office eſtabliſhed.
St. Paul's ſchool founded by Dr. Collet.

1513 Benefit of clergy with reſpect to murderers and felons, as alſo the claim of ſanctuary, aboliſhed.

1514 This year an act was paſſed that no ſurgeon ſhould ſit on juries, or be liable to ſerve pariſh offices.

1516 This year there happened a long froſt, which was ſo ſevere that all kinds of carriages paſſed over the Thames on the ice.

1517 The ſweating ſickneſs raged with great violence in England, and, in general, carried off the diſeaſed within three hours. In ſome towns half the people were ſwept away; and the terms were adjourned from London for more than a year.
Courts of conſcience firſt inſtituted in London.

1518 The College of Phyſicians in London inſtituted.

1519 Six men and a woman burnt at Coventry for teaching their children the Lord's Prayer, ten Commandments, and the Creed, in the vulgar tongue.

1520 Chocolate firſt brought to England.
Muſkets firſt uſed in the Engliſh army, and bows and arrows laid aſide.

1521 A great dearth in England, when wheat ſold for 20s. a quarter.
The ſea over-flowed the dykes of Holland. deſtroyed 72 villages, and above 100,000 people periſhed.

1522 The damaſk roſe firſt brought into England by Dr. Linacre, the king's phyſician.

1525 This year there happened ſo ſevere a froſt, after great winds and rains, that many people loſt the uſe of their limbs, and others periſhed with cold.
Whitehall built by Cardinal Wolſey.
Pipins this year brought to England.
Hops firſt brought to England, and uſed in brewing.
Carp firſt brought to England.

1528 This year the ſweating ſickneſs raged with great violence in England.

1530 St. James's palace built.
The firſt portable clock or watch made.
The office of ſecretary of ſtate firſt eſtabliſhed.

1533 Currants brought from the iſle of Zant, belonging to Venice, and firſt planted in England.
The muſk roſe, and ſeveral ſorts of plumbs from Italy, were brought and planted by lord Cromwell.
Scenes firſt introduced into theatres.

1535 Braſs cannon firſt caſt in England.
Etching on copper with aqua fortis firſt diſcovered.

1538 Pariſh regiſter firſt kept.

1539 Pipes of lead for the conveyance of water invented.

1540 Cherries and apricots firſt planted in England.
The uſe of quickſilver diſcovered in refining ſilver ore.

1542 This year there happened a great mortality, and ſuch a drought, that the ſmall rivers were entirely dried up, and the river Thames was ſo dry, as to be paſſable in many places on foot.
Pins firſt made in England. Before this art was diſcovered, the ladies uſed wooden ſkewers.

1543 Mortars and cannons were this year firſt caſt in iron, and made at Buckſtead in Suſſex.
The litany in Engliſh firſt ordered to be uſed in churches.

1544 Piſtols firſt uſed by the horſe.
Preſſing for the ſea ſervice a criminal puniſhment. One Read, an alderman of London, was preſſed, and ſent on board the fleets in foreign parts, for refuſing to pay a tax levied on him by the king.

1545 Falſe accuſers burnt in the face with an F.

1546 Public ſtews ſuppreſſed; which were before allowed by the ſtate.
This year one William Foxley fell aſleep, and did not awake for 14 days and nights, after which he lived 41 years.
Henry VIII. was the firſt king of England, who took the title of majeſty, before which the ſovereigns were addreſſed by the title of my liege, your highneſs, or your grace.

The moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages for learning and ſcience, in this reign, were the following:

Henry Howard, earl of Surry, one of the greateſt ornaments of this king's court, though the moſt unprovoked object of his cruelty. He was, as has been already mentioned, famous for the tenderneſs and elegance of his poetry.

Archbiſhop Warham excelled as a divine, a lawyer, and a ſtateſman, though ſupplanted in the king's favour by Wolſey. Eraſmus makes mention of this prelate, whom he eſteemed as a perfect model of the epiſcopal character. He died on the 23d of Auguſt, 1532.

John Collet, dean of St. Paul's, was one of thoſe great men who contributed to the revival of learning in England. No higher teſtimony need be given of the merit of Collet, than his great intimacy with Eraſmus. There was a remarkable ſimilitude of manners, of ſtudies, and of ſentiments in religion, between theſe illuſtrious men, who ventured to withdraw the veil of ignorance and ſuperſtition, and expoſe both in their genuine colours, to the eyes of the world; and to prepare the minds of the Engliſh for that reformation in religion, and the reſtoration of learning, which ſoon after followed. Collet, Lynacre, Lilly, Grocyn, and Latimer, were the firſt that revived the literature of the ancients in England. He founded St. Paul's ſchool, and died 1519.

William Tindale, canon of Chriſt church, Oxford, and deſervedly ſtiled the Engliſh apoſtle, was the firſt that tranſlated the Greek Teſtament into Engliſh. This work appeared in 1526; and three or four years after, he publiſhed an Engliſh tranſlation of the Pentateuch from the original Hebrew, and intended to have gone through the reſt of the Old Teſtament; but his attempt provoked the Catholic clergy, and he was burnt for hereſy at Wilford, near Bruſſels, in 1536.

Sir Thomas More was a great maſter of the elegant learning of the antients. His Utopia, a kind of political romance, which gained him the higheſt reputation as an author, is an idea of a perfect republic, in an iſland ſuppoſed to be newly diſcovered in America. He was beheaded, as we have already mentioned, for denying the king's ſupremacy on the ſixth of July, 1535.

CHAP. II.

EDWARD VI.

Acceſſion of Edward VI. The earl of Hertford (afterwards duke of Somerſet) made Protector. The duke ſupports the cauſe of the reformation. Marches againſt the Scots, and obtains a compleat victory. Returns to London, and immediately ſummons a parliament, who paſs many wholeſome laws, particularly in favour of the reformation. Farther wars with the Scots. Lord Seymour, brother to the Protector, committed to the Tower, and afterwards beheaded. Inſurrections in different parts of the kingdom, particularly in Norfolk, where the inſurgents were headed by one Kett, a Tanner. The inſurrections ſuppreſſed, and a general amneſty publiſhed by the Protector. Wars with the Scots and French. Diſſentions at home. The duke of Somerſet committed to the Tower. Is deprived of his protectorſhip, and his eſtate forfeited; but, from his ſubmiſſive behaviour, is ſet at liberty, and re-admitted to the council-board. A treaty of peace between England and France. The duke of Somerſet accuſed of conſpiring againſt the lives of ſeveral privy-counſellors, for which he is tried, condemned, and executed. The duke of Northumberland obtains great power in the adminiſtration, and prevails on the king to exclude the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, from the ſucceſſion to the throne. Death and character of Edward VI.

A. D. 1547. AS this young prince was appointed to the ſucceſſion by his predeceſſor when he ſhould attain to the age of eighteen years, and as he was then only turned of nine, his guardianſhip, together with that of the realm, was committed in truſt to ſixteen executors to be aſſiſted occaſionally by the advice of twelve counſellors. On a general aſſembly of theſe executors and counſellors, the earl of Hertford was choſen protector, with only one diſſentient voice, (that of the chancellor Wriotheſley,) and ſo declared accordingly; but reſtricted from acting without the concurrence of the other parties. When theſe matters were adjuſted, various promotions were made in the different ranks of peerage; the duke of Somerſet, late earl of Hertford, was likewiſe appointed treaſurer and mareſchal, and baron Sudley, admiral of England.

Somerſet, for private reaſons, had ſuppreſſed his attachment to the cauſe of the reformation, till the death of Henry VIII. but now he openly declared in favour of the ſame, and embarked moſt cordially with others in correcting the abuſes of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and adopting many of the doctrines, which tended to ſubvert the authority of the Roman pontiff. The cauſe of the reformation was alſo eſpouſed by the primate, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhops of Lincoln and Ely, and doctors Ridley and Latimer, who were by this time releaſed from priſon.

Prompted by the ſame motive, he extended his views of reformation to foreign countries; and from the ſame laudable zeal appointed viſitors to examine the churches in Germany, and empowered them to aboliſh certain abuſes.

Nor was he leſs attentive to military atchievements, than religious reformation; for after taking the neceſſary ſteps for the promotion of the latter, he began to make preparations for an invaſion of Scotland, reſolving to proſecute that ſcheme, the execution of which, the late king had recommended with his dying breath. However, at the deſire of the French ambaſſador, he conſented to try the effect of a negotiation before he commenced hoſtilities: this, however, proving abortive, he entered Scotland with a numerous army; but as he found the governor was prepared to meet the attack at the head of a force vaſtly ſuperior, and poſted in a ſituation much more advantageous, than that of the Engliſh army, Somerſet determined to reconnoitre the Scottiſh camp, when judging it impracticable to make an attempt with any probability of ſucceſs, he ſent a meſſage to the earl of Arran, with propoſals of accommodation.

The leaders of the Scottiſh army imputing this conciliating propoſal to motives of puſillanimity, reſolved to avail himſelf of thoſe diſtreſsful circumſtances of the enemy. Underſtanding that the Engliſh were in motion, they croſſed the river Eſke, and advanced into the plain. The Scottiſh army was marſhalled in three bodies, the earl of Angus commanded the van, the earl of Arran the center, and Huntley, the regent, conducted the rear. Their cavalry conſiſted only of light horſe, which were ſtationed on their left flank, interlined with ſome Iriſh archers, brought over for this ſervice by the earl of Argyle.

The diſpoſition of the Scots, inſpired Somerſet with freſh courage; and as the Engliſh, from ſuperior proweſs, generally conquered in regular engagements, he was fluſhed with aſſured hopes of victory. He formed his van on the left, fartheſt from the ſea, upon an aſcent, where he ordered them to remain, until the enemy ſhould approach; he drew up his main body, and his rear towards the right; and beyond the van he poſted lord Gray, at the head of the men at arms, and directed him to flank the Scots, but not till the front of both armies ſhould be engaged: ſo, that by this manœuvre while the enemy were advancing, they were aſſailed by the artillery from the Engliſh ſhips, lord Graham was killed, and the highlanders thrown into ſome confuſion; when the lord Gray, obſerving their ſituation, neglected his orders, quitted his poſt, and, at the head of his heavy armed horſe attacked the Scottiſh infantry, hoping to decide the action by one vigorous effort. But this gallant intention of lord Gray was fruſtrated by the intervention of a moraſs, behind which ſome of the enemy's infantry were placed in ambuſh, and ſo annoyed the Engliſh cavalry with their ſpears, that lord Gray was wounded, his men routed, and their ſtandard in great danger of being loſt; and had the Scots been furniſhed with cavalry to improve the advantage, a total overthrow of the Engliſh muſt have enſued.

Notwithſtanding this repulſe, Somerſet exerted himſelf boldly in rallying his diſperſed forces; while

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

EDWARD VI.

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born October 12. 1537. | *Crowned* February 20. 1547. | *Died* July 6. 1553.

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while other commanders discovered equal skill and presence of mind, in preserving the ranks of the foot, on which the horse had recoiled. He detached Sir Peter Meucas, and Peter Gamboa, a Spanish officer, to ply the Scottish infantry with their shot. These officers rushed on, with impetuosity, to the spot where the English cavalry had been so warmly assailed, and discharged vollies in the face of the enemy; the ships galled them in the flank, and the artillery, planted on an eminence, made such havock among them, that they sustained considerable loss, without being able to oppose force to force.

The advantage obtained by the English from this last manœuvre threw the whole Scottish army into disorder; the van began to retreat, the center followed, and a total confusion ensuing thereupon, the English horse availing themselves of this favourable opportunity, charged most furiously, and, meeting with no resistance, made most terrible carnage. About three thousand ecclesiastics, who made a separate body, were massacred without mercy. Never was victory more decisive, or purchased at an easier rate by the conquerors. The English lost not more than two hundred men, and, according to the lowest calculation, there fell above ten thousand of the Scots. This memorable and decisive victory being atchieved on a spot adjacent to the villa of a nobleman, whose surname was Pinkey, acquired, from thence, the appellation of, "The battle of Pinkey."

This success opened the way for further conquest on the part of the victors, as it tended to the further loss of the vanquished; for during the action between the respective regents, the lord Wharton and the earl of Lenox entered Scotland by the western marches, reduced several castles, and ravaged the whole country. Had the protector improved his advantage, he might have compelled the Scots to agree to any terms he could have imposed; but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard cabals were forming against his authority, in which his own brother made a principal. Having reduced several small places, as well as gathered the spoils of the field, he returned to England, and was gratified by the king with lands to the value of five hundred pounds a year. These late successes, while they enhanced the reputation of Somerset amongst the people, raised him many enemies amongst the nobility, from that detestable principle, envy.

In consequence of these victories, Somerset, immediately on his return, convened a parliament, and obtained a patent, empowering him to arrogate all the honours and privileges, that any prince of the blood, or any uncles of the kings of England, had ever possessed. As the most salutary effects frequently arise from causes not the most laudable; so these honours, from whatever motives they sprang, tended essentially to the interest of the kingdom by means of the laws enacted in this session, in which all statutes were repealed, touching high treason, passed since the reign of Edward III. together with those passed during the late reign, extending to the crime of felony; and all the former acts against heresies, and the statute of the six articles.

The supremacy of the king, as well ecclesiastical as civil, was established by law, and the right of succession duly and irreversably confirmed. The benefit of the clergy, and the privileges of sanctuary, were restored, except to assassins and four sorts of thieves mentioned in the act. Private masses were prohibited, and the cup restored to the laity. The king was empowered to fill the vacant sees, by which means fraudulent elections were abolished. The cognizance of matrimony and testamentary causes, was removed from the ecclesiastical, to the civil courts. Great immunities were granted to Edward respecting the foundation of colleges, cathedrals, &c. to which his predecessor had not asserted a claim.

Somerset, though he assented to the repeal of an act vesting the king's proclamation with the authority of a statute, by no means admitted the exclusion of discretionary interference, which had ever been exercised by the crown, and which differs in very few respects from the power of making laws.

A. D. 1548. Impartiality must confess, upon the whole, that the protector did not pervert the influence he obtained by his extraordinary elevation. He issued an order, enjoining, that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas day; palms on Palm-Sunday; and that prostration before the cross on Good Friday should be abolished. He submitted a number of other ceremonious matters, respecting the form of religion, entirely to the option of the people, but peremptorily restricted the worship of images.

These vigorous exertions in behalf of the protestant cause and interest, as might reasonably be supposed, tended greatly to retard the accommodation with the Scottish nation, as the queen dowager, as well as the clergy, conceived an antipathy to a nation, which had departed so far from the principles of the Romish church.

The protector, however, proceeded in his military operations, and having reduced several important fortresses, as well as possessed himself of some smaller castles on the frontiers of Scotland, caused them to be strongly garrisoned as well as fortified, as a clue to the internal parts of the Scottish dominions. The reduction of one of these, called by the name of Broughty, was attempted by the earl of Azzar; but in vain, for he was disappointed in his expectation of a considerable reinforcement from France, and therefore compelled to desist.

While the English and Scottish nations were thus continually engaged in the pursuits of hostile designs, the queen-dowager convoked a parliament, and requested of them, that her daughter should be conveyed to France, and put under the protection of that ancient ally. The king of France, in order to obtain the consent of the regent, created him duke of Chateleraut, with a yearly revenue of two thousand livres. Thus gratified, he permitted the young queen to be put on board the fleet destined for France, by which she was conveyed round the Orkneys, and Ireland, and landed safe in Britany, whence she was conducted to Paris. It was supposed that the French went thus far about, in order to avoid the English fleet under admiral Seymour, who cruized in the Frith of Edinburgh, and landed in several parts of Fife, but reimbarked without doing any thing effective.

During these transactions, Haddington, which had been strongly fortified, was invested by the combined force of the Scots and French; but the English army approaching under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, they abandoned the enterprize. Had Shrewsbury been able to attack the enemy on their march, he would, in all probability, have gained an easy victory; but as he had

loſt that opportunity, and could not, with any hopes of ſucceſs, attempt to force them in their preſent ſituation, after he had relieved the garriſon, he marched with his army to the ſouthward.

The much deſired event of a total reformation was now approaching, and the nation in general ſeemed to exert itſelf in accompliſhing that glorious deſign. The committee of divines, by order of council, having drawn up a new form of prayer, to be uſed throughout the proteſtant churches, conceived it in ſuch terms as might be admitted by all moderate and candid profeſſors of chriſtianity; the parliament confirmed this liturgy, and ordained that a perfect uniformity ſhould be obſerved in all religious rites and ceremonies; but it is to be lamented, that in order to obtain this end, they were guilty of many barbarities, of which they had formerly accuſed the papiſts.

Somerſet, verſed in the knowledge of mankind, though he heartily acquieſced in the late proceedings, found it neceſſary, with reſpect to himſelf, to proceed with caution, as the Romiſh religion had ſtill many votaries, and himſelf many enemies, among whom his own brother the lord Seymour was the moſt inveterate and dangerous.

The queen-dowager dying in September, Seymour renewed his addreſſes to the princeſs Elizabeth; but as his deſign in that proceeding was fruſtrated by an abſolute clauſe in the will of her father, he had recourſe to another plan, and ſuch was his ambition, that, according to report, he aſpired to a deſign of making himſelf maſter of the king's perſon, and ſeizing the reins of government into his own hands, in order to which, he aſſembled two thouſand men in different places. The council having received intelligence of theſe proceedings, committed him to the Tower, and appointed commiſſioners to take depoſitions of his accuſers. By theſe he was flatly charged with having conſpired againſt the government, protected pirates, and committed acts of violence on the ſubjects of different ſtates at peace with England.

A. D. 1549. The protector, convinced of the illegal and impolitic deſign of his aſpiring brother, endeavoured, by every method of argument and entreaty, to divert him from his purpoſe; but finding all his remonſtrances ineffectual, he reſolved to have recourſe to ſeverer remedies, and therefore, as the moſt effectual barrier to his towering projects, at the advice of the earl of Warwick, he deprived him of the office of high admiral, and exhibited againſt him a charge of high-treaſon, and ordered the whole to be laid before the privy council, who thought proper to go in a body to the Tower, in order to examine the priſoner in a more full and circumſtantial manner.

With the utmoſt fortitude he aſſerted his claim to a fair and impartial hearing, and deſired he might have leiſure to examine the articles of his accuſation, and prepare for his defence; but his peremptory demand met with as peremptory a denial, and the council determining at all events to criminate him, a bill of attainder paſſed both houſes with very little oppoſition, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent. On the tenth of May the admiral was beheaded, contrary to the ſenſe of the nation in general, who, as impartial judges of the merit of the cauſe, could never be brought to juſtify the protector; but, on the contrary, inſiſted, that his rigorous and cruel proceedings with reſpect to his brother, aroſe from the very ſame principles he condemned in him, even the unconquerable prevalence of pride and ambition.

An edict paſſed at this time for the abolition of the monaſtic order, which though attended with good effects, as it reſpected the furtherance of the proteſtant cauſe, produced much diſcontent amongſt a numerous and uſeful body of people of England; for the abbots and priors being permitted to grant leaſes at a low rate, and to receive in return a large gratuity from the tenant; when the abbey-lands were divided among the great, they were ſoon ſubjected to a different management; the rents of farms were advanced, the money was ſquandered away in the capital, and the farmers perceiving that wool was a more profitable commodity than meal, converted their arable land into paſtures.

A dearth of corn conſequently enſued, to the general diſtreſs of the poor; to which being added the neglect of agriculture, the common people inveighed with the utmoſt acrimony againſt the authors of ſuch an edict, as the principal cauſe of their miſery from want of their former employment.

The protector, conſcious of the importance of conciliating the affections of the people, took this favourable opportunity of attending to the complaints they preferred on the occaſion; and therefore appointed a commiſſion for making enquiry into all caſes relative to incloſures, high-ways and cottages. As this meaſure was very diſpleaſing to the nobility and gentry, they exclaimed againſt the commiſſion as illegal; and the peaſants imagining their deſign was to reduce them to ſervitude, determined, at all events, upon an inſurrection, which began at once in ſeveral counties. The rioters, however, in Wiltſhire were diſperſed by Sir William Herbert; thoſe in the neighbouring counties of Oxford and Glouceſter, by lord Gray of Wilton. Many of the inſurgents were ſlain in the field; others ſuffered by martial law. The malecontents of Devonſhire, amounting to ten thouſand, were headed by one Humphrey Arundel, an experienced ſoldier, who was abetted in this raſh enterprize by ſome people of the clerical order, who affected a furious zeal from mercenary and lucrative motives.

This party having formed military aſſociations, preſented a ſet of articles to the king, demanding that maſs ſhould be reſtored, half of the abbey-lands reſumed, the law of the ſix articles revived, and the redreſs of ſeveral grievances. The council rejected the purport of their demand, and promiſed them a free pardon for their miſdemeanors in preſenting the ſame, on condition of their returning to allegiance; but they, ſpurning the offer with indignation, undertook the ſiege of Exeter, which was gallantly defended by the inhabitants. Lord Ruſſel then lay at Honiton, when, being joined by Sir William Herbert, lord Gray, and ſome others, he determined to undertake the relief of Exeter, which was now reduced to the laſt extremity. Theſe officers jointly attacked the inſurgents, drove them from their poſts, ſlew a great number both in the action and purſuit, and took many priſoners.

Humphrey Arundel, and the other abettors of this inſurrection, were brought to trial, and executed in London; the inferior part came under the cognizance of the martial law: but this inſurrection was trifling in its effects to that of the county of Norfolk, where the malecontents roſe in arms to the amount of ſixteen thouſand, headed by

by one Kett, a Tanner, and Conyers, a Prieſt, who officiated in a double capacity, eccleſiaſtical and military, and at whoſe inſtance they were wrought upon to demand the excluſion of many perſons then in power, the nomination of a new ſet of privy counſellors, and the reſtoration of the ancient rites and ceremonies. They fixed their quarters on Mouſhold-hill, near Norwich, where Kett, the Tanner, and a committee, ſat in judgment under a large tree, ſince known by the name of the Oak of reformation. They inveſted and reduced the city of Norwich, and impriſoned the mayor with ſome of the principal citizens. The marquis of Northampton was firſt ſent againſt them, but was worſted in the action, in which lord Sheffield loſt his life.

As this inſurrection became rather formidable, the duke of Somerſet found the neceſſity of making it a matter of moment, and therefore detached a conſiderable army to ſuppreſs the rebels, under the command of the earl of Warwick, who having routed ſeveral of their detachments, at laſt attacked their main body, and put them to flight. Two thouſand of them were ſlain in the action and purſuit. Kett, their ringleader, eſcaped from the field, but being taken next day in a barn, was hung in chains on Norwich caſtle; and nine of his accomplices ſuffered on the very tree under which they had ſo importantly ſat in judgment, and which they had preſumptuouſly nominated the Oak of reformation; but might then be called the Oak of execution.

This event, ſo unfortunate for the malecontents, produced a ſurrender of arms; ſo that a general amneſty was ſoon after publiſhed by the protector; but this indulgence confirmed the hatred of the nobility, which he had already incurred. Theſe inſurrections, though now effectually quelled, afforded an opportunity for the revival of foreign oppoſition; for the Scots, availing themſelves of the ſame, inveſted and reduced the fortreſs of Haddington, and the king of France took the ſame advantage to attempt the recovery of Boulogne, and all other places, which Henry VIII. had conquered in that kingdom. He had levied an army under other pretences; and falling ſuddenly into the Boulonnois, reduced ſeveral caſtles, but was vigorouſly repulſed from the fort of Boulenberg, from which, however, the Engliſh withdrew their artillery, after having demoliſhed the fortifications.

The king of France, however, was defeated in his attempt to reduce Boulogne, by an inundation through exceſſive heavy rains on one hand, and an epidemical diſorder which broke out in his camp on the other; ſo that he was under the neceſſity of returning to Paris, leaving the command of his army to Gaſper de Coligny, lord of Chatillon. This enterprizing officer endeavoured to reduce the place, even in the winter ſeaſon, but, after ſome ineffectual attempts, converted the ſiege into a blockade.

The protector, in conſequence of this irruption between France and England, wiſely determined to form an alliance with the emperor, and with that view diſpatched ſecretary Paget to Bruſſels, to confer with Sir Philip Hobbs, the ordinary ambaſſador, in concluding a league. At the ſame time the court of London was diſtracted by faction, which ſeemed ſubverſive of the authority of Somerſet, already ſhaken by his loſs of popularity, from a deſpotic and arbitrary plan of behaviour, in conſequence of his having obtained the patent veſting him with a ſuperior power. His enemies repreſented him as a parricide, a traitor, and a ſacrilegious tyrant, who not only betrayed the intereſt of his country, but, to gratify his pride and ambition, deſtroyed churches and tombs, that he might uſe the materials for building his moſt ſuperb palace in the Strand, which (till very lately converted to the purpoſe of government) for upwards of two centuries bore his name.

They alledged to his charge a variety of accuſations; but effectually to accompliſh their deſigns of taking him off, the lord St. John, preſident of the council, the earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five other counſellors, aſſembled at the biſhop of Ely's palace in Holborn; and aſſuming to themſelves the whole power of the council, began to act independent of the protector, on whom they laid the whole blame of every public grievance and misfortune. They circulated letters among the chief nobility and gentry in England, acquainting them with the meaſures they intended to purſue, and demanding their concurrence; they ſent for the mayor and aldermen of London, together with the lieutenant of the Tower, and laid on them an official injunction to renounce the authority of the protector, which he had forfeited by acting contrary to the general opinion of the council, as well as repugnant to the intereſts of the nation.

Somerſet, alarmed at theſe reſolute and ſpirited proceedings, judged it expedient to remove the king from Hampton-Court, where he then reſided, to the caſtle of Windſor; and, arming his friends and ſervants, affected to ſet his enemies at defiance. But finding that no perſon of conſequence, except Cranmer and Paget, eſpouſed his cauſe, he ſoon relaxed in his operations, and applied to the oppoſing council in terms of acquieſcence and ſubmiſſion; which, inſtead of promoting his deſign of conciliating them, occaſioned the deſertion of many zealous friends, and particularly the lord Ruſſell, who, on this inſtance of his puſillanimity, was induced to join the oppoſite party.

Thus ſtrengthened in influence as in numbers, the council preſented an addreſs to the king, in which, after the warmeſt proteſtations of duty and obedience, they told him they were the council appointed by his father for the government of the realm during his minority; that they had elected the duke of Somerſet with this expreſs proviſo, that he ſhould conduct himſelf entirely by their advice and direction; that he had ſhamefully violated this condition; had engroſſed the ſole adminiſtration of public affairs; had totally neglected and even deſpiſed their advice; and had carried his preſumption to ſuch an intolerable pitch, as to levy forces againſt them, and plant thoſe forces about his majeſty's perſon: they therefore deſired, that they might be admitted into his royal preſence; that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to receive them into his favour and confidence, and that the protector and his remaining adherents might, in future, be denied approaching the royal preſence.

Nor was this addreſs preſented without a due effect, for the king, attentive to, and conſcious of, the importance of the ſeveral articles ſpecified therein, complied with their requeſt. The object of their reſentment was committed to the Tower with ſome of his friends and adherents, among whom was Cecil, who afterwards made ſo conſiderable a figure. An impeachment was immediately preferred

ferred againſt him; the beſt founded article of which was, his uſurpation of the government, and engroſſing the adminiſtration of public affairs.

So conſiderable a political revolution was matter of extaſy to the zealous adherents to the popiſh cauſe, who deemed it an happy omen of the revival of their religion. But the earl of Warwick, now preſident of the council, was actuated ſolely by motives of ambition, and therefore could never, conſiſtently with thoſe views, declare for religious tenets to which he knew the king was totally averſe. Nay, an oppoſite conduct immediately appeared, for Bonner was deprived of the ſee of London, and the earl of Southampton treated with ſuch inſtances of diſgrace, that he quitted the royal preſence in diſguſt, which, added to the mortification of this ſudden change of affairs, was ſuppoſed to have haſtened his death.

A. D. 1550. The late protector had rather aggravated the charges laid againſt him, by acknowledging, and even ſigning the particular articles. The paper being laid before the parliament, a vote paſſed, depriving him of all his eſtates, which were forfeited to the king. His ſubmiſſive behaviour ſaved him, however, from any further penalty, and even procured him a mitigation of his intended puniſhment; obtaining the remiſſion of his fine, reſtoration of his liberty, and, in two months after, re-admiſſion to the council-board.

As is frequently the caſe in political revolutions, Warwick and his party, who were particularly inſtrumental in the removal of Somerſet from his exalted ſtation, were under a neceſſity, on their acceſſion to power, of purſuing meaſures leſs conducive to the intereſt of the nation, than thoſe previouſly adopted. After having in vain endeavoured to ſecure the friendſhip of the emperor, they found themſelves conſtrained to attend to the propoſals the French king made them by means of Guidotti, a Florentine, in conſequence of which a treaty was concluded on theſe terms: That Boulogne ſhould be reſtored to the king of France; who, in conſideration of the improvements made in that fortreſs, ſhould pay four hundred thouſand golden crowns to the king of England; and that France and England ſhould mutually give hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles. Scotland was included in the treaty; by which the Engliſh ſtipulated to give up Lauder and Dunglas, and to demoliſh the fortreſſes of Roxburgh and Eymouth.

In this treaty alſo reference was had to articles of marriage between Edward and Elizabeth, a daughter of the French king; but this ſcheme was never carried into execution. Such a deſign, indeed, could not but be extremely diſagreeable to the proteſtant party in England; though, in every other reſpect, the council was very ſteady in promoting the reformation, and in executing the laws againſt the Catholics. In the courſe of this year, Thirley reſigned the ſee of Wincheſter, which was united to that of London, and beſtowed upon Ridley, biſhop of Rocheſter. Polydore Virgil, an adherent to the popiſh religion, was permitted to retire peaceably to the continent, and there live unmoleſted, as a reward for the pains he had taken in ſelecting materials for the compilation of an hiſtory of England.

A. D. 1551-2. A number of eccleſiaſtical changes now took place: amongſt the reſt, the biſhops of Wincheſter, Chiceſter, Worceſter, and Exeter were deprived of their ſees; becauſe, though they had complied with the new doctrines, in ſome particulars, they were ſtill attached to ſeveral popiſh forms and ceremonies. However rigid theſe changes might appear, they were happily productive of a general reformation. The princeſs Mary alone continued to adhere to maſs, and to reject the new liturgy. Her ſiſter Elizabeth, on the contrary, promoted the reformation, which was afterwards perfected in her reign. Mary, indeed, piqued at the many inſults ſhe had received, determined to quit the kingdom; and actually concerted a ſcheme for that purpoſe with the governante of the Low Countries; but as her reſolution was deemed dangerous in its conſequences, it was defeated upon diſcovery by a decree of the council.

Warwick, whoſe ambition was equal to that of the nobleman he had cauſed to be degraded, aſpired to greater honours than he had already acquired, and had raiſed a venal party to ſupport him in all his pretenſions. The late earl of Northumberland died without iſſue; and as Sir Thomas Percy, his brother, had been attainted, the title was extinct, and the eſtate confiſcated to the crown. Warwick now obtained a grant of thoſe ample poſſeſſions, which lay chiefly in the north, and was honoured with the title of duke of Northumberland. William Paulet, lord St. John, was created earl of Wiltſhire, and lord-high-treaſurer; and Sir William Herbert, earl of Pembroke.

Being ſenſible, however, that the late protector, though degraded, ſtood well in the general opinion of the public, and might, therefore, from his influence, prove a barrier to him in the purſuit of his ambitious deſigns, he determined upon the removal of ſuch an obſtacle: to effect this, he tampered with the friends of Somerſet, whom he ſometimes terrified by the appearance of danger, and ſometimes provoked by flagrant inſults. The unwary Somerſet often let fall ſome menacing expreſſions againſt Northumberland, at other times he formed raſh deſigns, which he immediately abandoned: his ſeeming friends treacherouſly informed his enemy of every paſſionate word he uttered; and they diſcovered the projects which they themſelves had firſt ſuggeſted, of which Northumberland availing himſelf, proceeded in a manner more apparently convictive, and ſuborned Sir Thomas Palmer, one of his dependants, to declare, in the hearing of the king, that the duke of Somerſet had plotted not only againſt his life, but the lives of ſeveral noblemen eminent for their loyalty.

Theſe declarations being corroborated by other proofs produced upon the occaſion by the ſame venal meaſures, Somerſet was arraigned before a tribunal of peers, the marquis of Wincheſter having been appointed to preſide upon the occaſion; but as the jury was compoſed of peers profeſſedly innimical to the culprit, they muſt, of courſe, have been biaſſed in their verdict. There were two charges alledged againſt him; the firſt for abetting the deſign of an inſurrection; the laſt for concerting the deaths of ſeveral privy-counſellors. Of the firſt he was acquitted to the general joy of the multitude; but of the laſt he was condemned to their general grief.

This ſentence proving irreverſible, after his enemies had gratified their revenge by immuring him two months within a dreary priſon, to ſatiate their malice, he was brought to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, amidſt crowds of ſpectators, who ſo affectionately

tionately regarded him, that they flattered themſelves to the laſt moment, with the fond hopes of his pardon. Many of them ruſhed in to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preſerved as a ſacred relick.

The fate of this nobleman adds to many other inſtances of that jealouſy and reſentment which have even exiſted in courts and amongſt ſtateſmen, where real principle ſeems ever to have been baniſhed; and avarice and ambition ever to have prevailed.

Somerſet having fallen a victim to the reſentment of his opponents, his partizans, of courſe, ſhared the ſame fate through the prevailing influence of the duke of Northumberland; amongſt the reſt, Sir Ralph Vane, a brave old ſoldier, and Sir Miles Partridge, were hanged; and Sir Michael Stanhope, with Sir Thomas Arundel, beheaded, as the duke's confederates. They aſſerted their innocence in the immediate view of death, which, in the judgment of candour, ſhould have exculpated them from the charges alledged againſt them.

Notwithſtanding this contention for power between the preſent and the former leaders of adminiſtration, the work of reformation was carried on with vigour. The new liturgy was authorized, and ordered to be uſed in all the churches; and ſevere penalties were denounced againſt thoſe who abſented themſelves from public worſhip.

A ſevere penalty was affixed againſt uſury, or taking an exorbitant intereſt for the loan of money. A bill was alſo brought by the members of the adminiſtration into the upper aſſembly reviving the ſtatutes againſt treaſon, which had been repealed in the commencement of this reign; and though theſe laws principally affected the peers, they paſſed the bill, with only one diſſenting voice.

The late proceedings not only tended to the almoſt total ſuppreſſion of popery; but greatly affected the authority and property of eccleſiaſtics in general. Among the reſt, Tonſtall, biſhop of Durham, was remarkably aggrieved, though he was univerſally eſteemed as a prelate of ſound learning and known probity. Northumberland, having formed a deſign of ſeizing the revenues of the ſee of Durham, firſt deprived Tonſtall of his biſhopric, and then preferred a bill of attainder againſt him; but the commons rejected the bill, and Northumberland finding the intereſt of Somerſet's friends ſtill prevalent in parliament, cauſed it to be diſſolved, in order to convene another more conformable to his views of ambition.

A. D. 1553. Nor was Northumberland remiſs in his exertions upon this occaſion: on the contrary he ſo effectually applied the corrupt methods of bribery, that he procured a parliament obſequious to his utmoſt wiſhes.

The biſhop of Durham's ſee was now divided by an act of parliament, into two biſhoprics, and the regalities comprehending the juriſdiction of a county-palatine, were beſtowed by the king on Northumberland. After he had rendered this very pliant and obſequious parliament ſubſervient to his moſt ambitious views, during the ſhort ſeſſion of only one month, he cauſed them to be diſſolved, to open the way for other meaſures for the ſtill further gratification of his exceſſive pride and vanity, which had arrived to ſo enormous a degree, that a report prevailed he had influenced the phyſicians to tamper with the conſtitution of the king, as himſelf aimed at the acquiſition of the crown. Edward being attacked with a cough which terminated in confirmed phthiſis, or conſumption of the lungs, and being ſenſible of his approaching diſſolution, manifeſted great concern for the ſtate of religion, which he foreſaw would undergo a reverſion in the reign of Mary his ſucceſſor.

The artful Northumberland, availing himſelf of this circumſtance, inſinuated to him the ſcenes of perſecution that would neceſſarily reſult from a popiſh ſucceſſion, in order to pave the way for Edward's annulling the right of Mary, and thereby conduce to his towering views of elevation, with ſuch powerful addreſs as had ſuch viſible effect on his mind, that his health apparently declined every day, and when his phyſicians deſpaired of his life, he was committed to the care of an ignorant woman, who engaged, in a ſhort time, to reſtore him to his former health; but this promiſe ſhe performed with the ſame fidelity, as our modern empyrics.

As the king was now given over, Northumberland determined to finiſh the marriage between his fourth ſon, lord Guildford Dudley, and the lady Jane Gray, eldeſt daughter of the new duke of Suffolk and Frances Brandon, mentioned in the late king's will, as next in ſucceſſion to his own daughters.

Having effected this purpoſe, he took an opportunity of repreſenting to the king, that the only means of preventing the calamities which threatened the nation from a popiſh government, was to exclude the princeſs Mary from the ſucceſſion, and transfer the crown to lady Jane Gray. He inſinuated alſo, that ſhould Elizabeth ſucceed to the throne, murmurs would ariſe from the conſideration of her illegitimacy, as Henry's marriage with her mother had been invalid by act of parliament, as well as that with the mother of Mary.

Theſe evil inſinuations ſo wrought on the mind of the king, that the two princeſſes, Mary and Elizabeth, were, by letters patent, excluded from the ſucceſſion, and the crown was transferred to the heirs of the ducheſs of Suffolk. The judges at firſt objected to this deed; however, urged by the threats and promiſes of the powerful duke, they at length obeyed, and the deed was ſigned by all (except Sir James Hales) as well as the members of the privy council in general.

Having finiſhed this laſt tranſaction of his life, the young king Edward paid the debt of nature, in the ſixteenth year of his age and the ſeventh of his reign.

Edward VI. was endowed with many perfections both mental and perſonal, ſuch as comelineſs and ſymetry of figure, and a mind diſpoſed to piety, humanity, and affability, ſo as to gain the univerſal affection of his ſubjects. His capacity being extenſive, he had attained to a degree of learning both in the claſſics and the ſcience beyond his years; and had he arrived to maturity, would probably have paſſed through a glorious reign. But as he was wholly under the influence of others, he cannot be ſuppoſed to have acquired praiſe or incurred cenſure from any of the tranſactions of public life; though he ſeems to have entertained an innate regard for the common rights of mankind, and an averſion to mental as well as bodily ſlavery. His memory is perpetuated by the foundation of Chriſt's hoſpital; an inſtitution that does equal honour to this young king, and the metropolis of that part of the world, on which it is fixed.

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Edward VI.

A. D.

1548 This year the plague raged with great violence in England, and carried off prodigious numbers of the inhabitants, on which account the court was removed to Hatfield.

1549 This year lord-lieutenants of counties were first appointed.

The horse guards instituted.

1550. The eldest sons of peers first permitted to sit in the House of Commons, and the first journal taken of that house.

1550 This year the river Thames ebbed and flowed three times in nine hours below London bridge.

1551 In the month of April the sweating sickness broke out with great violence in England, and carried off prodigious numbers of the inhabitants, among whom were several of the principal nobility.

1552 Crowns and half crowns first coined.

Monks and nuns rendered capable of inheriting estates.

Grapes first brought to England, and planted at Blackhall, in Suffolk.

1553 This was such a plentiful year, that a barrel of beer with the cock was sold for six-pence, and four great loaves for one penny.

Only forty taverns allowed to be kept in London.

CHAP. III.

MARY.

Accession of Queen Mary. The duke of Northumberland beheaded. The queen publickly professes the Romish religion. Cranmer and Latimer committed to the Tower. Coronation of the Queen. A treaty of marriage proposed between Mary and Philip of Spain. Sir Thomas Wyat's rebellion. The princess Elizabeth committed to the Tower. Lady Jane Gray, and her husband, the lord Guildford, beheaded. Philip of Spain arrives in England, and is soon after married to the Queen. The papal jurisdiction re-established by the parliament. Horrid persecution of the protestants. The bishops Ridley and Latimer burnt at Oxford. Philip retires to Flanders, and takes possession of his father's dominions. Death of archbishop Cranmer. Mary fits out a powerful armament to assist Philip in his wars with France. Calais taken by the French. Death and character of Queen Mary.

A. D. 1553. THE duke of Northumberland, desirous of gratifying his ambition, in advancing the lady Jane Gray to the royal dignity, found means to suppress the rumour of the king's demise. His design, in so doing, was, to apprehend the princess Mary, then coming on a visit, (at the request of the council,) to her brother, whose dissolution, at the time the messengers were dispatched to the princess, was hourly expected.

But the duke's efforts proved as abortive as the pretences of the adherents of lady Jane were absurd and frivolous: for the princess Mary, having advanced within eighteen miles of the metropolis, and receiving intimation from the earl of Arundel of her brother's death, and the designs which were formed against her, retired with the utmost precipitation to Framlingham in Suffolk, where she intended to embark and retire to Flanders, in case she should find it impossible to maintain her right of succession.

During her residence there, she addressed herself, by circular letters, to the nobility and gentry, reminding them of her right, and commanding them to proclaim her without delay; so that the ambitious duke, finding his scheme of seizing the person of Mary totally frustrated, repaired to Sion-house, attended by the duke of Suffolk, and others of the nobility, to intimate to lady Jane Gray her accession to the throne, by virtue of an act of conveyance.

This intimation by no means produced the desired effect on lady Jane, who received it with the greatest concern and astonishment; nay, so averse was she to the idea of succeeding to the crown, that she burst into tears on the occasion. At length her partizans extorted her consent, and she was the next day conveyed to the tower, according to the custom which then prevailed of the English sovereigns passing a few days after their accession in that place. On the 10th of July she was proclaimed in London, and the people were so astonished, that they expressed no joy or exultation.

Northumberland, before detested for his ambition and perfidy, now added to the popular odium he had already incurred, by causing an ignorant boy, who had expressed himself too freely on the subject of the proclamation, to be nailed to the pillory and deprived of his ears; an instance of cruelty that gave a very unfavourable omen of a reign which began with such rigour and severity.

The inhabitants of Suffolk, and parts adjacent, waited on the princess Mary, with assurances of duty and affection; but as they were, in general, attached to the reformed religion, they could not avoid insinuating some apprehensions, amidst their professions of loyalty, for its impending fate, till, on her solemn declaration, that she never intended to alter the laws of her brother Edward, they engaged in her interest with the utmost alacrity, and flocked to her banner in such numbers, from their general detestation of Northumberland, that, in a short time, she had an army amounting to forty thousand men.

To these were joined the earls of Bath and Sussex, with many other persons of the first rank and most extensive influence in those parts, who, together with their tenants and dependents, espoused her cause, and enlisted under her banner. Her interest was also essentially promoted by the vigorous exertions of Arundel and Pembroke, who, having found means to effect their release from the tower, invited all the noblemen about London, who were thought well affected to her, to a conference, in which the former expatiated on the cruelty and injustice of Northumberland, and affirmed, that the only way to retaliate his insolent behaviour was, to compel him to that duty and allegiance, which he owed to his lawful sovereign.

The earl of Pembroke, with singular courage and resolution, asserted the claim of the princess, by laying his hand on his sword, and swearing he was ready to answer any man, who denied her right to the crown. They then sent for the mayor and aldermen of London, and informed them of the resolution which had been taken; after which, mounting their horses, they rode to the cross in Cheapside, where Mary was proclaimed queen of England, amidst the general acclamations of the people.

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

MARY I

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born	*Crowned*	*Died*
February 11. 1516.	*October 1. 1553.*	*November 17. 1558.*

The confirmation of Mary in the ſucceſſion tended rather to conſole, than depreſs, the lady Jane, who chearfully reſigned a pageant ſceptre, and returned to the uninterrupted enjoyment of a private life with the utmoſt complacency and ſatisfaction. Meſſengers were immediately diſpatched to Northumberland, with orders to diſband his forces, and ſubmit to his lawful ſovereign; but he had already diſmiſſed the ſmall body which remained after an almoſt general deſertion. Mary received the warmeſt expreſſions of loyalty and attachment from the people of all the different counties through which ſhe paſſed in her way to London, and ſhe was met by her ſiſter Elizabeth, at the head of a thouſand horſe, which that princeſs had raiſed to defend their joint titles againſt the uſurper.

Northumberland and his partizans ſoon felt the reſentment of thoſe who had ſuffered from his inſolence and pride when in power. He was arreſted by the earl of Arundel, at whoſe feet he fell on his knees, and begged his protection in the moſt abject terms. His three ſons, the lord Warwick, Ambroſe and Henry Dudley, his brother the marquis of Northampton, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Sir John Gates, ſhared the ſame fate, and were all committed to the tower.

Soon after the duke of Suffolk, lady Jane Gray, and lord Guildford Dudley, were taken into cuſtody. But the queen, deſirous at leaſt to affect a virtue ſhe never poſſeſſed, and mark the commencement of her reign with an act of ſeeming benevolence, indulged moſt of them with a pardon.

Northumberland, whoſe guilt could not admit of palliation, was brought to trial, when he propoſed two queſtions to the jury; namely, whether a man could be guilty of treaſon for obeying orders given by the council under the great ſeal? and whether thoſe, who were equally culpable, could act as his judges? Being told that the great ſeal of an uſurper was no warrant, and that perſons againſt whom there was nothing upon record were reputed, in law, capable of ſitting on any trial, he acquieſced, and pleaded guilty. He confeſſed on the ſcaffold, that he had always been a Roman Catholic in his heart, and expreſſed great compunction of mind for having plundered the effects of the church, and eſpecially as he was rendered incapable of making reſtitution. Gates and Palmer were executed with him, but the reſt were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned.

If the queen's ſucceſſion to her legal right was the ground of public joy on the one hand, apprehenſions for the Proteſtant intereſt was matter of public anxiety on the other. Nor was this anxiety without foundation; for the princeſs Mary, having been educated with queen Catherine her mother, and conceived the moſt ardent zeal for the Romiſh worſhip, no ſooner conquered the oppoſition that lay in her way to the crown, than ſhe than ſhe threw off the maſk, and openly avowed the Romiſh religion.

As no declaration, however ſolemn or awful, can bind ſuch as are dupes to ſuperſtition, the unconquerable prevalence of thoſe tenets, which ſhe had imbibed, ſoon appeared. In a few days Gardiner, Bonner, Tonſtall, Day, Heath, and Voiſey, were reſtored to their reſpective ſees. Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, and Coverdale, biſhop of Exeter, with ſeveral other proteſtant divines, were committed to priſon; and the Romiſh biſhops encouraged to reſtore the maſs, though repugnant to the laws of the kingdom. Judge Hales, who had defended the queen's title with ſo much reſolution, was thrown into priſon, and treated with ſuch rigour and ſeverity, that he was ſeized with a phrenzy, and put a period to his own exiſtence.

The moſt ſtrenuous aſſertors of the proteſtant cauſe, and thoſe who had been moſt active in bringing about the reformation, were now ſelected as victims to popiſh malice and cruelty; particularly, thatvenerable prelate archbiſhop Cranmer, who was reproached by Bonner in the moſt ignominious and contemptible terms. This arch-fiend, to weaken the cauſe of the reformation, ſpread a report, that he had ſubmitted to the queen, and offered publicly to recant his errors.

But the archbiſhop, with an openneſs and ingenuity becoming his character as a divine and a ſcholar, drew up a confeſſion of his faith, which he offered, with the queen's permiſſion, to defend in public. On account of this writing, which was made public without his knowledge, he was ſummoned to the Star-Chamber, where he acknowledged himſelf the author of the paper, and was, for that day, diſmiſſed. Some of the council adviſed the queen to treat him with lenity, as he had been remarkable for his moderation, and as it was to him ſhe was chiefly indebted for that indulgence ſhe enjoyed during the reign of her father. Mary, however, repugnant to the dictates of honour and humanity, declared, ſhe remembered nothing of Cranmer, but his having pronounced her mother's divorce, and promoted the reformation. He was ſummoned to appear before the council, together with old Latimer, the latter of whom was immediately ſent to the tower, and the former was committed to that priſon the next day, on pretence of having publiſhed ſeveral ſeditious libels.

Proteſtants of all orders, ranks and degrees, now began to experience the dire effects of power perverted and bigotted prejudice. Thoſe who thought proper were, indeed, permitted to quit the kingdom in peace, and a conſiderable number of Engliſh, who profeſſed the reformed religion, foreſeeing the perſecution, withdrew into foreign countries. On the firſt of October Mary was crowned by Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, and at the ſame time publiſhed an amneſty, from the benefit of which, however, all thoſe who had been arreſted before the month of September, and many others, were nominally excluded.

Such was the influence of corruption, that the lower houſe of parliament was almoſt filled with papiſts, as the moſt effectual means of accompliſhing their deſigns of eſtabliſhing the papal ſupremacy, and ſacrificing the reaſon, the conſciences, the property, and lives of the ſubjects, to ſuperſtition and arbitrary power. In the upper houſe the queen had a conſiderable majority; for even the greateſt part of thoſe noblemen, who had rejected the papal authority in the late reign, now infamouſly conformed to the doctrines of the court, from motives of intereſt or ambition.

To introduce the popiſh ritual under the ſanction of parliament, maſs was performed in the Latin tongue at the opening of the ſeſſion: a prelate was expelled the upper houſe for refuſing to comply with certain abſurd and ſuperſtitious ceremonies; and further to concur with the deſigns of the then miniſtry, the firſt bill that paſſed was, to aboliſh every kind of treaſon not ſpecified in the ſtatute of Edward III. and every felony which did not ſubſiſt before the firſt of Henry VIII. The following ſeſſions, an act paſſed for reverſing the ſentence of divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine of

Arragon

Arragon, and for repealing all the ſtatutes, by which that ſentence had been confirmed. By this act the princeſs Elizabeth was again declared illegitimate, and Mary, having no farther occaſion for her aſſiſtance, treated her with indignity and even cruelty.

The ſame parliament likewiſe put in force an act of the late reign, which made it felony for twelve perſons, or any greater number, to aſſemble with a view of changing the eſtabliſhed religion; and repealed the act of attainder which had paſſed againſt the duke of Norfolk.

It is not to be wondered, that the emiſſaries of the papal ſee were, at this juncture, remarkably active in concurring with deſigns already concerted, and partly executed, under the auſpices of Mary, queen of England; not only for the revival, but univerſal diffuſion of thoſe corrupt and pernicious principles which are its baſis and ſupport. Mary had, no doubt, been tampered with, as appears by her requeſt that cardinal Pole might be appointed legate to the pope, to effect the union of herſelf and kingdom to the ſee of Rome; a nomination equally diſagreeable to the emperor and biſhop Gardiner. The former, who, by his tyrannical behaviour, had excited the reſentment of all the proteſtant princes in Germany, being deſirous of ſtrengthening his intereſt by a match he had projected between his ſon Philip and the queen of England, was apprehenſive of the ſcheme miſcarrying by the interpoſition of Pole, whom, it was reported, Mary intended to take for her huſband. Gardiner was fearful that Pole would ſupplant him in his view to the primacy of all England, as well as deſtroy his influence at court. He therefore endeavoured to ruin that cardinal in the opinion of the queen, by inſinuating, that his furious zeal would defeat her intentions, in favour of the Roman Catholic religion.

The emperor, that no time might be loſt in accompliſhing a moſt deſirable end, took immediate occaſion of diſpatching an ambaſſador to explain the purport of his intentions to the queen, who, pleaſed with the ſupport of ſo powerful an alliance, and deſirous of uniting herſelf more intimately with her mother's family, embraced the propoſal with the utmoſt alacrity. This match was ſtrongly recommended by Norfolk, Arundel, Paget and Gardiner; the latter of whom aſſured both the queen and the emperor, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to ſtop all farther innovations in religion, till the marriage ſhould be conſummated.

The wily prelate purſued the plan with the utmoſt cunning, inſomuch that the moſt ſanguine hopes were entertained, by the parties concerned, of its being carried into ſpeedy execution; but the commons, being informed of the intended match, were ſurprized and enraged at her deſire of contracting a foreign alliance, and ſent a committee to remonſtrate, in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt ſuch a dangerous and imprudent ſtep. Mary, who was naturally obſtinate, perſiſted in her reſolution, and, to prevent any farther addreſſes of the like nature, diſſolved the parliament.

A. D. 1554-5. Nothing could more effectually tend to the total ſuppreſſion of the proteſtant, and confirmation of the popiſh, religion throughout the realm, than this raſh act of the queen in diſſolving the parliament, as, in conſequence thereof, the popiſh ceremonies were univerſally reſtored. But the match with Philip was a point ſtill more alarming, and filled the breaſt of every Engliſhman, who loved his country, with the moſt terrible apprehenſions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To remove, however, if poſſible, theſe jealouſies and ſuſpicions, the contract was concluded on the moſt plauſible terms, which were as follow: That though Philip ſhould enjoy the title of king, the adminiſtration ſhould be lodged in the hands of the queen; that no foreigner ſhould be capable of holding any dignified poſt in the kingdom; that no change ſhould be made in the Engliſh laws, cuſtoms, and privileges; that Philip ſhould not take the queen abroad, without her conſent, or any of her children, without the conſent of the nobility; that her jointure ſhould amount to ſixty thouſand pounds a year; that the male iſſue of this marriage ſhould enjoy England, together with Burgundy and the Low Countries; and that if Don Carlos, Philip's ſon by a former marriage, ſhould die, and his line become extinct, the queen's iſſue, whether male or female, ſhould ſucceed to Spain, Sicily, Milan, and all the other dominions of Philip.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious preliminaries, the people in general diſapproved the match, perſuaded that Philip, from prejudice in favour of thoſe deſpotic principles in which he had been educated, would be deſirous of ſubjugating the Engliſh ſubjects to maxims of Spaniſh policy: in conſequence of which ſome perſons, more factious than the reſt, believing it eaſier to prevent than remedy evils, determined to take up arms, and vigorouſly oppoſe the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyat engaged to arm the men of Kent; Sir Peter Carew undertook to aſſemble the inhabitants of Devonſhire; and they perſuaded the duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of reſtoring the lady Jane to the throne, to attempt to raiſe the midland counties. Carew, prompted either by his impetuoſity, or apprehenſions, roſe in arms before the day appointed; but his troops were ſoon diſperſed by the earl of Bedford, and himſelf was forced to take refuge in France. Suffolk, informed of the fate of this confederate, and, dreading an arreſt, quitted the town, attended by his brothers the lords Thomas and Leonard, and attempted to raiſe the people in the counties of Warwick and Leiceſter, where his chief intereſt lay; but he was ſo hotly purſued by the earl of Huntingdon, at the head of three hundred horſe, that he was obliged to diſmiſs his followers, and being diſcovered in his retreat, was ſeized and conducted to London.

The queen's partizans were more intimidated at the efforts of Wyat, than thoſe of ſuperior rank; for, having publiſhed a declaration at Maidſtone, in Kent, againſt her unjuſt proceedings, and evil counſellors, together with their danger of being enſlaved by a Spaniard, the people flocked to his ſtandard in prodigious numbers.

This party, however, was oppoſed by the queen's guards, headed by the duke of Norfolk and Sir Henry Jernegan, reinforced with a body of five hundred Londoners, under the command of one Brett. On overtaking the rebels at Rocheſter, the place of general rendezvous, Brett privately concerted a ſcheme with Sir George Harper, one profeſſedly of the malecontent party, for defeating the deſigns of the queen's forces. On the approach of the royal army, Harper pretended to deſert, and, in conjunction with Brett, (whoſe intereſt, he had undoubtedly ſecured,) repreſented the deſigns of the court in ſuch odious colours, that the whole body of Londoners went over to Wyat, declaring they would not aſſiſt in enſlaving their country. Wyat, encouraged by this

39 84 JAN

LADY JANE GRAY *addressing the Spectators from the* SCAFFOLD, *on which she was* BEHEADED *in the Tower.*

this reinforcement, and relying on the favour of the people, eſpecially of the Londoners, who were moſtly proteſtants, reſolved to proceed in this enterprize; and accordingly led his troops to Southwark, where he demanded of the queen, that ſhe ſhould put him in poſſeſſion of the tower, deliver four counſellors as hoſtages, and, in order to enſure the liberty of the nation, immediately to eſpouſe an Engliſhman. Finding the bridge barricaded againſt him, and that the city was over-awed by the regular troops, he marched up to Kingſton, where he croſſed the river with four thouſand men, hoping to animate his friends, who had promiſed to declare in his favour.

But ſuch was his delay in the execution of the ſcheme, that the favourable opportunity was loſt, ſo that his popularity began to decline, and though he entered Weſtminſter without oppoſition, his followers, finding that no perſon of importance eſpouſed his cauſe, gradually diſperſed, and he was at length ſeized near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkley.

The event proved fatal to his adherents, of whom near ſeventy were executed; four hundred appeared before the queen with halters about their necks, and, falling on their knees, ſued for forgiveneſs, which they obtained, and were diſmiſſed. Wyat, the ringleader, was condemned and executed; and as it had been reported, that, at his trial, he had impeached the lady Elizabeth, and the earl of Devonſhire, he ſolemnly declared before the whole people, that they had no concern in the rebellion; a circumſtance that reflects ſome honour on his character.

Mary, inflexibly attached to thoſe principles, which invariably lead to acts of ambition and cruelty, and viewing her ſiſter Elizabeth with an eye of jealouſy, from a perſuaſion of her being as much a friend to the reformation as ſhe was herſelf to popery, gave orders for conducting her priſoner to the tower, in order that ſhe might paſs the examination of council.

Nothing, however, appearing againſt her, Mary, in order to obviate any oppoſition from her ſiſter, and to remove her out of the kingdom, a marriage was propoſed between her and the duke of Savoy, and on her refuſing to agree to the match, ſhe was confined, under a ſtrong guard, at Woodſtock. The earl of Devonſhire, without any ground or pretence, was committed priſoner to Fotheringay-caſtle. A meſſage was then ſent to the lady Jane, deſiring her to prepare for immediate death; a doom ſhe had long expected, and therefore heard it without much perturbation. The bigotted Mary ſent two prieſts to her, to aſſiſt her in making the neceſſary preparations for futurity; but lady Jane could receive no conſolation from thoſe whoſe horrid principles, amongſt others, had inſtigated the queen to the moſt enormous acts of cruelty and barbarity, under the ſacred maſk of religion.

Lady Jane, notwithſtanding the oppreſſion under which ſhe laboured, was ſo calm and deliberate, as to be able not only to defend her religion with great learning and eloquence, but alſo to write a letter to her ſiſter Catherine in the Greek language, in which, beſides ſending her a copy of the New Teſtament in that tongue, ſhe exhorted her to maintain an unſhaken perſeverance in the profeſſion ſhe had avowed. It had been propoſed to execute the lady Jane and lord Guilford (her huſband) together, on the ſame ſcaffold; but the council, to prevent any clamours that ſuch a ſcene might excite among the people, gave orders that lord Guildford ſhould be beheaded within the verge of the tower.

The compoſure and reſignation of lady Jane to the fate of her huſband was beyond conception: ſhe even ſaw his headleſs body brought back in a cart, and found herſelf more encouraged by the account ſhe received of his perſeverance, than melted by ſo moving and melancholy a ſight.

When ſhe mounted the ſcaffold, ſhe addreſſed the ſpectators, who were diſſolved in tears at ſo mournful a ſpectacle, and obſerved, in particular, that innocence was no excuſe for acts that tended to the prejudice of the public. Having ſpent ſome time in devotion, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be diſrobed by her female attendants, and, with great compoſure, ſubmitted to the fatal ſtroke. Thus fell a victim, at the early period of ſeventeen years, an illuſtrious lady, adding to many other inſtances of the dire effects of ambition, reſentment and cruelty. The duke of Suffolk ſoon ſubmitted to the ſame fate, by ſuffering decapitation on Tower-hill.

Having thus removed ſeveral barriers to her barbarous projects, the queen buſily employed herſelf in making preparations for the reception of Don Philip, whoſe arrival ſhe hourly expected, with the utmoſt impatience. At length, the much deſired moment arrived, when ſhe received the joyful news that Philip was landed at Southampton. In a few days after his arrival the nuptials were ſolemnized at Weſtminſter, and the queen, with her new ſpouſe, made a pompous entry into London. Philip poſſeſſed a diſſimulation, and maintained a reſerve, very diſguſting to the Engliſh; but as he brought with him an immenſe ſum of money, many perſons were reconciled to the marriage.

The ſolemnization of the nuptials between Philip and Mary having paved the way for the accompliſhment of their deſign, cardinal Pole arrived in England, fully commiſſioned by his holineſs to put a finiſhing ſtroke to the union of the queen and realm to the ſee of Rome. He was received at court with all the reſpect due to his exalted character, and, on the firſt occaſion that offered, earneſtly exhorted the parliament to reconcile themſelves and the kingdom to the holy ſee, from which they had been ſo long unhappily divided.

The legate's doctrine proving very agreeable to this packed and corrupt parliament, both houſes preſented an addreſs to Philip and Mary, declaring their reſolution inviolably to adhere to the church of Rome. The legate, then, in the name of his holineſs, abſolved them from all the cenſures that had been paſſed againſt them, and admitted them into the boſom of the church. The parliament, in conſequence of this indulgence, enacted a ſtatute, re-eſtabliſhing the papal juriſdiction in England; but under this reſtriction, that alienation of church-lands ſhould be authorized; and that the poſſeſſions of them ſhould not be ſubject to any cenſure or proſecution on that account.

Having ſerved their private purpoſes, they were wholly regardleſs of the intereſt and liberties of their fellow-ſubjects; inſomuch that they revived the old ſanguinary laws againſt heretics, and enacted ſeveral new ſtatutes, pronouncing it treaſon to imagine the death of Philip, during his marriage with the queen.

An ambitious, avaricious and barbarous junto being thus completely formed, conſequences enſued which will ever reflect the higheſt diſgrace on human nature, as well as odium on that religious profeſſion, which could not only enjoin, but ſanc-

tify acts repugnant to the univerſal law of God, and of reaſon.

The firſt perſon who now fell a victim to religious fury was one Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, and a man equally diſtinguiſhed for his piety and learning. Dr. Hooper, biſhop of Glouceſter, had been condemned at the ſame time with Rogers, but was ſent down to his dioceſe, and after having rejected a pardon on terms of recantation, brought to the ſtake, where he reſigned himſelf to his cruel fate with amazing fortitude. Dr. Taylor, vicar of Hadley, an old divine, was burned in that place, amidſt his friends and pariſhioners. When he was brought to the ſtake, and began to harangue the bye-ſtanders, a ruffian ſtruck him on the head. He was then placed in a barrel of pitch, and one of the ſpectators, throwing a faggot at the venerable old man, wounded him ſo ſeverely, that his whole viſage was beſmeared with blood; but his only reply was, "O friend! I have harm enough, why doeſt "thou encreaſe it?" When he had repeated a pſalm in Engliſh, one of the guards ſtruck him on the mouth, bidding him ſpeak Latin; and while he was employed in pious ejaculations, another cleft his head in ſuch a manner that his brains came out, and he expired.

As enthuſiaſm is, in general, the offspring of ignorance, their main object was, to compel the people to believe the abſurd and ridiculous doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. Gardiner, however, finding the eſtabliſhment of popery attended with ſuch cruel circumſtances, devolved the odious taſk on Bonner, whoſe ſavage diſpoſition delighted in tormenting the unhappy ſufferers. He ſometimes whipped the priſoners with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exerciſe: he tore out the beard of a poor mechanic, who refuſed to change his religion; and in in order to give him a ſpecimen of burning, tortured him with the flame of a taper, until the veins burſt, and the ſinews were conſumed.

Cardinal Pole, though a catholic by profeſſion, retained ſome principles of humanity, and would, if his influence had been ſufficient, have averted the ſentence of Ferrar, biſhop of St. David's; but the prelate, notwithſtanding his interpoſition, fell a victim to popiſh ſuperſtition and cruelty, and was brought to the ſtake in his own dioceſe. This religious, or rather demoniacal, maſſacre now became general, and thouſands ſubmitted to the moſt painful deaths, rather than ſubſcribe to the popiſh creed.

The perſecutions and horrid cruelties to which the proteſtants were ſubject were imputed, in a great meaſure, to the influence of the Spaniſh court; ſo that Philip, ſenſible of the odium under which he laboured, endeavoured to vindicate himſelf by a very groſs artifice. He ordered his confeſſor to deliver, in his preſence, a ſermon in favour of toleration; but finding this trick ineffectual, he laid aſide the maſk, the perſecution raged without controul, and attempts were even made to introduce the inquiſition into England.

The queen's adherents could not have pitched on a more effectual tool for perpetrating their deſigns than that haughty and tyrannical prelate biſhop Bonner. Several perſons ſuffered at Canterbury, and other places; and, among the reſt, Margaret Polly, the firſt female martyr in Mary's reign. In the month of October Ridley, formerly biſhop of London, and Latimer, of Worceſter, two prelates eminent for their piety and learning, periſhed together in the flames at Oxford, and encouraged each other by their mutual exhortations.

In the midſt of theſe enormous proceedings, Mary pleaſed herſelf with the hopes of pregnancy; but the flattering idea ſoon vaniſhed, on her bringing forth a ſubſtance called by phyſicians Mola, to her unſpeakable grief, the aſtoniſhment of the court, and confuſion of Philip, who entertained the proſpect of uniting England and Spain, by the iſſue of this marriage. Chagrined at this diſappointment, he retired to Flanders, leaving his conſort in great perplexity. Soon after Philip's departure, Mary received a bull for erecting Ireland into a kingdom, and towards the cloſe of the year the emperor Charles V. reſigned his dominions to his ſon Philip.

A. D. 1556. The rage of perſecution prevailed with unremitting fury, and it was now reſolved to maſſacre the venerable archbiſhop, in terror to the inferior clergy, as well as the laity in general, who adhered to the proteſtant faith. Accordingly, Bonner, biſhop of London, and Thirley of Ely, were ſent to Oxford to degrade Cranmer, and the former performed that melancholy office, with all the ſavage joy and triumph, that might be expected from his brutal diſpoſition. After the archbiſhop's condemnation, perſons were employed to aſſail him in different ſhapes, in order to make him a proſelyte to their opinions. They accordingly repreſented to him the dignities and honours to which his character ſtill gave him a claim, if he would deſerve them by a recantation, and flattered him with the hopes of long enjoying thoſe powerful friends, whom his humanity and beneficence had procured him, during the courſe of his proſperity.

After much importunity, and that dread of the excruciating torments with which the death he was conſigned to muſt be inevitably attended, he ſuffered the feelings of nature to overpower his reſolution, and agreed to ſign a paper, acknowledging the doctrine of the papal ſupremacy, and of the real preſence in the euchariſt. But this condeſcenſion did not, in any degree, ſooth the fury of his bigotted and relentleſs ſovereign, who, ſo far from admitting it as any plea to her favourable regard, ſent orders that he ſhould be commanded to own his errors in church, before the whole people, and that he ſhould from thence be immediately conducted to execution.

Far from being intimidated at the awful mandate, Cranmer reſumed his former reſolution, and, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſurrounding multitude abjured the whole of the papal creed, and was led to the place of execution, with the reſolution of a martyr to the moſt glorious cauſe. When fixed to the ſtake, he ſtretched out his right hand, and, without diſcovering the leaſt ſign of feeling, held it in the flames until it dropped off, exclaiming, ſeveral times, "this hand has offended." This eminent martyr to the proteſtant cauſe exemplified the moſt ſhining virtues of real religion: he died revered and lamented by all good men, and his name muſt be reſpected to the lateſt poſterity. Cardinal Pole ſucceeded to the archiepiſcopal ſee, through the interpoſition of the queen with his holineſs in behalf of that prelate.

The pillar of the reformation being thus removed by the maſſacre of Cranmer, the relentleſs Mary practiſed every ſpecies of cruelty. Within the compaſs of this year no leſs than eighty-five perſons, men, women and children, the lame, the blind and the ignorant, were put to death, for denying the

the doctrines of purgatory, tranſubſtantiation, and other tenets, exploded by the then church of England.

Such inſtances of more than ſavage barbarity, committed under the ſanction of zeal for religion, rouſed the indignation of all moderate people, and the ſurpriſing reſolution of the martyrs enhanced the merit of the religion they profeſſed; while the frantic zeal of the perſecutors tended to the eſtabliſhment of the ſubſequent reformation.

A. D. 1557. The perſecuting queen was now interrupted in her career of ſlaughter by turning her attention to the war, which had broke out between France and Spain. Though her council were, in general, averſe to ſuch a proceeding, through the inſtigation of Philip, ſhe levied a conſiderable ſum, equipped a powerful armament, which embarked in June, under the command of the earl of Pembroke, in order to join the Spaniſh forces headed by the duke of Savoy.

The onſet proved unſucceſsful to the French, whoſe army was routed in the firſt engagement, and many officers of diſtinction taken priſoners. About the latter end of the year Philip ſent information to Mary, that the court of France had projected a plan for the reduction of Calais, and offered to ſupply her with troops for the defence of that fortreſs. The council, conſidering this intimation as a ſtratagem of Philip to gain poſſeſſion of Calais, the queen not only declined the offer, but neglected to put the place in a poſture of defence, in oppoſition to the opinion and advice of the governor of that fortreſs.

A. D. 1588. The truth of Philip's intimation, and the foundation of the advice given by lord Wentworth, the governor, too ſoon and too evidently appeared; for Calais was not only inveſted by the duke of Guiſe, but the fortreſs reduced in ſeven days, notwithſtanding an oppoſition was made as vigorous as the ſtrength of the place would admit. The duke no ſooner took poſſeſſion, than he expelled all the Engliſh inhabitants, and then inveſted Guiſnes, where the lord Gray had commanded; but the garriſon, conſiſting of eleven hundred men, were ſo diſcouraged at the loſs of Calais, that, at the firſt attack, they retired to the citadel, and ſoon after ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. The caſtle of Hames, ſituated in a moraſs almoſt inacceſſible, might have made a vigorous reſiſtance; but the garriſon fled at the approach of the enemy. Thus in the ſpace of fifteen days, and in the winter ſeaſon, all that had remained of the Engliſh conqueſts in France, was loſt by the ignorance and neglect of the queen and her council.

Mary began to apprehended the ſeaſon of retaliation was near at hand, a murmuring people, a weak adminiſtration, loſſes ſuſtained in her firſt military attempts reflected univerſal diſgrace on her government. To her mental diſquietude was added bodily indiſpoſition, for, having, miſtaken a dropſy for a pregnancy, ſhe had purſued an improper regimen, and her diſtemper became every day more inveterate. Her malady was ſtill farther inflamed by the anxiety of her mind through the moſt painful reflections, and at length brought on a lingering fever, of which ſhe died, after a ſhort and inglorious reign of five years, four months, and eleven days.

Exalted characters, whether exemplary, or infamous, ſhould be held forth in their true colours, to excite either the imitation or averſion of thoſe of inferior rank. The moſt faithful picture of this queen is only to be drawn from a peruſal of her reign, which blots the page of hiſtory with the fouleſt deeds that ever diſgraced humanity. Her characteriſtics were, bigotry, reſentment, jealouſy, perfidy and cruelty; for which laſt vice ſhe was ſo notorious as to be branded with the appellation of "Bloody Mary." She ſtands upon record as a deteſtable inſtance of the accurſed prevalence of thoſe principles, which, under the ſanction of religion, lead to the moſt diabolical actions, and, though ranked among monarchs, ſhe appears to have been one of the baſeſt of mortals.

Remarkable Occurences during the reign of Queen Mary.

A. D.

1554 Bribery firſt practiſedat elections in England.

1555 Coaches firſt uſed in England.

1556 Bellmen firſt appointed in the city of London. They were every night to ring their bells, and call aloud to the inhabitants, "Take care of your fire and candle; be charitable to the poor, and pray for the dead."

1557 This year there happened a great ſcarcity of corn. Wheat was ſold for 2l. 13s. 4d. malt at 2l. 4s. and peaſe at 3l. 6s. 8d. the quarter.

Glaſs firſt made in England into bottles and other veſſels.

1558 Wheat was this year ſold for 2l. 13s. the quarter before the harveſt; and for 5s. the quarter ſoon after.

This year there happened a moſt violent ſtorm of thunder and lightning, by which two villages near Nottingham were totally deſtroyed; and many of the hail-ſtones that fell were fifteen inches in circumference.

In the ſame year there was a malignant fever, which, in a ſhort time, carried off great numbers of the inhabitants.

A law was paſſed this year, by which the women of London (not being the wives of aldermen, nor gentlewomen by deſcent) were obliged to wear minover caps, being made of white woolen knit, three cornered, with the peaks projecting three or four inches beyond their foreheads. Aldermens wives had them of the ſame form, but they were diſtinguiſhed by being made of velvet.

Handkerchiefs, wrought and edged with gold, worn by gentlemen in their hats as favours from young ladies; the value from five to twelve-pence.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

ELIZABETH.

Acceſſion of Elizabeth. The Queen exhibits the higheſt proofs of moderation and prudence, both religious and political. Favours the proteſtant intereſt. Concludes a treaty with France. Mary, queen of Scots, returns to her native place after a long abſence. Diſguſts Elizabeth by her marriage with lord Darnley, and her attachment to the popiſh cauſe. Darnley is taken off by ſtratagem, and Mary eſpouſeth Bothwell. A confederacy is formed againſt them. Bothwell quits the kingdom, flies to Denmark, and dies in indigence and obſcurity. Mary is oppoſed by her ſubjects, and ſolicits the protection of Elizabeth. Equivocal behaviour of the latter. Mary is impriſoned. The regent of Scotland taken off. Conviction and execution of the duke of Norfolk. Horrid maſſacre of the proteſtants at Paris. Inſurrections in England. Attacks from Philip of Spain. Trial and execution of queen Mary. General alarm from the formidable Spaniſh armament, called the Invincible Armada. Their efforts totally fruſtrated by fortunate incidents. Commotions in Ireland. The Earl of Eſſex ſent thither as lord-lieutenant; but returns without executing the buſineſs on which he is ſent. Is diſgraced thereupon. Forms a rebellious confederacy, for which he is apprehended, tried, condemned and executed. Montjoy ſuppreſſes a rebellion raiſed in Ireland. The queen, greatly affected at divers incidents, falls into an incurable melancholy. Her death and character.

A. D. 1558. ON the demiſe of a ſovereign ſo obnoxious to her ſubjects as the late queen, the public could not but rejoice at that event, as well as the reſolution of the privy council to place her ſiſter Elizabeth, whoſe prudence and moderation, during the commotions of the late reign, had conciliated univerſal eſteem, on a throne left by a tyrant and aſſaſſin.

The death of queen Mary was notified to the princeſs Elizabeth, who then reſided at Hatfield, from whence ſhe immediately repaired to London, and after receiving the compliments of the nobility, ſent ambaſſadors to the different powers of Europe, to notify her acceſſion to the throne of England.

As nothing can ſo well qualify for the moſt dignified and important offices of life, as a true knowledge of the ſprings of human action, this princeſs gave a moſt ſignal diſplay of prudence and policy at her acceſſion to the throne; for in appointing her privy council, ſhe retained thirteen of her ſiſter's counſellors to prevent an alarm on the ſcore of religion; but in order to balance their authority, ſhe joined eight more to them, who were ſtrongly attached to the proteſtant cauſe. Philip of Spain could not but be alarmed at the conſequences in which the death of queen Mary had involved him; yet hoping ſtill to retain his influence over England, he diſpatched orders to the duke of Ferra, his ambaſſador at London, to propoſe a match between him and Elizabeth, the latter of whom, declined the propoſal; but in ſuch polite and evaſive terms, that the Spaniſh monarch could not juſtly take offence at her refuſal.

The queen, perſuaded of the difficulty of eradicating principles of bigotry and ſuperſtition, proceeded at firſt in the revival of the proteſtant doctrines and worſhip, with much caution and deliberation. To pave the way, however, for this great and laudable deſign, ſhe gave viſible tokens of her attachment to the cauſe by recalling all the exiles, releaſing thoſe confined for their religious tenets, and reſtoring thoſe, who had been attainted, to their former honours.

Purſuant to this purpoſe, thoſe noblemen and perſons of eminence who had ſuffered in the cauſe of the reformation through the tyranny and oppreſſion of her ſiſter, were amply compenſated for their zeal and fidelity. Amongſt others the marquis of Northampton, who had been condemned in the late reign, was releaſed, and reſtored to his eſtate and dignities.

Theſe intimations of a future deſign raiſed apprehenſions in the minds of the popiſh prelates for the fate of their religion, as they ſeemed to forbode a reformation. Hence the ceremony of Elizabeth's coronation was rather retarded; but it was at length indeed performed with much reluctance by the biſhop of Carliſle.

At the opening of the ſeſſion of parliament, Sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great ſeal, eminent both as an able lawyer and perſuaſive orator, diſplayed his talents on the auſpicious event of the new queen's acceſſion to the throne, inveighed with great ſeverity againſt the proceedings of the late adminiſtration, and after urging the expediency of turning their attention to religious matters, exhorted them to obſerve a due medium between the extremes of ſuperſtition and real religion, as the moſt effectual means of uniting both the Roman Catholics and Proteſtants in one mode of worſhip. He concluded with ſoliciting that ſupply in behalf of her majeſty, which the exigencies of the ſtate required.

The commons, though they had been harraſſed by impoſitions in the late reign, chearfully granted the tonnage and poundage, together with a large ſubſidy on lands and moveables, and at the inſtance of ſome powerful friends attached to revolution principles, brought in and paſſed a bill for ſuppreſſing the monaſteries lately erected, and reſtoring the tenths and firſt fruits to the crown, which had been ſurrendered by Mary.

To add to the dignity and influence of the queen, her legal right to the crown was recognized by virtue of an act of the thirty-ſixth of Henry VIII. and to promote the moſt deſired reformation, the following bills were paſſed, viz. that the ſervice ſhould be performed in the vulgar tongue; that the ſupremacy of the church of England ſhould be veſted in the ſovereign; that all acts relative to religion, which had paſſed in the reign of Edward VI. ſhould be renewed and confirmed; that the nomination to biſhoprics ſhould be veſted in the queen, who might exerciſe her ſupremacy by any perſon ſhe ſhould appoint for that purpoſe; that

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Born *September 7. 1533.* | *Crowned* *January 15. 1559.* | *Died* *March 24. 1603.*

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that all perſons in office ſhould take the oath of ſupremacy, and that no perſon, under ſevere penalties, ſhould, by word or writing, ſupport any foreign authority in this kingdom; that there ſhould be an uniformity of worſhip; and that, on the vacancy of any biſhopric, the queen might reſume its manors and temporal poſſeſſions, making a juſt recompence to the ſee of perſonages impropriate.

The queen, thus confirmed in her ſucceſſion, as well as royal prerogative, by parliamentary ſanction, revived a tribunal called the High Commiſſion Court, which was compoſed of commiſſioners, veſted with the authority of the vicegerent appointed in the reign of Henry VIII. Of nine thouſand four hundred eccleſiaſtics, who held benefices in England, thoſe who choſe rather to renounce their livings than the Romiſh religion, amounted to fourteen biſhops, twelve archdeacons, fifty canons, and about four-ſcore of the inferior clergy; a circumſtance, that, by giving way for the induction of proteſtant divines, greatly promoted the work of the reformation.

Nor was leſs attention paid to the foreign than domeſtic concerns of the nation; which having ſuſtained conſiderable loſs, as well as diſgrace, from the war, a treaty was concluded by the Engliſh ambaſſador with France on the following terms; that Henry ſhould retain Calais, and all the towns he had wreſted from the Engliſh, for eight years, at the expiration of which they ſhould be reſtored to the queen of England; that he ſhould give ample ſecurity for paying to Elizabeth, or her ſucceſſors, the ſum of five hundred thouſand golden crowns, in default of reſtoring the places at the time appointed; that the French ſhould give hoſtages for the performance of this article; that neither he, the king or queen of Scotland, nor Elizabeth, ſhould attempt any thing againſt each other, directly or indirectly, to the prejudice of this treaty; and that they ſhould not encourage or protect the rebellious ſubjects of each other.

This political ſtroke could not fail to enſure a final adjuſtment of all differences with Scotland; ſo that a general tranquillity afforded leiſure for promoting the internal welfare and happineſs of the kingdom. But the proſperity of England, under a proteſtant queen and government, could not but raiſe the jealouſy of their popiſh neighbours; inſomuch that the dauphin and his conſort Mary, at the inſtigation of the pope, and monarchs of France and Spain, who were incenſed at the acceſſion of a proteſtant princeſs on the throne of England, aſſumed the title of king and queen of Scotland, England and Ireland; and arrogated to themſelves the arms of England. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the queen's ambaſſador at Paris, remonſtrated on this inſult offered to his miſtreſs, and receiving a very frivolous anſwer, repeated his complaint; but was told by the French miniſtry, that the queen of Scots was as much intitled to the arms of England, as Elizabeth was to the appellation of queen of France.

This circumſtance could not fail of adding to the apprehenſions of Elizabeth, who conſidered both Mary and the Spaniſh monarch, as highly inimical to her perſon and intereſt, from motives both ambitious and religious. As the only means, therefore, to fruſtrate their moſt vigorous and artful deſigns, ſhe wiſely determined on ſuch meaſures as might conciliate the affections of her ſubjects. Having from early life ſedulouſly applied herſelf to the ſtudy of men and things, and being, of courſe, capable of diſcerning merit, ſhe appointed men of capacity to the important offices of ſtate; diſpenſed juſtice impartially; evinced a well-judged œconomy; deported herſelf with complacency; and demonſtrated ſo ardent a regard for the welfare of her people, as produced the warmeſt returns of confidence and affection.

A. D. 1559. To form a powerful intereſt in the north, Elizabeth abetted a numerous party, who declared for the reformation, and with ſuch apparent effect, that conferences for a peace were actually opened at Edinburgh. But the progreſs of this important tranſaction was retarded by the premature death of Henry of France, who, being ſlain in a tournament, was ſucceeded by Francis II. a prince of weak intellects, ſolely at the devotion of the houſe of Guiſe, and conſequently averſe to the proteſtant cauſe. But all his efforts were baffled by the ſuperior genius of Elizabeth, who reduced him to the neceſſity of concluding a treaty, by which it was ſtipulated, that the king and queen of France and Scotland, ſhould thenceforth abſtain from bearing the arms of England; that Elizabeth ſhould be farther ſatisfied for the injury already done her in that particular; that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to ſettle the point; and, on failure of agreement, the matter ſhould be referred to the arbitration of the king of Spain; and that the king and queen of France and Scotland ſhould be obliged to confirm the conceſſions that had been made by the French plenipotentiaries to the Scottiſh confederates.

Notwithſtanding the concluſion of this treaty, and the acceſſion of the parties previouſly in oppoſition, to divers articles in furtherance of the reformation, Francis and Mary peremptorily refuſed that part which referred to Elizabeth, on pretence that ſhe had treated with their rebellious ſubjects; though their real deſign was to wreſt the crown from the then poſſeſſor, and place it on the head of their young neice.

But all theſe efforts were not only fruſtrated, but proved ſubverſive of the very deſigns they were intended to accompliſh, and eventually terminated in the miſery and death of the unfortunate Mary, through the politic conduct of queen Elizabeth, who, from the experienced fallacy of foreign allies, deemed it moſt eſſential to the intereſt of the nation, to ſelect, as miniſters at home, men of the moſt approved integrity as well as abilities. The ambaſſador to the court of Spain met with a very cold reception from Philip, who, being highly averſe to the eſtabliſhment of the reformation in England, reſtored the collar of the order of the garter, and declined renewing the alliance with the Engliſh queen.

To try the effect of lenient meaſures, the pope diſpatched certain inſtructions ſpecified in a brief to be delivered in form to the queen by his nuncio, who, to the exhortations therein contained reſpecting her conformity to the catholic religion, is ſaid, as a lure, to have promiſed, that the pope would annul the ſentence of divorce between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, confirm the Engliſh liturgy, and allow the people to communicate in both kinds at the ſacrament. Theſe propoſals were, however, rejected, as vague, temporizing and deluſive.

A. D. 1560. The reformation in England inſtigated the reſentment and cruel perſecution of the Proteſtants, (commonly called Hugonots) in France, until they formed a conſpiracy againſt the duke of Guiſe, and the cardinal of Lorraine, who

were their inveterate enemies. The prince of Condé was ſuppoſed to favour them in private, and a ſcheme was formed, for ſurprizing the duke and cardinal at the court of Amboiſe. This deſign being diſcovered, was conſtrued into a conſpiracy againſt the king, and twelve hundred perſons were executed, for having been privy to the plot.

The preſence of the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé at the general aſſembly had well nigh proved fatal to them both; the former was ſo narrowly obſerved that he could not eſcape; the prince was committed to priſon, and afterwards condemned to the block; but the death of Francis II. ſaved him from that ignominious fate. The queen-mother was appointed regent, during the minority of her ſon Charles IX. who ſucceeded his father; the king of Navarre was conſtituted lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the ſentence againſt Condé was reverſed; and the authority of the princes of Lorraine greatly diminiſhed.

A. D. 1561. In conſequence of theſe fortunate events in France, Elizabeth peremptorily demanded of Mary, by her ambaſſador, an immediate ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; but Mary evaded compliance, by informing the ambaſſador, that ſhe would wait the arrival of ſome Scottiſh noblemen, whom ſhe expected in France, and with their concurrence ſatisfy the queen of England. However, to ward off the reſentment ſhe had reaſon to expect from her non-compliance, ſhe ſet out for Calais, where ſhe embarked with a ſplendid retinue, but was greatly affected at leaving that kingdom, as appeared by her exclaiming, "Fare-"well France, farewell beloved country, which I "ſhall never more behold."

An Engliſh fleet was ordered out to intercept her in the paſſage, which, through favour of a fog, ſhe fortunately eſcaped, and arrived in her native kingdom, after having been abſent for the ſpace of thirteen years. She was received by her ſubjects with the greateſt acclamations of joy; but had the mortification to find ſuch ſevere laws in force againſt her, that it was with difficulty ſhe was permitted to celebrate maſs in her own private chapel.

As the flame of religious diſſentions now raged in Scotland with unabating fury, and the ſpirit of perſecution equally poſſeſſed the proteſtants and papiſts, Mary, at this ſo critical a juncture, wiſely affected a partiality for the proteſtants, and committed to leading men of that party the adminiſtration of affairs. Her favourite miniſters were the prior of St. Andrew's, and Maitland of Lethington, by whoſe prudent advice ſhe regulated her conduct in ſuch a manner, as conciliated the affections of her ſubjects. With the advice of her council ſhe diſpatched ſecretary Maitland to London, to inform Elizabeth of her happy arrival in her own dominions, and to ſolicit her friendſhip.

Soothed by theſe conciliatory meaſures on the part of Mary, the queen of England agreed to maintain a proper correſpondence with her, and many letters paſſed between them, abounding with expreſſions of the moſt unreſerved friendſhip, while, according to the mode of courts, their words ſpoke a language foreign to their hearts.

Having received, at divers times, intimations from the Roman pontiff of his perſiſting in his claim to eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy even in England, the queen laudably reſolved entirely to throw off the yoke of papal tyranny. She therefore denied the nuncio admittance into her preſence, declaring, that ſhe would never acknowledge a council ſummoned by the biſhop of Rome, and acting under his direction. In conſequence of this behaviour, Philip ſolicited the pope to denounce ſentence of excommunication againſt her; he treated her ambaſſadors with contempt, and permitted the officers of the inquiſition to proſecute the Engliſh traders in his dominions. Elizabeth, therefore, apprehending a ſtorm from this quarter, equipped a powerful fleet, which ſecured the empire of the ſea; ſhe augmented the garriſons, and repaired the fortifications of Berwick, trained the militia, encouraged trade, and, by her wiſe and prudent meaſures gained abſolute dominion over the hearts of her ſubjects.

A.D. 1562--3. The propriety of her general conduct was ſoon rendered evident, as the catholics began to cabal in private, and form ſchemes for the re-eſtabliſhment of their religion. Divers ſchemes were alſo concerted againſt her by the earl and counteſs of Lenox, Arthur Pole, nephew to the late cardinal, with his brother Edmund, and Anthony Forteſcue.

The ſuſpected perſons were ſoon apprehended, and, upon examination, confeſſed that they had entertained a deſign of repairing to France, where they were promiſed a ſupply of men, who were to be tranſported into Wales, where they propoſed to proclaim Mary queen of England, while Pole ſhould be declared duke of Clarence. They ſtood, indeed, ſelf-convicted, but from motives either of policy or humanity, the royal clemency was extended towards them in a full and free pardon.

On the meeting of parliament this year, the life of the queen being greatly endangered from the ſmall-pox, the commons preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, entreating her to fix the ſucceſſion in an explicit manner, in order to avoid the calamities which a competition might produce. But ſhe equivocally evaded a direct compliance with the prayer of the addreſs, aſſuring them, ſhe would ever be attentive to the true intereſt and happineſs of her people. The parliament granted, however, the neceſſary ſupplies, and paſſed many wholeſome laws for the relief of the poor, and the encouragement of commerce and agriculture. Some religious improvements were alſo made during the courſe of this ſeſſion, upon the plan eſtabliſhed in the reign of Edward VI. and the tenor of their proceedings might be deemed worthy the auguſt aſſembly of a nation. At the cloſe of the parliament a peace was concluded with France; the conditions ſpecified, that two hundred thouſand crowns ſhould be paid to the queen for reſtoration of hoſtages, and confirmed the former claims and pretenſions of both parties.

A. D. 1564. Animoſities between the rival queens were apparently ſubſided; an amicable and affectionate literary intercourſe took place, the ſcene of diſſention and diſquiet was totally reverſed. This agreeable pauſe, however, from ſtrife and contention, was but of ſhort duration, ſuch was the mutual and unconquerable antipathy of the parties. Elizabeth was averſe to the very thoughts of a competitor, as well as fearful of her marrying ſome Catholic prince, who might be able to aſſert her pretenſions. Mary, on the other hand, had been taught to conſider Elizabeth as illegitimate, an heretic and uſurper, who had intercepted her right to one of the moſt honourable ſcepters in Europe, and fomented rebellions in the heart of her kingdom. Thus operated the reſpective opinions and prejudices on the minds and conduct of the reſpective queens.

A. D. 1565. After a ſeries of viſſicitudes, religious and political, it was deemed expedient that Mary ſhould form a matrimonial alliance, and lord Darnley was the object of that queen's choice, and the approbation of the counſellors; it being by them premiſed, that this young nobleman being deſcended from the ſame family with herſelf would, by ſuch an alliance, preſerve the royal dignity in the houſe of Stuart. As he was an Engliſhman by birth, and could not by his power or connections, give any cauſe of ſuſpicions to Elizabeth, it was preſumed that the purpoſe of this marriage would not be diſagreeable to that jealous princeſs. Elizabeth appeared, indeed, at firſt, moſt cordially to acquieſce with the propoſed match, and apprehending that the treaty was verging towards an iſſue, permitted Darnley, on his firſt application, to follow his father into Scotland; but no ſooner did ſhe hear, that preparations were making for celebrating the nuptials, than ſhe exclaimed againſt the marriage; ſent Throgmorton to Scotland to command Darnley, upon his allegiance, immediately to return to England; committed the counteſs of Lenox, and her ſecond ſon, to the Tower; confiſcated all Lenox's Engliſh eſtates; and though it was impoſſible for her to aſſign one plauſible pretence for her diſpleaſure, ſhe threatened, proteſted, and complained, with all the vehemence of rancour, ſuſpicion, and jealouſy, as if ſhe had been injured in the niceſt point.

The pen of candour muſt hand down to poſterity the whole of her tranſactions with, and reſpecting, Mary queen of Scotland, as equivocal, deſigning and malicious: if there can be any palliation admiſſible, it muſt be, the calling to remembrance, that ſhe was but mortal, conſequently frail, and that it was the lot of humanity to err. However, notwithſtanding all her machinations, the propoſed nuptials were at length conſummated on the twenty-ninth day of July.

The adherents to the proteſtant cauſe, apprehenſive for the fate of the reformation in conſequence of this alliance, aſſembled at Stirling, affected an extreme concern for the intereſt of religion, engaged in an aſſociation for their mutual defence, and applied to Elizabeth for her aſſiſtance. That princeſs, having publicly declared her diſapprobation of the match, ſent an ambaſſador to the queen of Scots, demanding that the lord Darnley ſhould be delivered into her hands, according to the ſtipulations of the late treaty, by which the two queens obliged themſelves to give up the rebellious ſubjects of each other. The Scottiſh queen, in reply, aſſured Elizabeth that ſhe would prefer no claim during her life, provided ſhe might be pronounced by parliament preſumptive heir to the crown of England.

The late marriage was not ſucceeded by any happy events, either to the parties in particular, or the Scottiſh nation in general. Darnley's perfections centered ſolely in his perſon; his mind was low and ſordid, his temper impetuous and open to the adulation of ſycophants, and his behaviour to his conſort, by whom he had been ſo much aggrandized, and even courted to teſtify his affection, was ſullen, reſerved, and diſguſting. This of courſe produced a coldneſs on her part, and at length furniſhed cauſe for ſuſpicion of an illicit commerce between the queen and one Rizzio, an Italian muſician, which terminated in his death, from the hands of aſſaſſins ſuborned for that purpoſe by her huſband, the lord Darnley.

A. D. 1566—7. On the nineteenth of June, Mary was delivered of a ſon at the caſtle of Edinburgh, which being announced by Sir John Melville (an eminent hiſtorian) in quality of ambaſſador to the Engliſh court, exceedingly diſturbed the mind of Elizabeth; however, ſhe diſguiſed her concern by affecting all the compliments and parade of ceremony uſual upon ſuch occaſions at courts, and the reſorts of the great; and ſent the earl of Bedford to aſſiſt at the baptiſm of the young prince James; the ceremony being performed in Stirling caſtle, in the preſence of the ambaſſadors of England, France and Savoy.

The queen of England, being the patron of literature, and encourager of the liberal arts, in the ſummer of this year, honoured the univerſity of Oxford with her royal preſence, and eminently diſplayed her own genius and learning. She anſwered a Greek oration in the ſame language, and in a Latin ſpeech aſſured the univerſity of her favour and protection. On her return to London, the parliament was aſſembled, and a motion made in the lower houſe, for petitioning her majeſty to marry, and ſettle the ſucceſſion to the crown. This motion was ſuggeſted by the earls of Pembroke and Leiceſter, but vehemently oppoſed by Cecil, who was, therefore, reviled without doors, in lampoons, and libels. The addreſs being preſented, ſhe ſignified her intention to marry, but obſerved, ſhe could not declare her ſucceſſor, without expoſing her own perſon to danger. The commons, diſſatisfied with her anſwer, repeated their importunity; and the queen, at length, remitted the third part of the ſubſidy they had granted, and diſmiſſed them with a ſpeech, not the moſt conciliatory or popular.

The period of Mary's diſgrace and humiliation now approached. Lord Darnley, after the moſt unworthy degradations, being taken off by means unknown, earl Bothwell, a man of diſſolute morals, who was ſuſpected of being acceſſary to the inſidious tranſaction, was admitted to the utmoſt familiarity with the queen, and determining thereupon to obtain her hand at all events, he raiſed a body of eight hundred horſe, and interrupting her in her return from Stirling, conveyed her to his caſtle at Dunbar, in order to effect his purpoſe. Having obtained a divorce from his wife, he conducted the queen to the caſtle of Edinburgh, where ſhe created him duke of Orkney, and finally married him on the fifteenth of May. Theſe circumſtances not only diſgraced Mary in the eyes of all Europe, but rendered the character of Bothwell odious to the whole Scottiſh nation; and as he was ſtrongly ſuſpected of having been acceſſary to the death of Mary's former conſort, the earl of Murray thought it high time to cruſh the power of that ambitious and turbulent nobleman.

The principal nobility formed a confederacy at Stirling, and had reſolved to protect the young prince, and avenge themſelves of the murderers of lord Darnley. The confederate lords, at length, appointed their grand rendezvous at Edinburgh; Bothwell made ſome faint oppoſition, and the queen, conſcious of the weakneſs of her cauſe, and the inefficacy of reſiſting ſo powerful a combination, propoſed a conference, and ſurrendered herſelf into the hands of the confederates, who conducted her to Edinburgh amidſt the moſt palpable inſults of the populace.

Bothwell, in conſequence of the queen's ſurrender, eſcaped to Dunbar, and finding means to elude the ſearch of his purſuers, procured a paſ-

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ſage to Denmark, where he died in indigence and obſcurity. The unhappy Mary was conveyed by order of the confederates under a ſtrong guard to Lochleven, with orders to the governor to take her under his cuſtody.

The queen of England affected to exert her authority very ſtrenuouſly in behalf of the unfortunate Mary. She diſpatched Sir Nicholas Throgmorton to mediate between her and the confederate lords, and to expreſs her diſpleaſure at Mary's confinement. He was inſtructed to threaten, in her name, that ſhe would releaſe the queen by force, ſhould they refuſe to ſet her at liberty on reaſonable conditions. He was furniſhed with a plan of accommodation between their ſovereign and them; and directed to propoſe, that the young prince ſhould be educated in England. But as he was debarred all acceſs to the queen, his deſign, together with that of his royal miſtreſs, was totally defeated.

A. D. 1568. To obviate the ſuppoſed political intentions of Elizabeth, the confederate lords, after much debate on the affairs of the nation, came to a reſolution of tranſmitting three inſtruments to her, to which ſhe was to affix her ſign manual. Theſe imported Mary's reſignation of the crown to her infant ſon; a commiſſion appointing the earl of Murray regent during his minority; and another, nominating a council to govern the realm, in caſe of that nobleman's death, or his declining the office of regent. Theſe deeds, through compulſion, ſhe ſubſcribed; and Morton accepted her reſignation, in the name of the three eſtates of Scotland, though he was veſted with no ſuch power by the aſſembly. They then proceeded to crown the young prince, who was only thirteen months old, and the ceremony was performed at Stirling by Adam Bothwell, biſhop of Orkney; but Throgmorton refuſed, by order of Elizabeth, to aſſiſt at this ceremony, and was ſoon after recalled.

During her connection with the infamous Bothwell, Mary found but few friends amongſt the Scottiſh nobility; but the pity and compaſſion of many were excited towards her, after his expulſion; particularly ſuch as were attached to the catholic religion, who, lamenting her ill fortunes, and piqued at her rigorous treatment, aſſembled at Hamilton, in order to concert meaſures for ſupporting the cauſe of their unfortunate ſovereign. The recovery of her liberty was, in an eſſential degree, owing to the ſtrenuous exertions of George Douglas, who put her into a boat, cauſed her to be rowed to ſhore, and afterwards conveyed to Hamilton, where ſhe found herſelf at the head of ſix thouſand men, aſſembled by the different lords in her intereſt, who aſſerted her claim to the crown, and contended for the invalidity of her reſignation, as extorted by the moſt cruel and rigorous proceedings.

Notwithſtanding the ſuperiority of the queen's party in point of numbers, the regent, at the head of the oppoſition, having drawn together his forces, boldly confronted, and totally vanquiſhed them in a pitched battle at Langſide near Glaſgow, after the field had been ſtrewed with blood and carnage. The queen fled with the utmoſt precipitation, and, embarking with the lord Herries, and a train of ſixteen perſons, landed at Workington in Cumberland, from whence ſhe was conducted to the caſtle of Carliſle.

Flattering herſelf with expectation of friendly aid from Elizabeth, immediately on her landing ſhe diſpatched a meſſenger to the court of London, ſoliciting her protection at this critical juncture. But the reply which ſhe obtained from the queen of England, with the advice of the council, equally ſurpriſed and alarmed her. She was given to underſtand, that ſhe muſt remain a priſoner, till ſhe ſhould renounce her claim to the crown of England; and vindicate herſelf from the charge of being acceſſary to the murder of lord Darnley, who was a natural ſubject of England, and therefore came under the ſanction of its laws.

The unfortunate Mary was exceedingly affected at this unexpected incident, and as the only means of palliating her conduct, aſſured Elizabeth of her deſire to ſubmit her cauſe to the deciſion of ſo good a friend, and diſpatched lord Herries to London, with a letter to the ſame purpoſe. This conceſſion was the very point, to which Elizabeth laboured to bring the matter, and ſhe inſtantly ſent to the regent, requiring him to ſend ſome perſons to London, to aſſign the cauſe of his uſurpation, and mal-treatment of his lawful queen.

Murray, with all ſubmiſſion, replied, that he would himſelf repair to England, accompanied by other commiſſioners, and ſubmit his cauſe to her arbitration. The perſons appointed by the Engliſh council, for the examination of this important affair, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suſſex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; and York was fixed as the place of conference.

The commiſſioners appointed on the part of the Scottiſh queen were, Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, the lords Herries, Levingſton, and Boyd, with five perſons more. Thoſe deputed by the kingdom, were, the earl of Murray, regent, the biſhop of Orkney, the lord Lindſay, the abbot of Dumferling, George Buchanan, the celebrated poet and hiſtorian, and ſome others.

The queen's commiſſioners having preſented a paper, exhibiting a detail of the crimes alledged to the charge of the regent, he related, with great preciſion, the particulars of his late proceedings; affirming, that the lords had taken arms to revenge the death of lord Darnley, upon Bothwell; that the queen had voluntarily reſigned the crown to her ſon, and appointed the earl of Murray regent of the kingdom during his minority. Mary's commiſſioners refuted theſe allegations; and requeſted that the queen of England would aſſiſt their miſtreſs in the recovery of her crown, and the ſuppreſſion of ſuch rebellious attempts; they alſo preſented an atteſted copy of the proteſtation made by the earls of Huntley and Argyle, charging Murray and Morton, as the contrivers of Darnley's murder, and affording a juſt plea for their oppoſition to the regent, as principal abettor of that atrocious crime.

The queen of England, apprehending from the ſtate of enquiry, that further inveſtigation would fully criminate the regent, commanded the commiſſioners to repair to London, and as ſoon as they arrived, joined with them ſome of the principal members of her council. Murray was then ſummoned before the Engliſh commiſſioners, reprimanded by them for the odious aſperſions he had thrown on the character of his ſovereign, and at length, aſked what he could alledge in his own vindication. Matters being now brought almoſt to a criſis, the regent made no ſcruple to produce the proofs of his charge againſt the queen of Scots, and among the reſt, ſome letters and ſonnets all written with her own hand to Bothwell, together with a paper containing a promiſe of

of marriage with that nobleman. These papers had been most carefully preserved, as some affirm, by the favourite in a silver casket; nor could he be persuaded, by the most pressing entreaties of the unfortunate queen, to destroy them; but had, to gratify his own vanity, deposited them in the hands of the governor of Edinburgh castle.

There is not a point in the annals of history, concerning which writers, through prejudice or partiality, are more divided in their opinions than as to the ground of charge exhibited on this occasion, against the unfortunate princess. Some affirm, that these letters and verses were forged, for the purposes of the regent and confederates, and that the accusation of the queen's conduct, contained in the paper written by Buchanan, is founded on false and malicious representations; others as explicitly assert, that these papers have been since proved, that the objections made to their authenticity are frivolous and absurd, and have been fully refuted by several writers. Upon an impartial survey of the whole, the conduct of the queen of England exhibits the most glaring proofs of jealousy, ambiguity, and duplicity; and she evidently appears to have amused her rival with flattering hopes and expectations, in order to protract the time of her imprisonment, till she might find a convenient opportunity of taking her off.

A. D. 1569. Elizabeth now turned her attention from domestic concerns to those of a foreign nature; and the term stipulated in the treaty with France, for the restitution of Calais being long expired, she dispatched ambassadors to require the performance of that article. The chancellor d'l'Hopital made use of various equivocations, to evade an immediate answer to their demand; however, Elizabeth thought it more prudent to submit to the loss of that place, than engage in a dangerous and expensive war, in order to maintain a doubtful title, and hazard fresh dangers and difficulties.

Such was the fury of persecutions in the Low Countries, that the prince of Orange was obliged to take refuge among the French Hugonots, whom Elizabeth had succoured with a considerable supply of men and money. This interposition of the queen interrupted all commerce between England and the Low Countries; and Philip, king of Spain, prohibited the exportation of oil, sugar, and spices, from his dominions.

The inconvenience and hazard of detaining queen Mary a prisoner must, doubtless, have occurred to the discerning mind of Elizabeth, of which time gave eventual proof. The duke of Norfolk was the peer who possessed the highest title of nobility, and as there were no princes of the blood, the antiquity of the family, the greatness of his estate, and the extent of his influence, had rendered him indisputably the first subject in England. Nor were the qualities of his mind unworthy of his elevated station; humane, generous, and affable, he had engaged the affections of the people; prudent, moderate, and loyal, he enjoyed unenvied the favour of his sovereign.

The duke was at this time in the single state, and being almost coeval with the queen of Scots, it was suggested that a match would be at once agreeable to themselves, and conducive to the honor and interest of the nation. The scheme met with the concurrence of their friends in general, insomuch, that it was first intimated to the duke by secretary Maitland, and next by the regent of Scotland, previous to his departure from England; so that proper steps being taken, the earl of Murray, through the medium of Sir Robert Melville, communicated the proposal to Mary, who replied, that as she esteemed it her duty to sacrifice her inclinations to the welfare of the public, she would, as soon as she could be divorced from Bothwell, follow the advice of her nobility and people, in the chioce of another husband. Norfolk, persuaded from the jealous disposition of Elizabeth, of the impossibility of procuring her consent to the marriage by methods of duty, determined to form such a powerful combination, as should intimidate her into compliance.

Though Norfolk was a professed Catholic, such was his popularity, that it proved no barrier to the proposed match, which met with the hearty concurrence of the earls of Pembroke, Arundel, Derby, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Northumberland, Westmoreland, and Sussex; the lord Lumley, and Sir Nicholas Throgmorton embraced the scheme with great cordiality; and even the earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favourite, zealously promoted the interest of Norfolk. These proceedings equally chagrined and perplexed Elizabeth. She wished that Mary was removed from her dominions, where she daily acquired new interest; at the same time she dreaded the thoughts of her enlargement, lest it might afford opportunity of strengthening her interest, and reviving the detested competition for regal sway.

Notwithstanding all her art, finesses, and duplicity, Elizabeth could not suppress the violence of her emotion, on Leicester's explicit declaration of the intended marriage; on the contrary, she gave proofs of the most malicious resentment both by words and actions.

The earl, however, apprehensive of the fatal consequences of persisting in the design, set out on his return to court, resolving to exert his utmost endeavours in order to recover the confidence of Elizabeth; but he had proceeded no farther than St. Alban's, when he was intercepted by an armed body, who conducted him to the court near Windsor, and soon after he was committed prisoner to the Tower, under the custody of Sir Henry Nevil. Lesley, bishop of Ross, the queen of Scots ambassador, was examined, and confronted with Norfolk before the council; Pembroke was confined to his own house, and Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton, were delivered up in charge to proper officers.

The unfortunate Mary was treated with the utmost rigor. She was conveyed to Coventry, a place of greater strength, where no person, for some time, was allowed to visit her; and the lord viscount Hereford was joined to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, in the office of her keepers.

Intelligence having been received at court of an intended insurrection in the north, Northumberland and Westmoreland were cited before the great officers of state; but in being interrogated, and no proof appearing against them, they were dismissed. The report, however, daily gained ground, and the queen summoned these two noblemen to answer to the charge exhibited against them. This summons induced them to take arms, but before they were fully prepared and Northumberland was hesitating between opposite dangers, he received intelligence, that some of his enemies were on the way with a commission to seize him; he therefore instantly repaired to his associate

Weſtmoreland, and with him entered into a reſolution of joining their intereſts; ſo that from their attachment to the popiſh religion, they drew to their ſtandard immenſe numbers of people.

Thus prepared for their deſign, they iſſued a manifeſto, declaring that their ſole intention was to re-eſtabliſh the religion of their anceſtors, to puniſh evil counſellors, to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the crown, and to reſtore the duke of Norfolk, and other faithful peers, to the enjoyment of their liberty, and the favour of their ſovereign. Their army amounted to four thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe, and they hoped to be joined by all the Catholics in England. Suſſex, accompanied by ſome other lords, marched againſt them, at the head of ſeven thouſand men, and found them already advanced to the biſhopric of Durham, of which they had made themſelves maſters. They fled before him to Hexham, and underſtanding that the earl of Warwick and lord Clinton were coming againſt them with greater force, they diſperſed in the greateſt conſternation, without making a ſingle effort in ſupport of the cauſe they affected to eſpouſe. The inferior claſs retreated to their reſpective habitations, and the leaders eſcaped into Scotland, where Northumberland was apprehended by the regent, and ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Lochlevin; but Weſtmoreland eſcaped to Flanders.

There ſeemed to prevail at this time a moſt abſurd and ridiculous diſpoſition in the people to rebel; an inſurrection was attempted by ſome obſcure zealots for the popiſh cauſe, but they were ſoon apprehended and treated with the utmoſt rigour. Sixty petty conſtables were condemned to the gibbet, and no leſs than eight hundred perſon are ſaid, on the whole, to have fallen by the common executioner. Norfolk found means ſo far to inſinuate himſelf into the favor of the queen, that ſhe releaſed him from the Tower, and on his engaging to abandon all thoughts of the Scottiſh alliance, permitted him to retire to his ſeat in the country, and paſs his time in eaſe and tranquillity.

Intimations have been given by ſome writers, that the regent of Scotland had perfidiouſly engaged with Elizabeth, to have Mary conveyed into the North, and delivered up to him; but while they heſitated on the conſequences of ſuch a ſcheme, the fate of Murray, who was ſlain in the revenge of a private injury, by the party aggrieved, prevented the execution of their deſign.

A. D. 1570. The fury of party zeal was now revived with greater violence, and the kingdom of Scotland exhibited one ſcene of anarchy and confuſion. The partizans of Mary took up arms, and made themſelves maſters of Edinburgh. Elizabeth ordered the earl of Suſſex to raiſe an army to retaliate this injury. Accordingly, he invaded Scotland, and committed hoſtilities on all Mary's adherents, on pretence, that they aided and abetted the rebellion againſt the queen of England.

But, in proceſs of time, on agreement that the rebels ſhould be ſurrendered to Elizabeth, her army evacuated Scotland, and the ambaſſadors of Mary, France, and Spain, continuing their importunity with Elizabeth, on the ſcore of the treaty for the releaſe of the queen of Scots, ſhe appointed Cecil, and Sir Walter Mildmay, chancellor of the exchequer, her commiſſioners to treat on this affair; in conſequence of which, the following propoſitions were offered for effecting a laſting peace between the two kingdoms; that the queen of Scots, beſides relinquiſhing all claim to the Engliſh crown, during the life of Elizabeth, ſhould agree to a perpetual league offenſive and defenſive, between the two kingdoms; that ſhe ſhould eſpouſe no Engliſhman without Elizabeth's conſent, nor any other perſon, without the conſent of the ſtates of Scotland; that reparation ſhould be made for the damage which the Engliſh had ſuffered in the late incurſions of the Scots; that the aſſaſſins of the late king ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment; that the young king ſhould be ſent into England to be educated; that ſix hoſtages, all of them noblemen, ſhould be delivered to the queen of England, together with the caſtle of Hume, and ſome other fortreſs for the performance of theſe articles.

Upon theſe conditions the queen of England ſtipulated to exert her power in reſtoring Mary to the crown of Scotland. Her commiſſioners alſo propoſed to the depoſed queen a plan of accommodation with her ſubjects in Scotland, and after reaſoning on that ſubject, it was reſolved, that Elizabeth ſhould deſire Lenox, the regent, to ſend commiſſioners to negotiate a peace under her mediation. After the point had been debated twenty days, the Engliſh commiſſioners returned, and made ſuch a report to their miſtreſs, that ſhe declared her ſatisfaction with the negotiation, and ſaid ſhe did not doubt but the only difference remaining would be removed on the arrival of the commiſſioners from the regent of Scotland, without whoſe conſent the young prince could not be conveyed to England. In the mean time, propoſals and anſwers were, by Mary, communicated to the kings of France and Spain, intimating the neceſſity ſhe was under of ſubmitting to the conditions, unleſs they would ſuccour her friends in Scotland. Thoſe potentates, however, paid very little attention to her repreſentation; the French monarch, indeed, was never favourably diſpoſed towards Mary, and he was now wholly employed in deviſing means for cruſhing the Proteſtants throughout his kingdom.

At length, in direct repugnance to an article of the late treaty, the Scottiſh commiſſioners arrived in London, and refuſed to deliver up the young prince on any terms, deſiring, at the ſame time, that the treaty might be rendered null and void. The negotiation, therefore, ceaſed, and the biſhop of Roſs was ordered to depart; but the regent countermanded the order, and inſiſted on his reſidence in England in order to ſuperintend the conduct of Elizabeth relative to the Scottiſh nation.

A. D. 1571. On the firſt meeting of the new parliament at Weſtminſter in the month of April, ſeveral laws were enacted to maintain the right of the queen of England, as well as that of the ſucceſſion. It was declared treaſon to affirm, during the life of the queen, that ſhe was not the lawful ſovereign; that any other poſſeſſed a better title; that ſhe was an heretic, a ſchiſmatic, or infidel, or that the could not determine the ſucceſſion of the crown: whoever ſhould aſſert in writing or printing, that any perſon, except the iſſue of her body, is or ought to be the queen's heir, or ſucceſſor, was, for the firſt offence, to be impriſoned during a year; and for the ſecond, they were to incur the penalty of a premunire.

From the tenor of the laſt clauſe, it evidently appeared that Elizabeth intimated her reſolution of excluding the Scottiſh queen from all pretence of ſucceeding to the throne of England. Several wholeſome ſtatutes paſſed for the ſuppreſſion of popiſh

piſh ſuperſtition and idolatry; it being decreed, that whoever ſhould publiſh bulls or mandates of the pope, or ſhould, by means of theſe, reconcile any man to the church of Rome, ſhould themſelves, as well as thoſe who were ſo reconciled, be guilty of treaſon. Whoever imported any Agnus Dei, crucifixes, beads, or ſuch other implements of ſuperſtition, was ſubjected to the penalties of præmunire. The former laws againſt taking intereſt, which was called uſury, were enforced by a new ſtatute; and a ſupply of one ſubſidy, and two fifteenths, were granted to her majeſty.

Norfolk, in direct oppoſition to reaſon and common ſenſe, was fool-hardy enough to revive his former deſpicable plan of rebellion, and for which he had been ſome time impriſoned in the Tower. There was one Rodolphi, a Florentine, who had long reſided in London, and acted privately as an agent for the court of Rome. This man projected a ſcheme, in concert with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, for the releaſe of Mary, by means of a domeſtic inſurrection and foreign invaſion. When their intention was communicated to Norfolk, the duke told Rodolphi, that he would do every thing in his power to relieve the Scottiſh queen; and that his project was feaſible. On Norfolk's approbation of the plan, three letters were wrote in his name, by Rodolphi, to the duke of Alva, the pope, and the king of Spain; but the duke refuſed to ſign them. Rodolphi repairing to Bruſſels, communicated the ſcheme to the duke of Alva, who readily came into it, and aſſured him that he would employ his beſt endeavours to obtain the concurrence of the Spaniſh monarch.

This project had not yet reached the knowledge of the queen of England, nor of her ſecretary Cecil, lately advanced to the peerage by the title of lord Burleigh. The firſt ground of ſuſpicion was from an effort of Norfolk, which led to a full diſcovery, from the following circumſtance. Mary propoſing to ſend a ſum of money to her partizans in Scotland, it was entruſted to the care of one Brown, a domeſtic to the duke of Norfolk, in order to be forwarded to the frontiers. This perſon, either ignorant of the ſcheme, or employed as a ſpy in the family, delivered the money to Burleigh, who immediately cauſed Brown, and Hickford the duke's ſecretary, to be apprehended, and to undergo a ſevere trial. Being threatened with torture, Hickford confeſſed that he had ſecreted ſome papers under the matts of the duke's bed; which being found, full evidence appeared againſt his maſter.

Norfolk being apprehended, previous to his knowledge of the confeſſion extorted from his ſecretary, peremptorily denied the charge; but the queen ordered him to the Tower in order to be brought to immediate trial. The biſhop of Roſs had, on ſome ſuſpicion, been taken into cuſtody, before the detection of Norfolk's guilt; and every method was uſed to extort from him what he knew relative to the conſpiracy. He at firſt alledged, in vindication of his non-compliance, the dignity of his character; but, on being told that, as his miſtreſs was no longer a ſovereign, he could not be conſidered as an ambaſſador, and that a diſcovery had been made by Norfolk's ſervants, he revealed the whole plot, and, by his evidence, fully convicted the duke of the charges alledged againſt him.

The diſcovery made by the biſhop corroborated the other circumſtances adduced in proof of Norfolk's guilt, ſo that his trial was fixed for the 12th day of January, and he was condemned by the ſentence of twenty-five peers. But the queen, notwithſtanding his guilt was greatly enhanced by a repetition of the crime, relented much at the iſſue of his trial; and though her miniſters enforced the neceſſity of his being made a public example, to deter others from diſloyal practices, ſhe heſitated, from time to time, putting her hand to the warrant, and thereby protracted the execution of the ſentence.

So deſirous were both the miniſtry in particular, and the parliament in general, for bringing the condemned culprit to condign puniſhment, that the commons preſented an addreſs to her majeſty, praying her to proceed to the execution of the duke, as the moſt neceſſary ſtep for her own preſervation, and the peace of the kingdom; and this ſanction ſhe imagined, when joined to the greatneſs of his guilt, would, in the eyes of the impartial world, juſtify her ſeverity towards that unfortunate nobleman. He ſubmitted to his fate with great courage and reſolution, and though he ſolemnly denied, that he had ever entertained any diſloyal thoughts againſt the queen's authority or perſon, he frankly owned the juſtice of the ſentence by which he ſuffered. His particular friend the earl of Shrewſbury was much affected by his fate, and great part of the populace, who attended his execution, teſtified the utmoſt concern.

In order to quell the tumults and riots which ſtill diſturbed the tranquillity of the kingdom, the queen gave orders for the reparation of the works at the different ſea-ports, keeping the military in train, and having a naval armament ready for immediate ſervice. Nevertheleſs, inſurrections ſtill prevailed in Scotland, and the regent dying ſuddenly about this time, was ſucceeded by the earl of Hertford.

The diſturbances in France, and the rigour and cruelty there exerciſed towards the Hugonots, greatly affected the queen ſo that ſhe was induced to furniſh them ſecretly with ſome aſſiſtance. Beſides employing her influence with the German princes, ſhe permitted a perſon, called Henry Champernon, to raiſe and carry into France, a regiment of gentlemen volunteers, among whom Sir Walter Raleigh, then a young man, began to diſcover the firſt ſpecimen of his military genius.

So powerful was the oppoſition of the proteſtant party, that the French monarch, notwithſtanding the prevalence of his bigotry and prejudice, from motives of convenience, relaxed in his operations, and, by way of temporizing, indulged them with liberty of conſcience in matters of religion. The event, however, proved the fallacy and perfidy of the late proceedings on the part of France, which were deſigned to effect the total extermination of the Hugonots. In order to deceive and decoy their leaders into the ſnare laid for them, Charles offered his ſiſter Margaret in marriage to the prince of Navarre; and the admiral de Chatillon, with all the moſt conſiderable Proteſtants, had repaired to Paris, in order to attend the celebration of the nuptials, which they hoped, would allay the violent animoſities of the two parties. The queen of Navarre was poiſoned by orders from the court; and the admiral was dangerouſly wounded by an aſſaſſin; yet the treacherous monarch artfully protracted the departure of the Hugonots till the eve of St. Bartholomew, the period fixed upon for the perpetration of his bloody deſign.

A. D. 1572. The horror and conſternation excited by the maſſacre of that day are beyond all deſcriptions. Preparation being made for the execu-

tion

tion of that infernal project, the ſignal was the ſound of the palace clock at the dead of night; the executioners were the Catholic ſoldiers, headed by the duke of Guiſe, who, like a blood-thirſty fiend, with his rueful band, broke into the receſſes of unſuſpecting innocence, and murdered every Proteſtant that fell in his way, without regard to age, ſex, or condition. The enſuing dawn diſcloſed the ſhocking ſcene: rivers of blood overwhelmed the ſtreeets; the cruel and bigoted king enjoyed the ghaſtly ſight, and the more barbarous queen-mother drove over the bodies of the ſlain, and, with her chariot wheels, daſhed about their blood and brains. Upon this melancholy and memorable occaſion, it was computed, that near ten thouſand Proteſtants fell victims to the diabolical influence of popiſh ſuperſtition and cruelty, which alſo extended to the provinces in general; for, having received the dreadful mandate, they imitated the example of the Pariſians, and with them concurred in the extirpation of the wretched Hugonots.

A. D. 1573. Walſingham, the Engliſh ambaſſador remonſtrated with Charles on the perfidy and cruelty of his late proceedings as repugnant to the laws of God and of nations; but that blood-thirſty monarch endeavoured to apologize, by alledging that the admiral had formed a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate him, and adding, that he, as well as the whole royal family of France were diſpoſed to live on terms of the ſtricteſt amity with her majeſty of England. Elizabeth affected complacency with this temporizing declaration, admitted the apology, and aſſured him of the continuance of her friendſhip; conſented to a treaty propoſed for a marriage between her, and the duke of Alençon; and the queen of France being delivered of a daughter, Elizabeth ſtood god-mother to the infant, who was baptized by the name of Mary Elizabeth, in the preſence of the earl of Worceſter, as proxy for the queen of England.

But the ſubjects of England could not be ſo eaſily appeaſed, or ſo readily prevailed on to ſtifle their reſentment, as their ſovereign. They propoſed to raiſe a formidable army, to tranſport them into France, and to maintain them ſix months at their own expence; but Elizabeth, fearful of widening the breach between the two parties, refuſed her conſent, and by reſtraining the laudable zeal of her ſubjects, defeated their deſign.

In Scotland diſſentions ſo univerſally prevailed, that the friends of the depoſed queen were compelled to ſubmit to Morton the regent. In the mean time Sir W. Drury marched from Berwick with a reinforcement, and a train of artillery, to aſſiſt the regent in reducing the caſtle of Edinburgh, then in a very defenceleſs ſtate; the governor, with a handful of men, being an officer of long experience and approved valour, made a vigorous defence for three and thirty days; but at length was obliged to ſurrender, though on honourable terms. The queen of England denying to protect him and his adherents as her priſoner, they were delivered up to the mercy of the regent, who ordered the brave governor and his brother to be publickly executed.

A. D. 1574. This year was marked by the death of Charles IX. of France, a monſter of perfidy, cruelty and tyranny, who had glutted his inſatiate thirſt for blood, by the horrid maſſacre of thouſands, and died at the age of 35 years as he lived, execrated by all who were ſuſceptible of the leaſt impreſſions of humanity. The queen-mother aſſumed the regency by virtue of a will, and governed the kingdom, till his brother, the king of Poland, arrived, and ſucceeded him on the throne of France, by the title of Henry III. By this event, Mary loſt the ſupport ſhe had experienced, during the life of Charles. The people of France were divided into two religious factions, actuated by the moſt implacable fury, nor could any means, coercive or perſuaſive, reſtrain their zeal, or introduce a degree of moderation amongſt the inflamed and violent parties.

A. D. 1575. On the acceſſion of Henry III. to the regal dignity of the French dominions, Elizabeth diſpatched an ambaſſador, with congratulatory compliments, and to obtain his aſſent to the articles of the treaty of Troyes, to all of which he immediately acceded. But as he proceeded with rigour towards the Proteſtants, ſhe furniſhed John Caſimer, ſon to the elector Palatine, with a ſum of money to levy a body of German auxiliaries, for the ſervice of the duke of Alençon, who had joined that party.

A. D. 1576. This reinforcement terrified the new king into lenient meaſures, inſomuch that he indulged the Hugonots with a peace on the moſt favourable terms; an accommodation, which though as deceitful on the part of the court as any of the former, gave the higheſt offence to the Catholics; ſo that the duke of Guiſe, without regarding the royal authority, aimed at the total extirpation of the Proteſtants, which muſt naturally have incurred the reſentment of queen Elizabeth.

A. D. 1577. As a proof of approbation of the general conduct of Elizabeth, ſhe obtained a voluntary grant from parliament of a conſiderable ſubſidy, and to gratify this inſtance of loyalty, ſhe renewed the treaty of commerce with Portugal, by which her ſubjects were permitted to trade to Madeira, and the Azores. Martin Forbiſher, an eminent navigator, ſailed this year from Harwich with five ſhips, in order to diſcover a North-weſt paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies, though his laudable efforts were not crowned with the deſired ſucceſs.

The king of France, from a well-grounded perſuaſion of the bigotted attachment of his ſubjects to the popiſh religion, was under a political neceſſity of eſpouſing their cauſe; but being naturally indolent and irreſolute, after ſome ineffectual attempts, he agreed to a new peace, which, like the former, gave no ſatisfaction to the Romaniſts. Each faction, however, continued to prepare for that rupture, which they were ſenſible muſt ſoon happen; and religious diſputes univerſally prevailing, private animoſity produced public diſſention.

An abſurd project was formed by Don John of Auſtria, of firſt ſubduing the Low Countries, and then ſubjecting Great Britain, through a marriage with Mary queen of Scots; but his towering views were ſoon fruſtrated by being compelled to ſign the treaty of Ghent; in conſequence of which the Spaniſh troops were ſent into Italy, and the ſtates were confirmed in the poſſeſſion of their dominions. But the queen of England, apprized of the deſign of the Spaniſh monarch, warmly eſpouſed the proteſtant intereſt, and demanded a particular account of the reſolution of the ſtates-general.

The conduct of Elizabeth was, upon the whole, ſo wiſe and pacific, that it was attended with the bleſſings of peace and plenty to her kingdom in general, though, during the courſe of this year, the nation was alarmed with the fear of a contagion, from an incident at the ſummer aſſizes at Oxford, where

where the ſtench brought from the gaol by the priſoners affected the bench, juries, and audience in ſuch a manner, that three hundred perſons died of the infection.

The regent of Scotland having rendered himſelf obnoxious to the people by his tyranny and oppreſſion, it was deemed a matter of ſerious import to the intereſts of England; the queen therefore ſent Randolph into Scotland, on pretence of congratulating the young king on the progreſs he made in his ſtudies; but, in reality, in order to remonſtrate with the regent. But this was far from having the intended effect: he perſiſted in his arrogant and oppreſſive courſe, till Erſkine, the king's governor, and his four preceptors, repreſented his conduct in ſuch a light, as incurred the diſpleaſure of his ſovereign; ſo that to avoid any dangerous conſequences that might enſue, he dropt ſome hints of an inclination to retire, of which the oppoſite party availing themſelves, demanded that diſmiſſion, which he ſeemed ſo readily to offer. James was only in the twelfth year of his age, yet Morton reſigned his authority into the hands of the king, and withdrew from the government. But, diſguſted with an inactive life, he ſoon returned to court, and, though he reſumed not his former title, carried the ſame ſway in all councils of ſtate.

A.D. 1578-9. To avoid the deſigns of the Spaniſh monarch, Elizabeth deemed it expedient to form an alliance with the king of France, and in furtherance of the ſame, affected to approve of the propoſals of marriage that were made her by the duke of Anjou. The French king had ſome time ſince ſent over two ambaſſadors to obviate ſome difficulties that attended the match; and now added a third, one Semier, a man of the moſt inſinuating addreſs and keen penetration. This gentleman ſo wrought on the paſſions of the queen, that ſhe ſeemed to have conceived a warm affection for the perſon of the duke of Anjou, ſo that the earl of Leiceſter, and others, affirmed, ſhe was infatuated by the arts of incantation. Semier, in revenge, endeavoured to ruin Leiceſter in the opinion of the queen; and was the firſt who informed her of his marriage with the widow of the earl of Eſſex.

Elizabeth, who with all her ſagacity, was not exempt from the foibles of woman, was ſo affected by this intimation, that (from motives, whether of jealouſy or reſentment, cannot be aſcertained,) ſhe committed the earl of Leiceſter priſoner to the caſtle of Greenwich, and would have removed him thence to the Tower, had not the earl of Suſſex, though his enemy, generouſly interpoſed in his behalf, and repreſented the injuſtice of puniſhing a ſubject for contracting a lawful marriage. Leiceſter, enraged to find himſelf ſupplanted by an obſcure ſtranger, is ſaid to have employed one Tudor, a life-guard-man, to aſſaſſinate Semier, and the queen, apprized of his reſentment, took the foreign envoy under her immediate protection, and iſſued her royal mandate to ſecure him and his attendants from every kind of perſonal inſult or injury. This extraordinary attention to Semier induced the duke of Anjou to pay a viſit to the queen, but, after a ſhort interview, he abruptly returned to France. The viſit, however, occaſioned ſome literary ſpeculation, and one Stubbs, a ſtudent of Lincoln's-inn, acquired much popularity by a treatiſe he wrote, entitled, "The gulph in "which England will be ſwallowed up by the "French marriage." But the author was ſentenced to loſe his right hand, and undergo a long impriſonment.

About this time there happened ſeveral remarkable events, one Matthew Hammond was executed for blaſphemy at Norwich; the Turky company was eſtabliſhed, by virtue of a treaty with Amurath, ſultan of the Turks; and Sir Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great ſeal, paid the debt of nature, and was ſucceeded by Thomas Bromley, appointed lord chancellor of England. About the ſame time, died Sir Thomas Greſham, who built the Royal Exchange, and dedicated a large building to the purpoſes of learning, and the encouragement of arts, where he founded lectures on the ſciences of theology, the civil law, medicine, geometry, rhetoric and muſic.

A.D. 1580-1. Elizabeth's eſpouſal of the reformation in the Low Countries produced the reſentment of the Spaniſh monarch, who ſent, under the ſanction of the pope, a body of ſeven hundred Spaniards and Italians into Ireland, where the inhabitants, always mutinous and averſe to the Engliſh government, were now more alienated by religious prejudices, and ready to take up arms on the firſt encouragement. The inſurgents excited ſome diſturbances on their firſt riſing up in arms; but were ſoon quelled by the earl of Ormond, in conjunction with others of her majeſty's officers both naval and military, who, by their vigorous efforts, reduced the mal-contents to their former obedience.

Apprehenſions of commotions were ſoon after raiſed in England, through the inſidious arts of ſome foreign eccleſiaſtics who endeavoured to alienate the affections of the people from their lawful ſovereign. Four of theſe emiſſaries were executed, for publicly aſſerting that the queen had been lawfully depoſed by the pope. To prevent the progreſs of their pernicious doctrines, a proclamation was iſſued, enjoining all perſons, who had children, wards, or relations, in foreign ſeminaries, to deliver their names to the ordinary in ten days; to bring them home in four months; to certify the ordinary of their return; or, in caſe of their refuſing to come home, to withhold from them all ſupplies of money; to forbear relieving, or lodging any prieſt or jeſuit, on pain of being reputed, and puniſhed as favourers of rebels and ſedition. Amongſt thoſe who ſignalized themſelves in the popiſh cauſe, were Edmund Campian, and Robert Parſons; the former publiſhed a treatiſe called the Ten Reaſons, in favour of the church of Rome, and being taken, was executed; but the latter eſcaped to the continent.

To add to the memorable occurrences at this period, Sir Francis Drake returned to his native country, after having circumnavigated the terreſtrial globe. He had amaſſed a large fortune amongſt the Spaniards in the Iſthmus of Panama, and having there got a view of the Pacific ocean, engaged to employ his whole ſubſtance in a new adventure through thoſe ſeas ſo little known at that time to any of the European nations. By the intereſt of Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, a great ſtateſman and favourite of the queen, he procured her conſent and approbation, and ſailed from Plymouth in 1577, with four ſhips well manned and ſtored with proviſions. Sir Francis, in this extraordinary exploit, diſcovered much nautical knowledge and experience; for, having entered the South-ſea by the ſtraits of Magellan, and fearing, if he took the ſame courſe homewards, he might be intercepted

cepted by the enemy, he endeavoured to find a paſſage by the north of California, but failing in that attempt, directed his courſe towards the Eaſt-Indies, and doubling the Cape of Good Hope, made good his paſſage to England.

When the king of Spain, by his ambaſſador, demanded reſtitution of the captures, which he alledged were made in a manner contrary to the law of nations, Elizabeth vindicated the conduct of her admiral, by retorting on that monarch, his fomenting rebellions among her ſubjects in Ireland. The treaſure was, however, ſequeſtered, and large ſums paid to a Spaniſh merchant, empowered, by letters of attorney, to ſue for the prizes which Drake had taken without a commiſſion. Philip, however, ſullied his honour, by withholding from the proprietors, that right for which he had contended, and appropriating the whole of what he obtained in reſtitution, to public purpoſes.

The authority of Morton, the late Scottiſh regent, ſoon ceaſed together with his life; for, a charge being preferred againſt him of compaſſing the death of his ſovereign, he was apprehended and impriſoned in the caſtle of Dumbarton, and, notwithſtanding Elizabeth's interceſſion in his behalf, was beheaded at Edinburgh the very day after his conviction. He died unlamented, and ſo little regarded, that after his execution, the populace paſſed the ſcaffold without diſcovering the leaſt tokens of regret.

As a proof that the court of France regarded the projected marriage in a very ſerious light, they diſpatched an embaſſy with the following terms: that in caſe the king of France ſhould die without male iſſue, and the duke of Anjou ſhould have two ſons by this marriage, the eldeſt ſhould ſucceed to the crown of France, and the other aſcend the throne of England; that in caſe of one ſon only, he ſhould inherit both realms, and of every two years reſide eight months in England; that the duke ſhould not fill up any poſt or office in England with a foreigner; that he ſhould not convey the queen out of the kingdom, without the expreſs conſent of the nobles; that he ſhould not tranſport the jewels of the crown to any other country, and that all the ſtrong holds in the kingdom ſhould be garriſoned by Engliſh troops, commanded by Engliſh governors. By a ſeparate article, both parties agreed, that the conſummation of the marriage ſhould be deferred, till ſome particular and private concerns were ſettled by conſent of parties, and with the concurrence of the French king.

A ſhort time after the duke of Anjou arrived at the court of London, and was received by the queen with demonſtrations of cordial affection. On the anniverſary of her coronation, ſhe, with her own hand, fixed a ring upon his finger, in token of pledging her troth, according to the contract. She even proceeded ſo far as to take up the pen to ſubſcribe the articles; but at this critical juncture, ſhe ſuddenly with-held the pen, and appealing to the lords of the council, demanded their opinion as to the conſequences of the intended marriage, which ſhe thought would terminate in her death, and afterwards prove a ſource of diſſention as to the ſucceſſion to the throne of England.

The diſappointed duke, after a private conference with his intended royal bride, retired with the moſt poignant mortification, and as a proof of his reſentment, daſhed the ring with violence on the ground, exclaiming againſt the fickleneſs of the queen and inconſtancy of the Engliſh people. To compenſate, however, the diſappointment in ſome degree, his grace was amuſed with divers public entertainments during a reſidence of about three months, and on his departure for Paris, liberally rewarded for the trouble of his viſit.

A. D. 1582. A ſtatute paſſed this ſeſſion of parliament, declaring all thoſe guilty of high treaſon, who ſhould attempt to alienate the ſubjects from their fidelity to the queen, or perſuade them to abandon the eſtabliſhed religion.

The young king of Scotland, through the undue influence of the earls of Lenox and Arran, who had inſtigated him to the moſt unpopular proceedings, incurred a general odium; ſo that on his return from Athol with but few attendants, he was ſeized by the earl of Marr, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, and conveyed to Ruthven caſtle, the reſidence of the earl of Gowry, who had taken part with the two earls from a miſrepreſentation of circumſtances.

A. D. 1583. As the moſt powerful means of affecting the releaſe of her captive ſon, the queen of Scots applied to Elizabeth, conjuring her in the moſt affecting terms to exert her influence in behalf of majeſty in diſtreſs. So pathetic was her expoſtulation, that the queen deſired her council to deliberate on the conditions, on which Mary ſhould be releaſed. They accordingly drew up ſeveral articles, which were preſented to the queen of Scotland; but this treaty, like all the former, proved abortive.

In the cloſe of this year, Elizabeth ſent Walſingham her ſecretary into Scotland, under pretence of eſtabliſhing a more intimate union between the two kingdoms; but in reality to ſtrengthen the Engliſh faction, and ſound the abilities of the young king, who being endowed with politeneſs and affability, ingratiated himſelf with the ſecretary; inſomuch, that from the favourable account he tranſmitted to his miſtreſs, James was enhanced in her regard, and afterwards treated in a manner more becoming his dignity.

A. D. 1584-5. The ſtates of Holland ſuſtained conſiderable loſs in the death of the prince of Orange, who was treacherouſly ſhot by an infamous Burgundian, and in conſequence thereof the duke of Parma obtained great advantage over them. His eldeſt ſon Philip being in the hands of the king of Spain, and educated in the Romiſh religion, the ſtates conferred the government of Holland and Zealand upon his ſecond ſon Maurice; and the prince of Parma, availing himſelf of this circumſtance, inveſted Antwerp; ſo that the ſtates, thus involved in complicated diſtreſs, as their laſt reſource, ſent embaſſadors to England, ſoliciting the protection of Elizabeth, and even offering to ſubmit themſelves to her diſpoſal; but Elizabeth prudently declined the offer, and promiſed to aſſiſt them with a very conſiderable body of forces, provided ſome towns were put into her hands by way of ſecurity for payment.

To perfect, if poſſible, the important and much deſired work of reformation, ſeveral ſtatutes were enacted in the month of November, againſt jeſuits and popiſh prieſts, which, though rigorous, were abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecurity of the proteſtant intereſt. William Parry, a Catholic, had obtained the queen's pardon for a capital crime, and having got leave to travel, withdrew to Milan, where he openly profeſſed his religion, which he had artfully concealed while he remained in England. On his return he was examined, when he con-

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Ambassadors from the STATES *of* HOLLAND *imploring* ASSISTANCE *of* QUEEN ELIZABETH, *to deliver them from the* YOKE *of* SPANISH TYRANNY.

feſſed he had been perſuaded to aſſaſſinate the queen, by Morgan, an Engliſh refugee in France; that he had procured admittance into her majeſty's preſence, by diſcovering a feigned conſpiracy; but being ſtruck with remorſe, he laid aſide his dagger and treaſonable deſigns; till happening to read a book written by cardinal Allen, who affirmed it was laudable to kill excommunicated princes, he had reſolved to execute his former purpoſe. This fanatical regicide ſuffered the puniſhment due to his horrid intention, and was publicly executed as a traitor againſt his lawful ſovereign.

The Spaniſh monarch had proſecuted his military operations with ſuch ſucceſs againſt the United States, that Elizabeth, to curb his ambition by checking the progreſs of his conqueſts, engaged, by a treaty, to ſuccour them with five thouſand infantry, and one thouſand cavalry, under the command of an Engliſh general; and to pay theſe troops during the war, on condition of being reimburſed, after the peace ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed.

The ſame treaty alſo ſtipulated, that Elizabeth ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Fluſhing, and the Brille, as ſecurity for the payment; that the Engliſh governors of thoſe places ſhould have no juriſdiction over the inhabitants; that the towns ſhould be reſtored to the eſtates on the payment of the money; that the Engliſh general, and two other perſons nominated by the queen, ſhould have places in the aſſembly of ſtates; and that neither peace nor truce ſhould be made without the mutual conſent of Elizabeth and the confederates; that in caſe of the queen's ſending a fleet to ſea, they ſhould join it with a like number of ſhips, to be commanded by the Engliſh admiral; and that a reciprocal commerce ſhould be maintained between the ſubjects of England, and the United States.

The queen having embarked thus far in her engagements, in oppoſition to the efforts of Philip of Spain, was determined to transfer the ſeat of war to America, the grand ſource of that monarch's wealth as well as power. Purſuant to that deſign, a fleet of twenty ſail was fitted out, and the command given to Sir Francis Drake, who, in his paſſage, took St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verde iſlands, and afterwards reduced Carthagena, and St. Domingo. In his return through the gulph of Florida, he burnt St. Auguſtine and St. Helena, and touching at Virginia, took on board a number of people, who, having been ſent by Sir Walter Raleigh to plant that colony, were greatly reduced in point of number, and in a ſtarving condition. Theſe coloniſts moſt chearfully embarked on board the Engliſh ſhips, and brought over with them a cargo of tobacco, a plant before unknown in this country.

So attached was the queen to the intereſt of the reformation, that ſhe not only eſpouſed the cauſe of the United States againſt the encroachments of the Spaniſh monarch; but alſo ſuccoured the Hugonots in France, headed by the prince of Condé, who, in conjunction with the king of Navarre, aſſembled his troops, in order to withſtand the aſſaults of the duke of Guiſe, who ſtrenuouſly eſpouſed the catholic cauſe, but without ſucceſs; on the contrary, he was ſuddenly ſurrounded by the enemy, and eſcaping with great difficulty, repaired to the court of England, where he was treated with all due honors.

A. D. 1586. The United States, to conciliate the eſteem of the queen of England, ſhewed very ſingular reſpect to the earl of Leiceſter, on his arrival in Holland in quality of commander in chief of the Engliſh auxiliaries. They not only honoured him with the moſt diſtinguiſhed titles, but even with tokens of royalty itſelf. Theſe proceedings, inſtead of meeting with the approbation of the queen excited her diſpleaſure, as ſhe conjectured their aim was to engage her further than ſhe choſe to embark in their intereſts. The States had promiſed themſelves important ſervices from the abilities of Leiceſter; but they were grievouſly diſappointed, their enemies extending their conqueſts, in ſpite of all his endeavours; and to add to their misfortunes, Sir Philip Sidney, his nephew, was ſlain in a ſkirmiſh between a party of the Spaniſh and Engliſh troops, to the regret not only of his uncle, but the whole army, by whom he was univerſally reſpected as a moſt amiable and exalted character. His name has been immortalized by the writings as well of cotemporary as of ſucceeding authors.

Having been baffled in all his attempts, the earl took leave of the United States and embarked for England. The queen, convinced of the neceſſity of being on friendly terms with her northern neighbours, diſpatched an ambaſſador to king James with propoſals for an offenſive and defenſive league between the two nations, as a mutual ſecurity againſt the devices of the catholic princes; and a treaty was concluded on the following terms: that both powers ſhould defend the proteſtant religion againſt all its enemies in either kingdom; that if either of the powers ſhould be attacked, the other ſhould give no aſſiſtance either directly or indirectly to the aggreſſor; that in caſe England ſhould be invaded at a diſtance from Scotland, James ſhould furniſh the queen with a thouſand cavalry and five thouſand infantry; and that in caſe Scotland ſhould be attacked in the ſame manner, the queen ſhould aſſiſt James with three thouſand horſe, and double that number of infantry; but in caſe of England's being invaded in any place within ſixty miles of the borders, the king of Scotland ſhould join Elizabeth's army with all his forces; that the two powers ſhould mutually deliver up, or at leaſt expel from their dominions, the rebellious ſubjects of each other; that neither party ſhould conclude any treaty to the prejudice of theſe articles, without the other's conſent; that this treaty ſhould be ratified on both ſides by letters patent; that it ſhould not derogate from former treaties made between the two crowns, or from thoſe made by either crown with other potentates, except in what concerned religion; with regard to which, this league, offenſive and defenſive, ſhould remain firm and inviolable; that this treaty ſhould be confirmed by the ſtates of Scotland, when the king ſhould have attained the age of five and twenty, and in like manner, it ſhould receive the ſanction of the Engliſh and Iriſh parliaments.

Notwithſtanding this very politic treaty with James of Scotland, and the ſecurity Elizabeth might hope to derive againſt the attempts of foreign enemies, ſhe was conſtantly annoyed by the machinations of domeſtic foes. Popiſh emiſſaries were continually plotting againſt her, and ſome bigotted devotees, at the inſtance of their prieſt, had actually engaged to take her off. A number of miſcreants were hired for this horrid purpoſe, by one Babington, a yeoman of Derbyſhire; but through the vigilance of ſecretary Walſingham, they were apprehended at Harrow in the diſguiſe of peaſants, and delivered up to the proper officers. They confeſſed the conſpiracy, pleaded guilty at their trials, and were executed to the number of fourteen

teen in St. Giles's fields, the place of their rendezvous.

As the queen of Scots was ſuſpected by Elizabeth of privately abetting theſe inſidious attempts on her life, it was determined to bring her to immediate trial; but as Mary, through confinement, had received no intelligence of the diſcovery of Bablington's plot, it was with equal ſurprize and concern, that ſhe was conducted to Fotheringay caſtle in Northamptonſhire, which was to be the laſt ſtage of her mortal pilgrimage. Her two ſecretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scotchman, were arreſted and committed to priſon; and, on examination, are ſaid to have owned a correſpondence with Babington; that their miſtreſs dictated the letters in French, which Curle tranſlated into Engliſh, and then they were written in cyphers. Copies officially atteſted were tranſmitted to the French court, to criminate Mary on the one hand, and of courſe exculpate Elizabeth on the other.

A proviſional law having paſſed with immediate reference to this long determined event, it was deemed expedient to try Mary not on the common ſtatutes of treaſon, but by the preciſe letter of this proviſional law. Accordingly a commiſſion was iſſued to forty peers and five judges, or the major part of them, to try and paſs ſentence on Mary, daughter and heireſs of James V. king of Scots, commonly called queen of Scots. Thirty-ſix of theſe commiſſioners arriving at Fotheringay, preſented her with a letter from Elizabeth, commanding her to ſubmit to a trial. She peruſed the letter with great compoſure; but expreſſed ſurprize, that Elizabeth ſhould command her as a ſubject; ſhe declared that the laws of England were unknown to her; that ſhe was deſtitute of council; nor could ſhe conceive who were to be her peers; that ſhe was even robbed of her own papers, and no perſon permitted to plead her cauſe.

The commiſſioners would by no means admit of the plea drawn either from royalty, or captivity; Mary, therefore, incenſed at this derogation from her dignity, declared, that ſooner than bow the knee as a ſubject to any earthly potentate, ſhe would ſuffer a thouſand deaths; yet ſhe was ready to vindicate herſelf in a full and free parliament. She exhorted them to conſult their own conſciences, and remember, that the theatre of the world was far more extenſive than the kingdom of England. At length, wrought on by an obſervation, hinting the ſuſpicion ſhe would incur by avoiding a trial, ſhe agreed to appear, if they would diſpenſe with her non-admittance of ſubjection; till at length ſhe was conſtrained on terms of no effect and merely formal, to comply with the injunction of the commiſſioners.

After theſe preparatory meaſures, the ſolemn ſcene was began, and the council for the crown opened the charge againſt the arraigned queen; when, in order to aggravate her guilt, Babington's plot was adduced amongſt other circumſtances. She peremptorily denied that charge in particular, and, on his confeſſion being read, wherein mention was made of the earls of Arundel and Northumberland, ſhe ſhed a flood of tears, exclaiming, "Alas! what has the noble houſe of Howard ſuf-"fered for my ſake!"

She frankly acknowledged ſhe had exerted her utmoſt efforts to regain her liberty, but poſitively denied ſhe had ever harboured a thought againſt the life of Elizabeth. This, indeed, was the principal article of the impeachment, and the only one which could apologize for the violent meaſures that were taken againſt her: in order, therefore, to prove the point, the written evidence of her two ſecretaries were produced; but ſhe affirmed, they had been either intimidated or bribed into a confeſſion of what was abſolutely falſe; ſhe ſaid ſhe was not to be convicted but by her own words or hand writing; ſhe deſired ſhe might be confronted with her ſecretaries; demanded a copy of her proteſt, an advocate to plead her cauſe, and a fair hearing in full parliament.

But as it appeared from many caſes in point, that theſe demands in matters of high treaſon were inadmiſſible, they were urged in vain by the unfortunate royal culprit. The court, after having ſat ſeveral days, adjourned to the twenty-fifth of October, at the Star-chamber in Weſtminſter, when all the commiſſioners appeared except Shrewſbury and Warwick. The different papers and copies in ſupport of the reſpective charges being produced, and formally atteſted by the depoſitions of witneſſes in court, immediate reference was had to the affair of Babington, and ſentence was thereupon pronounced againſt the queen of Scots, for having been privy to Babington's plot; and imagined divers devices againſt the life of the queen, contrary to the form of a ſtatute ſpecified in the commiſſion.

To preclude the young king from any diſagreeable conſequences that might enſue from this tranſaction, a declaration was iſſued, importing, "that "the ſentence did not derogate from James, king "of Scotland, in his title and honour, but that "he was in the ſame rank and right, as if the ſaid "ſentence had never been pronounced."

The queen's moſt ſanguine wiſhes were now gratified in the conviction and ſentence of her unfortunate rival Mary queen of Scots; notwithſtanding which, with her uſual diſſimulation, ſhe affected to diſapprove of the meaſures adopted by parliament, ſo that when they addreſſed her that the ſentence might be put in execution, ſhe intreated them to wave a requeſt ſo repugnant to her inclination; and, on their renewing their inſtances, affected to amuſe them with ambiguous replies.

Averſe, however, as ſhe pretended to be to the execution, ſhe at length complied with the requeſt of parliament, to the publication of the ſentence pronounced againſt Mary; which being done according to uſual form, two perſons were ſent to notify it to that princeſs, and exhort her to prepare for approaching death. She received the meſſage without the leaſt ſign of emotion, and, with a chearful countenance, thanked God, that her toilſome pilgrimage would ſoon have an end. She was then diveſted of all badges of royalty, an indignity of which ſhe complained to Elizabeth; ſhe deſired ſhe might not be put to death in private; that her body, after her ſuffering, might be ſent to France; that her ſervants might enjoy the ſmall legacies ſhe ſhould bequeath, and be permitted to depart unmoleſted to their own country.

But the princes of Europe could not behold theſe tranſactions of the Engliſh parliament with an indifferent eye, and therefore united their reſpective intereſts in endeavouring to protract at leaſt the ſentence pronounced againſt the queen of Scots. Even Henry III. of France, notwithſtanding his known averſion to the houſe of Guiſe, took upon him to interpoſe in her behalf, and to appear in defence of the common rights of royalty. Bellievre, his ambaſſador, being admitted to the queen's

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Born December 7. 1542. | *Crowned at Sterling in her Infancy. 1543.* | *Beheaded February 8. 1587.*

queen's preſence, remonſtrated on the death of Mary, as an outrage againſt the law of nature, and the dictates of humanity, as well as a flagrant inſult to every ſovereign in particular. The peremptory behaviour of the French ambaſſador induced the queen to demand, if he was authorized by his maſter to uſe ſuch language. He replied in the affirmative, and avowed his aſſertion in writing. She then laconically told him, that ſhe ſhould tranſmit her reſolution by her own ambaſſador; and Bellievre departed without effecting the buſineſs on which he was ſent.

A. D. 1587. Neither was any great regard paid by Elizabeth to the entreaties or remonſtrances of James, who was no ſooner informed of the trial and condemnation of his mother, than he diſpatched Sir William Keith, gentleman of his bed-chamber, to London with a letter written with his own hand, conjuring Elizabeth to ſpare the life of a beloved parent; otherwiſe he ſhould think himſelf indiſpenſably bound, by every tie of duty and honour, to revenge her death; and intreating her to defer the execution of the ſentence, until he could ſend an ambaſſador with ſuch propoſals as he hoped might prove ſatisfactory. The execution was deferred with much reluctance on the part of Elizabeth, and the maſter of Gray, and Sir Robert Melville, arriving at length in London, propoſed that their king ſhould give the chief of his nobility, as hoſtages, for the future good behaviour of his mother, who ſhould reſign her right of ſucceſſion to her ſon, and this reſignation ſhould be guaranteed by foreign princes. The queen rejected theſe propoſals with the moſt ſcornful diſdain, and when the ambaſſadors importuned her to defer the execution for a week, ſhe vehemently replied, "No; not for an hour."

After theſe various applications, entreaties and remonſtrances had paſſed in all their different forms, Elizabeth ſent for Daviſon, who had lately been made ſecretary, and commanded him to draw out a warrant for the execution of Mary queen of Scots, which having ſigned, ſhe deſired it might be carried to the chancellor, in order to have the ſeal affixed to it. Next day ſhe ſent two meſſengers ſucceſſively to interdict the mandate of the preceding day, and when ſhe was told the warrant had already paſſed the great ſeal, ſhe affected the utmoſt concern, and aſked, what need there was for ſuch expedition? The order for the execution was directed to the earls of Shrewſbury, Derby, Kent, and Cumberland, who were ordered to have the queen of Scots beheaded in their preſence. Thoſe noblemen, therefore, repaired to Fotheringay caſtle, and, being introduced to Mary, acquainted her with the nature of their commiſſion, and required her to prepare for death the next morning.

Mary bore this alarming information with ſerenity and compoſure; ſhe declared that ſhe could not be induced to believe that Elizabeth would have conſented to her death; then laying her hand on a New Teſtament which happened to be on the table, ſhe ſolemnly proteſted, that ſhe had never deviſed, or conſented to any deſign againſt the perſon of Elizabeth. She deſired with peculiar earneſtneſs, that now, in her laſt moments, her confeſſor might be permitted to attend her, the denial of which argued an equal want both of religion and humanity, as ſuch indulgence is granted to the moſt infamous delinquents. Mention being made of Babington, ſhe ſolemnly diſclaimed all knowledge of the conſpiracy; and the revenge of her wrongs ſhe reſigned into the hands of the Almighty Judge of the world.

The buſineſs neceſſary previous to her diſſolution ſhe ſettled with deliberation and accuracy. She wrote her will with her own hand, diſtributing her money, jewels, and cloaths among her ſervants, according to their rank and merit. Early the next morning ſhe retired to her cloſet, and ſpent a conſiderable time in devotion. Her whole deportment, upon this affecting occaſion, was ſolemn, and becoming her exalted rank. When the high ſheriff entered her chamber and told her that her hour was come, ſhe replied, that ſhe was ready, and bidding adieu to her weeping ſervants, followed him with a ſerene and compoſed aſpect. She was attired in a mourning habit, but with an elegance and ſplendor which ſhe had long laid aſide. An Agnus Dei hung by a diamond chain at her neck, her beads at her girdle, and in her hand ſhe carried a crucifix of ivory. In paſſing through a hall adjoining to her apartments, Sir Andrew Melville, maſter of her houſhold, meeting her, fell on his knees, and ſhedding a flood of tears, lamented his misfortune, in being deſtined to carry the news of her unhappy fate to Scotland, "Weep "not, (ſaid the wretched queen) but rather rejoice, "that Mary Stuart will ſoon be freed from all her "cares. Tell my friends, that I die conſtant in "my religion, and firm in my fidelity towards "Scotland and France. God forgive them, who "have thirſted after my blood. Thou, O God! "who art truth itſelf, and perfectly underſtandeſt "the inward thoughts of my heart, knoweſt how "ſincerely I have deſired an union between the "realms of England and Scotland. Commend "me to my ſon, and aſſure him I have done no-"thing prejudicial to the ſtate or crown of Scot-"land. Admoniſh him to perſevere in amity "with the queen of England; and ſee that thou "do him faithful ſervice."

When ſhe ſurveyed the executioner and the implements of death, together with all the apparatus and appendages to the approaching ſcene, exhibiting a diſmal, melancholy view, ſhe gave evident proofs, by the ſerenity of her countenance, of compoſure and reſignation to her fate. The ſurrounding ſpectators could not refrain the tears of ſympathy, now compaſſionating the fate of a princeſs endowed with accompliſhments to adorn her dignified ſtation, and conciliate the affections of her ſubjects, and the regard of mankind in general. When her warrant was read, to which ſhe liſtened with a careleſs air, like one whoſe attention was engroſſed by thoughts of another nature, the dean of Peterborough repeated a long exhortation, which ſhe twice interrupted, deſiring him to forbear, as ſhe was firmly reſolved to die in the Roman catholic religion. When the dean ceaſed to exhort, ſhe prayed firſt in Latin, from the office of the Virgin Mary; and afterwards in Engliſh, fervently recommending the church, her ſon, and queen Elizabeth, to the protection of the Almighty. When her acts of devotion were finiſhed, ſhe gave the neceſſary orders for preparations to her female attendants, and chid them for want of reſolution upon that trying occaſion, bidding them ceaſe their womaniſh lamentations, for now the period of her ſorrows was come. To her male attendants ſhe exhibited the ſame proofs of courage and ſerenity, and bade them adieu with a placid countenance. With equal magnanimity ſhe cordially forgave all concerned in her death, and after ſolemnly declaring her innocence as to the crime of

compaſſing the death of queen Elizabeth, either by direct or indirect means, gave the token to the executioner, who at one ſtroke put a period to her exiſtence.

Thus fell, by an untimely fate, Mary queen of Scots, in the forty-fifth year of her age, having paſſed almoſt nineteen of the ſame in a ſtate of captivity. Her perſon was attracting and her manners engaging; which cauſed her to be reſpected by the one ſex, and admired by the other. As it is the lot of humanity to err, and the beſt characters are not exempt from foibles, her womaniſh frailties in the inſtance of her paſſion for Darnley, in the judgment of candor, will be deemed venal. With reſpect to that part of her conduct, which was the effect of her attachment to the doctrines and principles of the Romiſh church, it muſt be imputed to the prejudices of education, and that unlimited ſway which furious zeal and blind bigotry have maintained over the moſt liberal and enlightened minds. Her crimes were more than compenſated by her ſufferings in this ſtate of exiſtence, which will ever ſully the character of queen Elizabeth. Succeeding monarchs will do well to ſhun her foibles, and imitate her virtues.

The queen of England was no ſooner informed of the death of Mary, than ſhe affected the utmoſt aſtoniſhment, and moſt extravagant ſorrow. She commanded the members of the council to quit her preſence, and Daviſon the ſecretary to be proſecuted in the Star-chamber. She diſpatched her relation Robert Cary with a letter to the king of Scotland, expreſſing her grief at the lamentable accident, which (ſhe ſaid) happened contrary to her intention; and profeſſing the warmeſt regard and affection for him and his concerns.

The young king, who was neither ſo ſhort-ſighted, nor untaught in the ſchool of human nature, as not to diſcern the egregious fallacy of Elizabeth's words and actions, diſcovered a juſt reſentment for a long oppreſſive and cruel treatment of his royal parent, and refuſed her ambaſſador acceſs to his perſon. The Scottiſh nation in general eſpouſed his cauſe, vowing vengeance againſt Elizabeth, and offering to ſtand by him at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. James alſo, to confirm his reſolution, ordered his ambaſſadors to be recalled; however, through the influence of ſome of his courtiers, he was diſſuaded from commencing hoſtilities. In the interim, Lord Hunſdon arrived with a commiſſion from the Engliſh court, and James, through his arts, relaxed both in his reſentment and military operations.

A. D. 1588. Philip of Spain, as was natural to ſuppoſe, availed himſelf of theſe commotions, and was preparing for an invaſion of England, of which the queen receiving intelligence, ſhe ſent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet of ſhips to deſtroy his veſſels, and intercept his proviſions. This active commander ſunk two gallies in the bay of Cadiz, took, burned, and deſtroyed an hundred veſſels loaded with proviſions and ammunition, together with a large galleon, loaded with merchandize. He then reduced three forts at Cape St. Vincent, and deſtroyed all the ſmall craft along the coaſt as far as Caſcaes at the mouth of the Tagus, where the marquis of Santa Cruz lay with his ſquadron; but he could not bring him to an engagement.

The Spaniſh monarch, determined to fulminate the anathemas of the church, as well as military thunder againſt the Engliſh queen, procured from the pope a conſecrated banner, with freſh bulls for excommunicating Elizabeth as an heretic, publiſhing a cruſade againſt her, and abſolving all her ſubjects from the oath of allegiance. He pretended to be the next catholic heir to the crown of England, as a deſcendant from the two daughters of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, and determined to land his forces at the mouth of the Thames, in the neighbourhood of London.

Fired with religious as well as military enthuſiaſm, he equipped a moſt formidable armament, conſiſting of one hundred and thirty ſail of ſhips, manned with nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety ſoldiers, eight thouſand two hundred and fifty ſeamen, and two hundred and eighty gallies, mounted with two thouſand three hundred and forty pieces of cannon.

The queen of England, apprized of this vigorous effort, ſtrenuouſly exerted herſelf in the equipment of an armament to ward off the fatal blow that was generally apprehended from the ſuperior force of this formidable armada. She made choice of officers of approved valour and experience. Lord Howard of Effingham was appointed lord high admiral of England, and ſent with a ſtrong ſquadron to the weſtward, where he was joined by Sir Francis Drake, now appointed vice admiral. She ordered lord Henry Seymour to cruize along the coaſt of Flanders, with forty Engliſh and Flemiſh ſhips, to prevent the prince of Parma from putting to ſea with the Spaniſh troops under his command.

Detached bodies were poſted along the different coaſts, to give alarm in caſe of an attempt of invaſion; while the main army, headed by lord Hunſdon, was appointed as a guard to the queen, who endeavoured to animate her troops by appearing perſonally on horſeback at Tilbury, and addreſſing herſelf to them in a ſpirited harangue.

In order the more effectually to fruſtrate the attempts of Philip, Elizabeth wiſely ſecured the friendſhip, and obtained the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring ſtates. With this view, ſhe ſent new inſtructions to her ſeveral ambaſſadors; and by her friends, wrought upon James to oppoſe the popiſh party, and the hoſtile intentions of the Spaniſh monarch, whoſe mighty armament was fully equipped for the important deſtination by the beginning of May; but fortunately for the Engliſh, the marquis of Santa Cruz, admiral and commander in chief, was ſuddenly taken off by a fever at the critical time on which they had received ſailing orders. Santa Cruz was ſucceeded in the command by the duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of very high deſcent, but wholly inexperienced in maritime matters.

The Engliſh took care to avail themſelves of this fortuitous circumſtance in augmenting their armament; at length, however, the Spaniſh fleet, elated with aſſurance of victory, ſailed from Liſbon, but next day was encountered by a violent ſtorm, which diſperſed the ſhips, ſunk ſome of the ſmalleſt, and obliged the reſt to take ſhelter in the Groyne, where they put in to repair.

The Engliſh admiral, on receiving intelligence of this accident, gave the ſignal to the fleet for weighing, and immediately made for Spain, hoping from the loſs the enemy had ſuſtained through ſtreſs of weather, to annoy them in their harbours; but the wind ſhifting, he returned to Plymouth, on ſuſpicion that they might avail themſelves of this opportunity, to enter the Engliſh channel, while he was abſent. Nor was his ſuſpicion groundleſs; for on the very day after his return to

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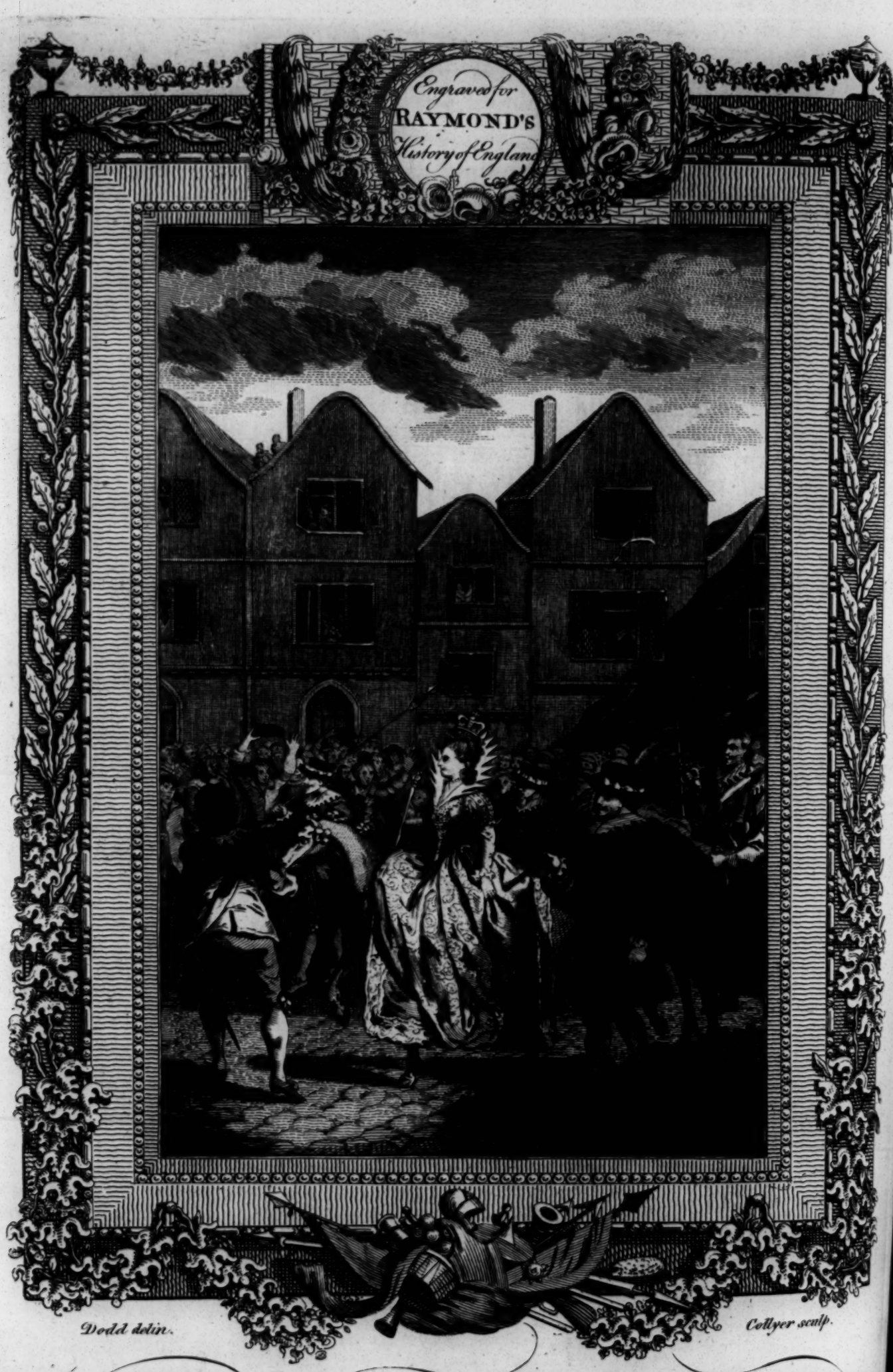

The PROCESSION *of* QUEEN ELIZABETH *to* St. PAUL's CATHEDRAL
to return Thanks for the Conquest of the Great Spanish Armada.

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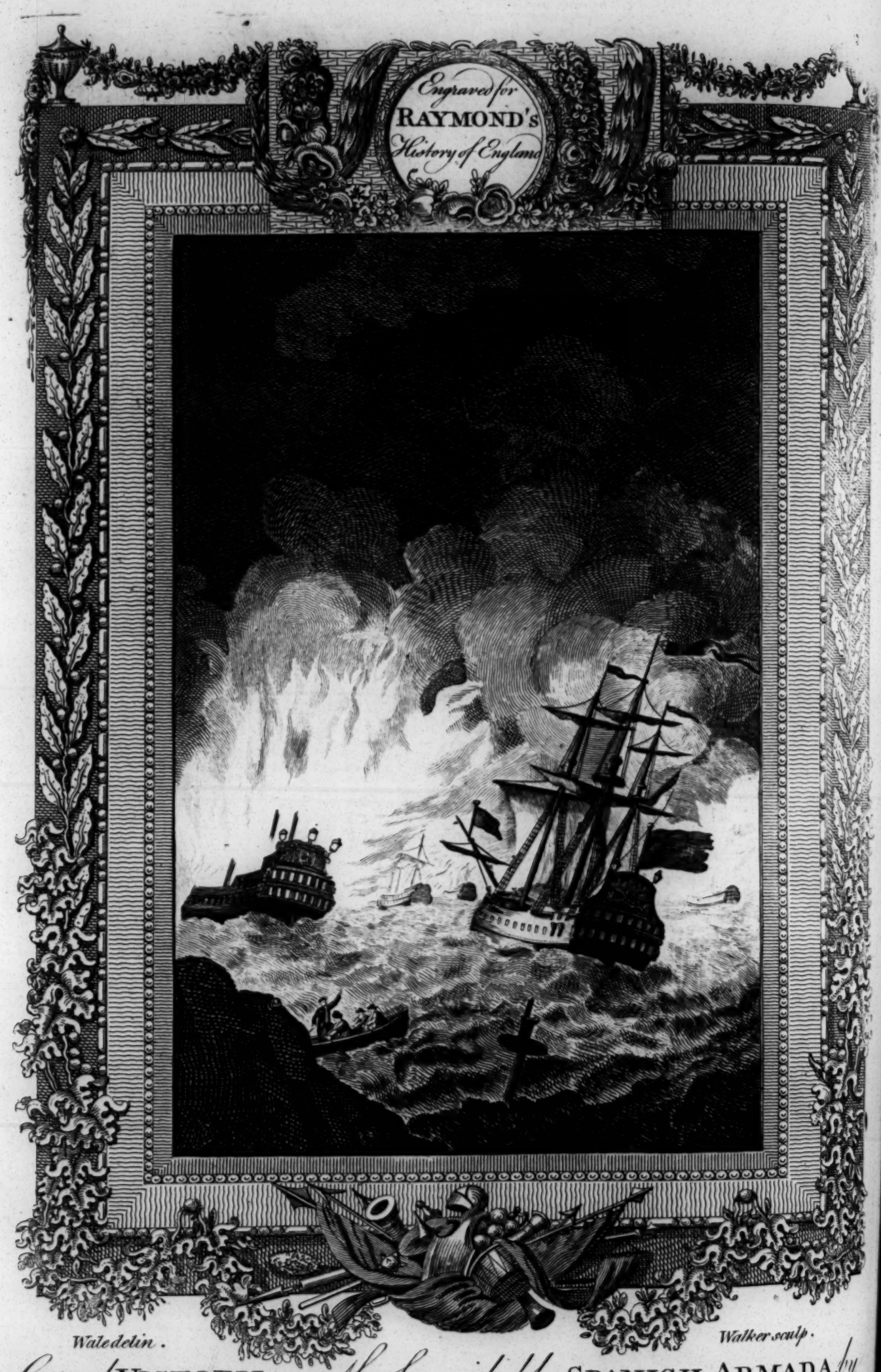


Waledelin. Walker sculp.

Grand VICTORY over the formidable SPANISH ARMADA, by Lord Howard, the Admirals Sr. Francis Drake, Forbisher &c. in the Year 1588.

to port, the Spaniſh fleet was ſeen off the Lizard on the coaſt of Cornwall.

Lord Howard had juſt cleared the harbour, when he obſerved the Spaniſh Armada advancing in full ſail towards him, drawn up in the line of battle. He ſtrictly enjoined his officers to avoid a cloſe engagement with the Spaniards, as the ſize of their ſhips and the number of their men would be a diſadvantage to the Engliſh; but ordered them to cannonade at a diſtance, and to watch every opportunity of intercepting any of their ſcattered veſſels. As the Armada proceeded up the channel, the Engliſh hung upon their rear, and annoyed them by an inceſſant firing. This manœuvre produced a very good effect on the part of the Engliſh, who, being animated by the proſpect of that honour, which they muſt receive from the conqueſt of this tremendous Armada, deemed invincible, ſeveral noblemen and perſons of fortune diſtinguiſhed themſelves by fitting out ſhips at their own expence, and engaging as volunteers in the ſervice of their country. Among theſe were the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas, and Sir Robert Cecil, and the famous Sir Walter Raleigh.

The Spaniſh admiral had by this time brought to an anchor off Calais, in order to obtain the aſſiſtance of the duke of Parma; but this deſign was happily defeated by means of a ſcheme concerted by lord Howard, in order to prevent the enemy's fleet from joining. He cauſed eight of his ſmaller ſhips to be filled with all kinds of combuſtible materials, and ſent them into the midſt of the Armada. The Spaniards immediately cut their cabels and put to ſea, and the Engliſh attacked them next morning while they were endeavouring to muſter off Gravelines. The engagement began at four in the morning, and laſted till ſix in the evening, during which the Engliſh, who had both wind and tide in their favour, ſunk and drove aſhore thirteen ſale of the line, took one of their galleons, and another fell into the hands of the Zealanders. The damages ſuſtained by ſtreſs of weather, as well as loſſes in the late action, together with want of proviſions, induced the Spaniards to make for their own coaſt; but as the winds were againſt them in the paſſage through the channel, they propoſed to ſail north about, and return to Spain by way of the Orkney Iſlands. The Engliſh chaced them during ſome time, and had not their ammunition fallen ſhort, they had compelled the whole Armada to ſurrender at diſcretion.

This concluſion of the enterprize would have been more advantageous to the Engliſh; but the event proved fatal to the Spaniards. A violent tempeſt overtook their fleet after it had paſſed the Orkney's; ſeventeen of their ſhips, having five thouſand men on board, were caſt away on the Weſtern-iſlands, and the coaſt of Ireland. The people of Spain were filled with conſternation at the loſs of upwards of half the fleet, and the advantages obtained by the Engliſh. Of the whole Armada, through various accidents, fifty-three ſhips only returned to Spain, and thoſe in a very ſhattered condition; ſo that through the diſadvantages of wind and tide, and the terrible loſs the Spaniards ſuſtained by diſtreſs of weather, their mighty hopes fell to the ground, and ſucceſs upon the whole declared in favour of the Engliſh.

Thus terminated this mighty enterprize, which had been preparing for three years, had exhauſted the revenues of Spain, filled the Catholics with the moſt ſanguine hopes, and the Proteſtants with the moſt terrible apprehenſions. A public thankſgiving on this occaſion was ordered by Elizabeth, who repaired, in great ſolemnity, to St. Paul's, to perform that ſacred duty; and eleven ſtandards taken from the enemy were hung up in the cathedral, as trophies of the ſucceſs of the Engliſh. The queen beſtowed rewards on many of her officers, who had ſo nobly exerted themſelves in defence of their country; and the whole kingdom was one continued ſcene of joy.

But amidſt theſe great and unexpected ſucceſſes, ſhe could not conceal an extreme concern for the loſs of her unworthy favourite Leiceſter, who died of a fever, at the very time in which the queen's patent was making out for appointing him her viceroy of the kingdom of Ireland. This nobleman poſſeſſed no merit political nor military, yet the queen, from private attachment, advanced him to ſuch points of government, as expoſed her own foibles, and might have proved deſtructive to the nation in general.

A. D. 1589. A political ſcheme was now diſcovered between ſome noblemen and the duke of Parma, who had ſupplied them with a ſum of money to excite commotions in Scotland; but the king immediately aſſembling a powerful army, they were obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. In the mean time, the Scottiſh monarch had concluded a treaty of marriage with the princeſs Anne, daughter to the king of Denmark. James repaired thither in October, attended by a numerous retinue; the nuptials were ſolemnized at Upſlo, and they paſſed the winter in Denmark.

The ſucceſs obtained by the Engliſh, and the adverſe fate of Spain, in the defeat of their mighty armament, excited freſh commotions in that kingdom. Don Antonio, prior of Crato, a natural ſon of one of the royal family of Portugal, had trumped up a claim to the crown of that kingdom, and had ſolicited the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth in aſſerting his pretenſions. The queen gave her conſent, and Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, undertook to eſpouſe his cauſe as private adventurers. Thoſe officers having embarked about twelve thouſand ſailors and ſoldiers, ſailed from Plymouth in April, and landing near Ferrol, inveſted Corunna. They took the lower town by aſſault, but the upper part, ſituated on a rock, they could not reduce for want of artillery. The count d'Androda marching to its relief with a body of eight thouſand men, they raiſed the ſiege, and attacked him at the bridge of Brugas, where he was defeated. But theſe adventurers failed in their attempt, through an epidemical diſtemper, which obliged them to reimbark their forces and return to England.

Notwithſtanding this failure, the earl of Cumberland, the ſpring following, undertook another expedition, and ſailing to the Azores took and demoliſhed the caſtle of Fayal, and brought home a great number of valuable prizes.

At the end of the year died Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate, a miniſter not more diſtinguiſhed by the abilities of his head than the virtues of his heart. Though he had paſſed through many great and lucrative employments, ſuch was his integrity and generoſity, that he died poor, and was interred in a private manner. He left only one daughter, firſt married to Philip Sidney, and afterwards to the earl of Eſſex. A kind of general mortality enſued amongſt the moſt able and faithful ſervants of the crown; the principal of theſe were, Ambroſe Dudley, earl of War-

Warwick, Sir Thomas Randolph, chancellor of the exchequer, Sir Thomas Crofts, comptroller of the houſehold, George Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, and Thomas lord Wentworth, formerly governor of Calais, and laſt, though not leaſt either in ability and integrity, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, chancellor of England, and of the univerſity of Oxford.

As the trade to the Eaſt Indies was juſtly deemed the ſource of Spaniſh wealth, Elizabeth determined to attack them in that quarter; for which purpoſe ſhe diſpatched a fleet of ſeven ſail of the line to intercept the India ſhips, but this ſcheme was fruſtrated by the precaution of the Spaniſh monarch, who had iſſued orders for a convoy of fifty ſail to protect them.

Lord Howard, in obedience to orders, ſtood out to ſea with five ſail, but the rear-admiral's ſhip being unfortunately ſurrounded by the enemy, he atchieved prodigies of valour in its defence, till being overpowered by numbers, and having himſelf received many wounds, he gave orders for blowing her up, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy: this raſh order was, however, countermanded, and the gallant admiral Grenville died of his wounds in a few days.

A. D. 1592. The queen, from her attachment to the proteſtant cauſe, ſtill continued to protect the Hugonots in France, where ſhe ſent them a conſiderable reinforcement, and iſſuing a proclamation, forbidding her ſubjects from aſſiſting the leaguers, or the king of Spain, with corn, ammunition, or naval ſtores. Fifteen ſhips of war were ſent to annoy the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, under the commund of Sir Walter Raleigh; but his fleet being diſperſed in a ſtorm, the expedition was countermanded. She alſo diſpatched a ſmall ſquadron to cruize off the Azores; and Sir Martin Forbiſher, to the coaſt of Spain, in order to wait for the Spaniſh carracks from the Eaſt Indies. Burroughs, who commanded the firſt of theſe ſquadrons, burned one galleon, and took another very richly laden. Whether from Elizabeth's zealous attachment to the proteſtant intereſt both at home and abroad, or the ambition and jealouſy of her diſpoſition, ſhe was ſeldom free from numerous and frequently powerful enemies. Amongſt the reſt, Sir John Perrot, late lord deputy of Ireland, was ſuſpected of abetting inſurrections in that kingdom, and being brought to trial, was convicted, and committed to the Tower, where he ended his days after a long confinement.

A. D. 1593. Such was the rancour and animoſity between the proteſtant and popiſh parties, that the latter were ever deviſing means of harraſſing the former both at home and abroad. Hence political intrigues and hoſtile efforts never ceaſed; the court of Spain was neither idle in deviſing or executing projects. They excited new commotions in Scotland, which, together with the detection of a dangerous conſpiracy of ſome catholic noblemen, greatly alarmed the queen, who, fearful of the deſigns of James, ſent to congratulate him on the diſcovery of the plot; to aſſure him of her aſſiſtance, and preſſed him to puniſh the diſſaffected lords; at the ſame time requeſting Bothwell's pardon, who had twice attempted to ſeize the king's perſon, and fled to England, where he was protected by the queen, who refuſed to deliver him up to James according to treaty. But the Scottiſh king retorted on Elizabeth the very plea ſhe urged in favour of Bothwell, as the ground of his non-compliance; though, at the ſame time he promiſed to bring the heads of the inſurgents to ſevere trial, and, on conviction, to treat them with the utmoſt rigour.

The finances of James being nearly exhauſted, and the fitting out a force to quell the commotions in his kingdom requiring a ſupply, he ſent Sir Robert Melville to England to obtain the ſame. Melville did not ſucceed in his negotiation; and Bothwell returning privately into Scotland, ſo ingratiated himſelf with the nobility, that they introduced him into the king's bed-chamber, where imploring pardon on his knees, and ſeconded by the interceſſion of the Engliſh ambaſſador, he obtained forgiveneſs. But as the higheſt acts of clemency cannot influence abandoned minds, Bothwell, in violation of the laws of duty and gratitude, returned to his former infamous practices, was arreſted by the hand of juſtice, and ſuffered the puniſhment due to his atrocious crimes.

The parliament, this ſeſſion, voted her majeſty a ſupply adequate to the extraordinary demands of the ſtate; harraſſed by internal commotions, they enacted a ſevere law againſt ſeditious ſectaries, and diſloyal perſons; for theſe two kinds of criminals were always, in that age, confounded together, as equally dangerous to the peace of ſociety. This ſtatute bore as hard upon the puritans as the catholics, as by it all perſons above ſixteen years of age, abſenting themſelves from divine ſervice, as performed in the church of England, for the ſpace of one month, were ordered to be impriſoned.

The perfidy of the French nation ſoon became as apparent as that of the Spaniſh; for the former, inſtead of employing the Engliſh auxiliaries in the expulſion of the forces of the latter from Britany, uſed them only as a check upon the invaders; ſo that Elizabeth would have recalled her troops, had ſhe not been prevented by the marſhal d'Aumont, who aſſured her, in his maſter's name, that a vigorous attempt would ſoon be undertaken, for the entire reduction of Britany.

The French king being convinced, from the prevalence of popiſh bigotry and ſuperſtition in his kingdom, of the impoſſibility of obtaining the confidence of the people, while he was in any degree favourable to the contrary principles, ſolemnly renounced the reformed doctrines, and declared himſelf a convert to the church of Rome; which when Elizabeth was made acquainted with, ſhe ſeverely upbraided him with apoſtacy; which he frankly imputed to the indiſpenſable neceſſity of his circumſtances. However, ſhe diſpenſed with his conduct from political motives, and an affected friendſhip ſtill ſubſiſted between them.

The queen, having ſo effectually ſecured her crown and government by parliamentary ſanction, the attempts of her enemies were not only fruſtrated, but generally retorted on themſelves. Rodorigo Lopez, a Portugueſe Jew, domeſtic phyſician to the queen, being arreſted on ſuſpicion, acknowledged that he had been bribed to poiſon her, by Fuentes, and Ibani, who had ſucceeded the duke of Parma in the government of the Netherlands; but he declared that he had no other view, than to defraud them of their money, and never intended to perform his promiſe. But this ſubterfuge, in a matter of ſuch importance, could not avail; ſo that the doctor and two accomplices ſuffered as traitors, though the foreign noblemen were never brought to condign puniſhment.

A. D. 1594. As the moſt effectual method of avenging herſelf on her foreign enemies, Elizabeth

beth afforded the French monarch very powerful assistance, and entered into a new treaty with him, that no peace should be made with the Spaniards, without the consent of both parties.

Such was the extraordinary valour of the English, in every action with the common enemy, that the queen, from motives of humanity, was frequently compelled to check the impetuous ardour of her commanders, both naval and military; to which she imputed the vast effusion of the blood of her loyal subjects. Sir Martin Forbisher, her brave admiral, lost his life with many others, before Brest. It had been stipulated in the late treaty, that Morlaix should be granted to the English as a place of retreat, but the French general evaded this agreement by causing it to be inserted in the articles, that none but catholics should be admitted into the city.

Bickerings had long prevailed between the French and Spanish monarchs, till at length they came to an open rupture; and the queen of England, leaving Henry to defend himself, thought it expedient to employ her armament in more important exploits. Nothwithstanding she had an irreconcileable antipathy to the Spaniards, as her most implacable enemies, she would not expend her subsidies in the maintenance of an offensive war; but annoyed her enemy by granting commissions to private adventurers, who acted against them at their own expence. Richard Hawkins, commander of a merchantman, authorized by letters of marque, sailed into the South sea, where he took several prizes; James Lancaster, on the coast of Brazil, took nine and thirty ships, and made himself master of Fernambuco, where he loaded fifteen vessels with sugar, and the cargo of a rich carrack, and returned to England with immense booty.

A. D. 1595. Sir Walter Raleigh sailed in the spring, on a voyage to the inland parts of South America, and having captured the city of St. Joseph from the Spaniards, took his course up the river Oroonoque, and returned to England, after a disappointment in search of gold mines, and the loss of half his crew by excessive heat of climate. This expedition was succeeded by another under the conduct of Sir Francis Drake and Sir Thomas Hawkins, who sailed in conjunction against the Spanish settlements in America. The land forces, which they embarked, were commanded by Sir Thomas Baskerville. They safely arrived at St. Domingo, but their design being discovered, the Spaniards fortified the place in such a manner, that when they attempted to force it, they were repulsed. After this miscarriage, Hawkins died, and the fleet sailed to the continent, where they burned Rio de la Hacha, Santa Martha, and Nombre de Dios, and resolved to attack Porto Bello; but this scheme was prevented by the death of that gallant and experienced commander Sir Francis Drake, who was carried off by the flux, a disorder very prevalent in those climates.

Baskerville, on the demise of the two admirals, was under the necessity of taking upon himself the naval as well as military command; but as he found, from the distempered state of the men in general, he could do nothing effectual, he returned to England; indeed, neither party derived any benefit from this expedition.

Philip of Spain, whose restless and vindictive spirit was ever plotting schemes against the queen of England, raised new commotions in Ireland, through the instigation of Macguire and Macmahon. The earl of Tyrone having been accused of maintaining a correspondence with the rebels, so forcibly vindicated his innocence before the governor, that he was dismissed as a loyal subject. But his fallacy became shortly notorious, by an open declaration for the rebel party, surprising the garrison of Blackwater in the absence of the governor, and committing acts of hostility against the loyalists, who were now opposed by a very powerful army, led on by commanders of approved valour, who had signalized themselves on the continent.

To suppress this alarming insurrection, before the rebels could be reinforced by a detachment of troops from the king of Spain, the queen ordered a body of men into Ireland, under the command of Sir John Norris, on whose approach to Armagh, Tyrone abandoned the fort of Blackwater, reduced the town of Dungannon, and the neighbouring villages to ashes; when the English general was compelled, for want of provisions, to retire, after leaving garrisons in Armagh and Monaghan, and agreeing with the insurgents for a truce till the beginning of the ensuing year.

A. D. 1596. In order to put a stop to the rebellion, without farther effusion of human blood, the queen offered a pardon to the insurgents on condition of their disbanding their troops, repairing the forts they had damaged, restoring the effects they had seized, and discovering their connections with foreign princes. These lenient measures were spurned at, though they agreed to protract the truce four months longer; during which the perfidious Tyrone privately corresponded with Philip, and at length, in order to make a shew of loyalty, transmitted to the queen's general letters he had received from Spain. But before the expiration of the truce, he capitulated with Norris, and delivered hostages in consequence of a pardon for himself and accomplices, though he would by no means make any profession of loyalty to the queen.

The English troops under Sir John Norris, having been recalled from Britany, in order to be sent into Ireland, the king of France was thereby much distressed, and under a necessity of applying to Elizabeth for a present supply for the relief of the province of Picardy. This was not granted, but the queen offered to send troops to garrison Calais, Boulogne, and Dieppe; but Henry did not think proper to trust her with the keeping those places. After this, the Spaniards invested Cambray, and Henry sent over Lommenie, his secretary of state, to press the queen of England for a speedy reinforcement; which being refused, the place was surrendered to the enemy. Elizabeth's neglect of compliance with so very important a request, at so critical a juncture, disgusted the king of France, and his council were desirous of making peace with the Spanish monarch.

The queen, at the instance of Burleigh, demanded of the United States, an immediate reimbursement of the sums she had advanced for their service; but as they were at that time incapable of raising the same, from the vast expence they had incurred in maintaining the war with Spain, they obtained a longer time, on condition of fitting out a fleet of four and twenty sail, to join the queen's navy against the Spaniards.

As their expeditions against the Spaniards in the East Indies had not proved the most successful, the English council determined to attack their dominions in Europe, where they were informed,

Philip was making great preparations for an invaſion of England. A powerful fleet was, therefore, aſſembled at Plymouth; it carried ſix thouſand three hundred and ſixty ſoldiers, a thouſand volunteers, and ſix thouſand and ſeventy-two ſeamen. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Effingham, high admiral. The lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, and others, had commands in this expedition.

This mighty armament, under commanders of the firſt eminence for courage and conduct, ſailed from England on the firſt of June, and being favoured with a fair wind, ſteered towards Cadiz, which was appointed as the place of general rendezvous. After having in vain attempted to land on the weſtern ſide of the iſland, it was propoſed, in a council of war, to attack the ſhips in the bay. The propoſal being approved, the attack was made with ſuch irreſiſtable fury, that the enemy were obliged to cut their cables, and ſtand farther into the bay, where many of their ſhips were bulged upon the ſhore. Eſſex then landed with eight hundred men at the Puntal, and marched to attack a body of five hundred Spaniards, when the latter retreated into Cadiz, and being ſo cloſely charged, and the inhabitants thrown into ſuch diſorder, no meaſures could be taken for the defence of the place. The Engliſh entered the city by violence, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the market-place, and the garriſon retiring into the caſtle, the inhabitants capitulated, on condition of being permitted to depart unmoleſted with their wearing apparel; but that all their other effects ſhould be diſtributed as booty among the ſoldiers; that they ſhould pay five hundred and twenty thouſand ducats for the ranſom of their lives, and ſend forty of their chief citizens to England, as hoſtages for the payment of the money.

But the grand object of this expedition, which was the capture of the enemy's ſhips, was defeated by the Spaniſh admiral's commanding them to be ſet on fire, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It is ſuppoſed, that the loſs which the Spaniards ſuſtained in this enterprize amounted to no leſs than twenty millions of ducats, beſides the mortification which thoſe proud and haughty people ſuffered by ſeeing one of their chief cities taken, and a fleet of ſuch immenſe value deſtroyed in one of their own harbours.

The earl of Eſſex, emulous of fame, viewed this action as introductory to higher exploits, and therefore vehemently aſſerted the impropriety of giving up Cadiz, pledging himſelf to defend the place till ſuccours ſhould arrive from England; but the greateſt part of the officers being deſirous of returning with their booty, his motion was overruled, ſo that they returned to England, after having burned or plundered the adjoining villages.

Eſſex, who flattered himſelf that he had gained an abſolute aſcendancy over the mind of the queen, was highly chagrined to find that ſeveral offices of power and profit were diſpoſed of, in the conferment of many of which he thought himſelf ſecure. Amongſt theſe were Sir Robert Cecil, ſon to lord Burleigh, who was appointed ſecretary, a poſt to which he had ſtrongly recommended Sir Thomas Bodley: his diſpleaſure was ſtill augmented by the queen's appointing Sir Francis Vere governor of the Brille, a place he had long ſolicited for himſelf; the queen ſlighted his recommendations, becauſe oppoſed by old Cecil, a faithful ſervant, yet at the ſame time ſhe diſcovered viſible tokens of diſtinguiſhed reſpect for the earl.

Advice having been received that the Spaniſh monarch, notwithſtanding the loſs he had ſuſtained by the Engliſh in Cadiz, was making preparations at different ports for a deſcent upon Ireland, the queen was determined to defeat his deſign, and to deſtroy the ſhipping in thoſe harbours.

To this purpoſe, ſhe equipped a formidable armament, naval and military, and appointed the earl of Eſſex commander in chief of the whole; lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, and lord Montjoy, were deputed to act in their reſpective ſtations under Eſſex. The earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, with ſeveral other noblemen, ſerved as volunteers. The commander's inſtructions were to deſtroy the Spaniſh fleets at Ferrol, and to proceed to the Azores. Eſſex ſailed from Plymouth on the ninth day of July, but the fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, and the ſhips obliged to put in at different ports of England. He again attempted to ſail about the latter end of Auguſt, but the fleet was damaged in ſuch a manner, that laying aſide all thoughts of aſſaulting Ferrol, he had no other object than that of laying in wait for the fleet on their homeward paſſage from India; he therefore made for the Azores, while Raleigh, being parted from the other admirals, arrived at Flores, and ſailing to Fayal, took that town before he joined the commander in chief, who ſuſpended him for proceeding without warrant from his ſuperior officer.

Raleigh, however, from motives of generoſity or expediency, was ſoon reſtored to the command of which he had been deprived for a time; though this circumſtance laid the foundation of that violent animoſity which afterwards prevailed between thoſe two gallant commanders. Eſſex propoſed to wait at the iſland of Gracioſa, for the India fleet, but was perſuaded by a pilot to ſail to the iſle of St. Michael, a ſafer harbour. At this iſland he met with three veſſels, which had ſtraggled from the fleet; theſe he brought with him, and made himſelf maſter of Villa Franca, where he found a conſiderable booty, and ſtore of refreſhment for his people. In the mean time, Sir Walter Raleigh deſtroyed an Indian carrack.

Notwithſtanding the extraordinary prudence and ſagacity of Elizabeth, an attachment to favourites frequently led her into meaſures which proved derogatory to her character, and ſubverſive of the intereſts of the nation. To this foible was imputed the failure of the late expedition; Eſſex, the commander in chief, being unacquainted with naval affairs. The council were divided in favour of the earl and Sir Walter Raleigh, but the queen, with her uſual policy, affected a neutrality in diſpenſing tokens of favour. The ambitious earl found that in his abſence the lord high admiral had been advanced to the title of earl of Nottingham, a circumſtance that gave him great offence; but was in ſome meaſure compenſated, by his being promoted to the honour of earl mareſchal of England.

The urgency of public demands compelled the queen to call the parliament together ſo early as the month of October, in order to repreſent the neceſſity of an immediate ſupply, the treaſury being exhauſted through the immenſe expences incurred from the Spaniſh war.

A.D. 1598. During theſe tranſactions, Philip, to detach the French king from all connections with Eng-

ngland, made propoſals for terms of accommo-
ation, of which the queen obtaining intelligence,
ent Sir Robert Carew to France, in order, if poſſible,
o break off the treaty; but all her attempts were
n vain, as the former was determined to give
eace to his kingdom. The negotiations were
arried on at Vervins; and on the twelfth of
June, the truce was ratified by Henry, who re-
covered the poſſeſſion of all the places, which
had been taken by Philip during the courſe of
the wars, and afforded himſelf an opportu-
nity of regulating the internal policy of the na-
tion.

The queen being deprived of ſo powerful an ally as the king of France, thought it expedient to ſound the diſpoſition of the United States, as to the proſecution of the Spaniſh war. Though from her antipathy to king Philip, ſhe was diſpoſed to carry it on, ſhe affected a deſire of peace, alledging the heavy burthen it entailed on her ſubjects. The United States, ſenſible of the importance of her alliance, acceded to her propoſals, and readily ſubſcribed a treaty to the following import: That the ſtates ſhould give ſecurity for the payment of eight millions of florins, to which the queen limited her demands; that ſhe ſhould furniſh eleven hundred and fifty men to garriſon different fortreſſes, and to be paid by the ſtates; that for the future, ſhe ſhould be diſcharged from her engagement to furniſh any other auxiliary troops; that the power of the deputy of England, ſtipulated in the former treaty, ſhould be aboliſhed, though the queen reſerved to herſelf the liberty of ſending one perſon to ſit in their council; that the ſtates ſhould furniſh her with forty ſhips of war, five thouſand foot ſoldiers, and five hundred cavalry, to act offenſive or defenſive againſt her enemies in caſe of neceſſity.

Soon after the ſigning of this treaty, lord Burleigh, who directed the queen in all political concerns, quitted this ſcene of precarious exiſtence. He died in an advanced age, and as to his character, it may be ſaid in brief, that he poſſeſſed thoſe qualities which are neceſſary to form the courtier and the ſtateſman. Elizabeth was conſoled in ſome meaſure for the loſs of her miniſter Burleigh, by the news ſhe received of the death of her capital enemy, Philip, king of Spain, who was at length ſummoned to pay the debt of nature, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age, after embroiling all Europe by his ambition during a reign of forty-two years.

The removal of an implacable foe afforded time for the council to attend to the commotions in Ireland, which now prevailed with greater ardour than ever. The earl of Tyrone had again rebelled, defeated and ſlain Sir Henry Bagnal, and reduced the fort of Blackwater. This renewal of the rebellion occaſioned a diſpute between the earls of Eſſex and Nottingham, about the nomination of a governor for Ireland; and the queen preferring the perſon recommended by the latter, Eſſex, tranſported by the violence of his paſſion, forgot the rules both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her with contempt. Elizabeth, juſtly provoked at his behaviour, ſo derogatory to her dignity, retorted it with a blow, attended with language equally ſignificant of her diſpleaſure; and the haughty impetuous earl expreſſed tokens of reſentment as warm as thoſe he had received from his incenſed ſovereign. However, through the interpoſition of Egerton the chancellor, who was attached to the earl, and ſome private reaſons that might urge both parties, the matter ſubſided, and Eſſex was reſtored to the good graces of the queen.

The inſurrections in Ireland now threatening the moſt dangerous conſequences, it was determined in council to exert the moſt vigorous meaſures in order to effect their total ſuppreſſion. To this purpoſe, it was propoſed, with the concurrence of the queen, to appoint lord Montjoy to that office, though he was much more of the ſcholar than the ſoldier. But Eſſex, whoſe darling paſſion was ambition, ſolicited the office for himſelf, and the queen, influenced by her prevailing foible, appointed him governor of Ireland, under the title of lord lieutenant.

A. D. 1599. To extend his power and enforce his authority, the queen veſted him with a commiſſion more full and ample than any preceding governor had received. The earl left London in the month of March, attended by the acclamations of the populace, and accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry, who, from an attachment to his perſon, had engaged in the ſervice, and propoſed to acquire fame, and military experience, under ſo celebrated a commander. The firſt inſtance of authority which he exerciſed, after his landing, though imprudent, was generous; and, in both reſpects, agreeable to his character. He appointed his intimate friend, the earl of Southampton, general of the horſe; a nobleman who had offended the queen, by marrying without her conſent; and whom ſhe had therefore prohibited Eſſex from employing in any command under him. The queen was no ſooner informed of this inſtance of diſobedience, than ſhe wrote him a ſevere letter, reprimanding him for his preſumption, and ordering him to recall his commiſſion to Southampton. But either from his attachment to his friend, or a conſciouſneſs of his influence with his royal miſtreſs, he did not attend to the order, till it was repeated with a degree of vehemence.

Eſſex, perſuaded of the neceſſity of vigorous efforts againſt the rebels without delay, determined to lead his army immediately into Ulſter, againſt Tyrone, the capital enemy; but the Iriſh counſellors aſſured him, that the ſeaſon was too early for ſuch an enterprize, and therefore adviſed him to employ the preſent time in an expedition to Munſter. In compliance with this advice, he compelled all the rebels of Munſter either to ſubmit or fly to the neighbouring provinces. But as the Iriſh were alarmed at theſe proceedings as preparatory to a deſign of total and abſolute ſubjection, they united in the common cauſe, and the inhabitants of Munſter not only revolted, but engaged in a deſign, with their countrymen in general, of detaching themſelves entirely from the Engliſh government.

The queen's army being greatly reduced in number, from the fatigue of long marches, and the effects of a climate to which they were unaccuſtomed, the earl of Eſſex on his return to Dublin, tranſmitted to the Engliſh council an account of his condition, and informed them that unleſs he immediately received a ſupply of two thouſand men, it would be impoſſible for him that ſeaſon, to undertake any enterprize againſt Tyrone. To obviate all pretence for farther delay, the queen immediately ſent over the number required; and Eſſex began to prepare for an expedition into Ulſter, where the rebels had commenced their ravages.

But a kind of averſion to the expedition againſt the Iriſh, who were conſidered as fellow ſubjects, together

gether with the renown Tyrone had acquired, had ſuch an effect upon the Engliſh ſoldiery, that many affected ſickneſs, and ſome of them deſerted; ſo that Eſſex, after leaving the neceſſary garriſons, could hardly lead four thouſand men againſt the rebels. However, he marched with this ſmall army; but being ſoon ſenſible, that as the winter was now approaching it would be impoſſible for him to ſubdue an enemy, who though ſuperior in number was determined to avoid every opportunity of coming to a general engagement, he therefore acceded to a propoſal made by Tyrone for a ſuſpenſion of arms for three weeks, to be farther renewed as might afterwards be agreed upon. This circumſtance, however, raiſed ſuſpicions not the moſt honourable to the character of the lord lieutenant.

Nor could theſe proceedings be pleaſing to Elizabeth, or the nation; or fail of affording the enemies of Eſſex ground for cenſure, after ſuch mighty and formidable preparations. However, to anticipate any miſrepreſentations of his conduct that he foreſaw might enſue, he wrote a letter to the queen, inſinuating the advantages his enemies would take of the late event, to prejudice her againſt him, and beſeeching her not to liſten to their ſuggeſtions, till he ſhould arrive, and perſonally vindicate his conduct.

This precaution did not produce the deſired effect on the mind of his ſpirited miſtreſs, who with ſingular auſterity peremptorily enjoined him not to depart from Ireland, till he ſhould know her farther pleaſure. Eſſex, however, finding the queen extremely incenſed againſt him, and ſuſpicious of the efforts of his numerous foes, notwithſtanding the royal injunction, determined to ſet out for England, and as a pretence to palliate ſuch conduct, cauſed a report to be ſpread, that her majeſty was dangerouſly ill, and that her life was even deſpaired of by her phyſicians. Leaving, therefore, the government of Ireland in the hands of the lord chancellor Loftus, and Sir George Carew, he embarked on the twenty-fourth of September, and in four days reached the court of Elizabeth, proſtrated himſelf as an humble ſuppliant, and ſubmitted his caſe to her wiſdom, candor, and clemency.

A. D. 1600. In this tranſaction, as in all former ones with favorites, the queen was impelled by a kind of unavoidable neceſſity, to deſcend to the woman in ordinary with her ſex. The behaviour of Eſſex, at firſt, ſoothed her into an inſenſible complacency; but as, on reflection after his departure, ſhe was convinced of the cenſure which he had juſtly incurred from the people, as well as the council, from preſuming to act in affairs of the utmoſt importance to the nation, without the order or permiſſion of his ſovereign, when he waited on her a ſecond time, ſhe behaved towards him with great auſterity, and after upbraiding him with his unjuſtifiable conduct, commanded him to be confined to his own apartments, from whence he was committed to the cuſtody of the lord-keeper, nor was even his counteſs ſuffered to viſit him. This rigorous treatment, however juſt, ſo ſenſibly affected the mind of the earl, that it brought on him a very dangerous diſtemper, a circumſtance that proved inconteſtibly the paſſion of the queen for this favorite. However, as ſhe knew the cauſe, ſhe adopted proper remedies to his diſorder; ſo that through her aſſiduities, the earl was ſoon reſtored to perfect health.

The late impediments to military operations in Ireland favoured the efforts of the rebels, who proceeded in their ravages, and reduced the province of Ulſter; inſomuch, that Tyrone, encouraged by pope Clement VIII. aſpired at the dominion of Ireland, and would probably have ſucceeded, had not his deſigns been fruſtrated by the ſeaſonable appointment of lord Montjoy to the government of that kingdom, who not only ſtopped him in his career, but ſeverely chaſtiſed the inſolence of his adherents.

The pope, availing himſelf of the rebellion in Ireland, determined to revive the embers of diſloyalty in England; and with this view, he ſent two bulls into England, one addreſſed to the Romiſh clergy, the other to the people; in which both clergy and laity were forbidden, after Elizabeth's death, to acknowledge any ſovereign, who would not ſwear not only to tolerate the exerciſe of the Catholic religion, but even to promote and ſupport it by command and example. The ſame horrid practices were carried into execution in Scotland, where a plot was laid to murder king James, but timely prevented by the diſcovery and interpoſition of two loyal ſubjects, Sir Thomas Erſkine, and John Ramſay.

Lord Montjoy, by his vigorous and ſucceſsful exertions in quelling the rebellion in Ireland, had not only acquired the eſteem of his ſovereign, but eclipſed the fame of Eſſex, and afforded the queen an opportunity of ſtigmatizing the conduct of that nobleman with the ſevereſt reproaches. To expreſs her diſapprobation more fully, ſhe had taken a reſolution to have him examined in the Star-chamber, but at length according to uſual cuſtom, perſonal attachment overcame reſentment, and ſhe referred his conduct to the judgment of the privy council. Previous to his appearance at this auguſt board, the queen ſignified to them, that her royal will and pleaſure was not to have him condemned to any capital puniſhment, as guilty of treaſon; but merely to have him made ſenſible of his failure in point of allegiance, his neglect of her inſtructions, and diſobedience of her poſitive commands, through the exceſs of his vanity, and the impetuoſity of his temper; in this ſhe pretended to be influenced by the partiality of the people towards him, who repreſented him as abuſed by the aſperſions of many of his former rivals in power.

The charge was opened with all poſſible rigour againſt the earl, by Coke the attorney-general, who held forth his conduct in the moſt cenſurable point of view, alledging as the principal inſtances of conviction, his contempt of the queen's majeſty, in appointing the earl of Southampton general of the horſe, contrary to her injunction; his abandoning the enterprize againſt the rebel Tyrone; his conferring the order of knighthood, contrary to the expreſs letter of his patent; the indignity of the terms he had ſuffered the rebels to propoſe; and laſtly, the abandoning his government, not only without the queen's permiſſion, but in abſolute defiance of her poſitive orders. The ſolicitor-general confirmed the allegations of his brother Coke, repreſented the diſtreſſed ſtate of Ireland in conſequence of his default, and adduced other inſtances in conviction of the culprit.

Eſſex, in pleading for himſelf, artfully adopted the moſt ſubmiſſive and reſpectful language, declaring, that he determined on no account to contend with his ſovereign: he ſaid, that having retired from the world, and reſigned every aſpiring claim, he was ready ingenuouſly to confeſs every failing and error into which he might have been led by youthful folly, or an impetuous temper; that the concern of his mind for the offences againſt her majeſty

majesty was infinitely more poignant, than all his outward calamities, nor did he decline making a public confession of whatever she had imputed to him; but that amidst all his acknowledgements, he must insist upon one reserve which he would maintain with his latest breath; namely, the assertion of a loyal and dutiful heart, an unfeigned affection for her majesty, and an absolute devotion to her service, as far as his contracted abilities would permit, adding, moreover, that if the council would admit as a confirmed truth his unfeigned loyalty, notwithstanding the errors into which he might have fallen, he would, with heart-felt satisfaction, submit to the severest decree.

Such were the grace, elegance, and pathos with which the earl acquitted himself upon this solemn occasion, that he not only fixed the attention, but penetrated the hearts of the audience. The council were so sensibly affected by the powers of his elocution, that they admitted his claim to loyalty, and Cecil his professed foe, abated of his rigour, and adopted terms of moderation, insomuch that the sentence, pronounced with the assent of the council, by the lord-keeper, was to the following effect: "If this cause had been heard in the star-"chamber, my sentence must have been for as "great a fine as was ever put upon any man in that "court, together with imprisonment for life in the "Tower. But as we are now in another place, "with a view to a less rigorous process, my sen-"tence is, that the earl of Essex be deprived of "the posts of privy-counsellor, earl marshal of "England, and master of the ordnance; that he "return to his own house, there to remain a pri-"soner, till it shall please her majesty to free him "from this and every other part of his sen-"tence."

This sentence was received by Essex with such graceful humility and winning complacency, as induced her majesty not only to testify the highest approbation of his behaviour upon the occasion, but further to convince him, that she still retained an assurance of his loyalty, by preventing his sentence from being recorded, and giving him his liberty, though she forbade him the court. In consequence of this indulgence, he prepared to retire into the country, but, previous to his departure, sent a letter to the queen, fraught with those flattering insinuations, which he knew were most prevalent with Elizabeth. Nor did they fail of effect on the present occasion; for though she returned for answer, that facts and not words, were the proofs of sincerity, she intimated the probability of retrieving his former character by his future conduct, and consequently of being restored to that rank and dignity which he had justly forfeited. But through a kind of fatality the event proved fatal to the unfortunate earl.

A. D. 1601. In consequence of the lenity of the late proceedings, it was the universal opinion that Essex would be restored to his former dignities; but the impetuosity of his temper urged him to such rash and precipitate measures, as frustrated the design he wished to accomplish. He was now grown so confident of his influence with the queen, that he applied to her for a renewal of his patent for a monopoly of sweet wines, which was near expiring, and regarded this event as the critical circumstance that would determine whether he could ever hope to recover his authority.

The enemies of the earl, who were numerous and potent, could not fail of embracing this favourable opportunity of representing his conduct

to the queen upon the occasion as insolent and arrogant in the highest degree; so that his petition was rejected in such terms as the form and manner of it was thought to deserve. Essex, who had hitherto suppressed his resentment, now imagining that the queen was inexorable, broke through all the restraints of submission and prudence, and undertook a design to restore himself to favour by force, and to destroy all his enemies about the person of her majesty. He had ever been accustomed to carry matters with a high hand against his sovereign, but being now as it were reduced to despair, he gave full scope to the impetuosity of his disposition, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect.

To carry his purposes, as it were, by force, he pursued every measure to gain the good-will of the people, opened his house for the reception of all mal-contents, entered into a private correspondence with the king of Scots, (whose title to the crown of England he promised to support at the hazard of his life and fortune) and even prevailed on the lord Montjoy, lieutenant of Ireland, to engage to bring over part of his army into England to support his claim. He had formed a select council of mal-contents, consisting of the earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Christopher Blount, Sir John Davis, and Sir John Littleton.

Having engaged a number of frantic partizans in his interest, consisting of one hundred and twenty persons of the first rank in the kingdom, it was determined, in a council held at Drury-house, to proceed in their designs with the utmost vigour and resolution. Among other dangerous schemes, it was debated in this malecontent assembly, whether it was most expedient to begin their attack with the palace or the Tower, or whether they should engage in both enterprizes at one and the same time; and after much dispute, it was determined, that Essex should sound the disposition of the citizens of London in his favour.

But intelligence of the designs of this frantic cabal having reached the ear of the queen and council, orders were immediately issued for doubling the guard of soldiers; and a message was dispatched to the lord-mayor, commanding him to preserve the peace in the city. At the same time, she sent Sir Robert Sackville, the treasurer's son, to Essex-house, under pretence of a visit, but in reality, with a view of discovering whether there were any just grounds for suspicion of a combination there formed against the government. In a short time, Essex was summoned to appear before the council, assembled in the dwelling house of the treasurer, from which circumstance, together with the late visit from Sir Robert Sackville, he concluded that the conspiracy was either fully discovered or strongly suspected. To evade an immediate scrutiny into his treasonable proceedings, and to excuse his non-attendance at the council-board, he pleaded indisposition, and dispatched messengers to his firmest adherents, requesting their advice and concurrence in the present emergency. In consequence of these dispatches, there assembled at Essex house, the following day, a great number of the confederates, whom the earl acquainted with the particular situation of affairs. By some it was deemed most prudent to throw himself at the queen's feet, and implore her mercy and protection; he was by others advised to address the mayor and citizens of London, for their aid and assistance on the present occasion.

The latter propoſal being preferred to the former by the majority of the confederates, amongſt whom was the earl of Southampton, and many of the earl's warmeſt adherents, it was reſolved to carry it into execution as ſoon as poſſible. But Elizabeth, who by means of ſpies and agents obtained intelligence of the minuteſt tranſactions which paſſed in theſe rebellious councils, having commanded the magiſtrates of London to keep the citizens in readineſs, ſent the lord-keeper, the earl of Worceſter, Sir William Knollys, comptroller, with the lord chief juſtice Popham, to enquire into the deſign of theſe unuſual preparations.

Having at length got acceſs to the earl, and propoſed to him ſome interrogatories on the part of the queen, Eſſex briefly aſſigned (as the cauſe of the unuſual military preparations in the city, and elſewhere,) the neceſſity of protecting his life at all hazard againſt the combined efforts of his profeſſed enemies.

After much altercation, in which they commanded the earl and his adherents, upon their allegiance, to return to their duty, it was reſolved by the confederates to make them priſoners, and accordingly, Eſſex, turning from them ſuddenly into another room, that in which they were was immediately locked, and a guard appointed to watch over them. Such a flagrant indignity offered to the queen's majeſty in the perſons of her meſſengers, was adding crime to crime; ſo that Eſſex, ſeized as it were with a fit of deſpair, ſallied forth with about two hundred confuſed followers, armed only with ſwords, exclaiming, "For the "queen! for the queen! they ſeek my life, they "ſeek my life!" The citizens flocked about him in amazement, but none appeared ready to ſecond his attempt, and though he cried, "Arm, my "friends, or the opportunity of ſaving my life "will be loſt," they ſtill remained inactive, and even Sir Francis Smith, the ſheriff, from whoſe attachment he conceived mighty expectations of aſſiſtance, no ſooner ſaw him approach, than he haſtily withdrew, and repaired, with all poſſible ſpeed, to the reſidence of the lord-mayor.

In this confuſed ſtate of things, intelligence was ſent the unfortunate earl, that he had been officially proclaimed a traitor in all the public places of the city, by lord Burleigh, and the earl of Cumberland: he therefore, in a fit of deſpair, quitted the ſheriff's houſe, and exclaimed in the ſtreets, "that England was ſold to the Infanta of Spain," entreating the populace to take up arms immediately, as the only method of preventing ſo alarming a circumſtance. This frantic reſolution producing not a ſingle effort in his favour, he attempted to return to his own houſe as a temporary aſylum, but was intercepted by a party of citizens, under the command of Sir John Leviſon. In his attempt to force his way, Sir Chriſtopher Blount, a perſon for whom he had the higheſt eſteem, was taken priſoner, Tracy, a young gentleman, was ſlain, with ſome adherents of inferior note, and the earl, at length, after having been ſhot through the hat, found means to eſcape towards the river, where, taking a boat, he at laſt reached Eſſex-houſe. On his arrival, to add to his confuſion and deſpair, he was informed that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of his chief friends, had betrayed his truſt, and attended amongſt others at the court, as an evidence againſt him: at firſt he reſolved to hazard his life by fighting his way through his enemies, rather than ſubmit his neck to the ſtroke of the axe; but in cool deliberation, his reſolution failed, and he ſued for an impartial trial, in the humbleſt terms.

The queen, who affected the utmoſt coolneſs during the late tumults, preſerved the ſame temper, and, without any apparent emotion, gave orders for the trials of the moſt conſiderable of the accomplices. Eſſex and Southampton, who had been committed to the Tower, were arraigned before a jury of twenty-five peers, the lord treaſurer Buckhurſt acting as lord high ſteward. The charges, and particularly the treaſonable confederacy of Drury-houſe, with all the circumſtances relative to the plot, were proved by ſuch inconteſtible evidences, that nothing to the purpoſe could be offered in defence of the culprits. Conviction being ſo full and deciſive, the noble priſoners could not flatter themſelves with the leaſt hopes of mercy, as their crimes were ſo flagrant and palpable. Eſſex intimated, that as he could not ſpurn at pardon on the one hand, ſo neither could he degrade himſelf in begging it on the other. Southampton behaved with more ſubmiſſion; he implored the good offices of the peers in ſo affecting a manner, as drew tears from the ſpectators.

On a view of his approaching diſſolution, he ſeemed ſeriouſly anxious for the concerns of a future ſtate, and greatly affected at his general, and late conduct in particular. This induced him to diſcloſe to his chaplain the particulars of the whole treaſonable confederacy both in England and Scotland, in conſequence of which diſcovery, Sir Henry Neville, the queen's ambaſſador at the court of France, was remanded home and impriſoned; but lord Montjoy, though accuſed, was continued in his government of Ireland, as he had filled the important poſt of viceroy with the higheſt honor and dignity, as well as inviolable regard to the intereſts of the nation.

The mind of the queen was rent between the dictates of reſentment, and the ſuggeſtions of affection, in the caſe of her unhappy favourite, who approached the time of his removal from a precarious ſtate of temporary exiſtence. Such, indeed, was her ſtruggle between the oppoſite paſſions, that from her exceſſive feelings, her ſituation might have been more pitiful at this juncture, than that of the unhappy earl himſelf. At length, however, after the moſt reluctant ſtruggles, and the moſt ambiguous behaviour, regard to her own dignity and perſonal ſecurity prevailed, and ſhe ſent down a warrant by lord Darcy, ſignifying the time appointed for his execution; the chief cauſe that induced her to conſent to his death was his ſuppoſed obſtinacy in omitting to preſent, as ſhe had hourly, almoſt from the time of his ſentence, waited an addreſs from him, to implore her candour and clemency.

This unhappy nobleman ſubmitted to his fate with a degree of compoſure and reſignation becoming the ſolemn and awful occaſion, and which indicated a ſenſe of the juſtice of his ſentence. At his own particular requeſt he ſuffered in the court-yard of the Tower, attended by three divines, his particular friends.

Robert Devereux, earl of Eſſex, as memorable in the dramatic as the hiſtoric page, exhibited during life, a character contraſted by eminent virtues, and notorious foibles. If he was brave, generous, ſincere, he was alſo ambitious, jealous, and vindictive. If his virtues gained him popularity, his foibles brought him to an untimely end, and it may be ſaid of him in a word, that he fell a ſacrifice to his own ambition, foſtered and inflamed through the affection of his queen at the early period of thirty-ſix years.

Several of the unfortunate earl's aſſociates were tried

tried and condemned; ſome were executed, but the queen, deſirous of ſhewing her clemency, pardoned the greater part; and indeed with much juſtice, as they were drawn in meerly from their attachment to Eſſex, and wholly unacquainted with the more criminal part of his intentions. The earl of Southampton was detained in the Tower till the acceſſion of king James, by whom he was ſet at liberty and reſtored to his former honours.

The king of Scots, deſirous of cultivating the favour and friendſhip of Elizabeth, diſpatched the earl of Marr, and the abbot of Kinloſs, to congratulate her majeſty on the detection and ſuppreſſion of the late conſpiracy. Theſe ambaſſadors were inſtructed to enquire, whether any meaſures had been taken by the queen to exclude their maſter from the throne, and they managed his affairs ſo dexterouſly, that not only Elizabeth, but the majority of the council, were won over to his intereſt, and among the reſt, ſecretary Cecil, whoſe authority after the fall of Eſſex was unlimited.

The parliament being convened at the uſual ſeaſon, the lord-keeper ſtated to them, that from the exigencies of the ſtate in contending with both foreign and domeſtic enemies, the public finances were greatly reduced; ſo that they granted her majeſty a very extraordinary ſupply, in conſideration of which, ſhe repealed ſeveral acts by which the manufacturing part of the people had been greatly diſtreſſed.

A. D. 1602. Inteſtine commotions having now ſubſided, attention was paid to the neceſſary preparations againſt the common enemy, and a ſquadron of nine ſhips was ſent under the command of Sir Richard Leviſon, in the ſpring, to annoy the trading veſſels of the Spaniards, who had fomented and aſſiſted the Iriſh rebellion. The admiral attacked the port of Seſimbria in Portugal, where they received intelligence that a very rich carrack had taken ſhelter. Though the harbour was defended by a caſtle, the Engliſh ſquadron broke in, took the carrack and brought her home, where ſhe was valued at a million of ducats.

Lord Montjoy, in the government of Ireland, exhibited ſuch proofs of his political talents, and general abilities, that if any partiality was ſhewn to him in the affair of the confederacy, it eventually tended to the intereſt of the nation. The Spaniards continuing their aid to the rebels, ſent them freſh ſuccours, which landing at Kinſale, inveſted and took the place; but after a ſhort ſiege by Montjoy, and having the mortification of ſeeing the rebel earl of Tyrone utterly routed, in attempting its defence, the Spaniſh general was glad to ſurrender, on condition that he might be permitted to re-embark with the remainder of his forces.

The defeat of Tyrone and other inſurgents, who were driven into Ulſter, afforded the pleaſing proſpect of putting a ſpeedy period to the rebellion in Ireland, which was greatly furthered by the expulſion of the Spaniards from that kingdom: Tyrone at length finding his parties unable to withſtand the vigorous efforts of the royal army, applied for pardon to lord Montjoy in the moſt ſubmiſſive terms; but the viceroy would comply on no other conditions than the abſolute ſurrender of his life and fortune to the queen's mercy. Compelled by neceſſity, Tyrone therefore came to Mellefont, preſented himſelf before the deputy, in a habit and poſture ſuitable to his then ſtate, and after acknowledging his offence in the moſt humble manner, was committed to Dublin caſtle. O'Rourk, another leader, ſurrendered ſoon after; and thus this dreadful rebellion, which had coſt the Engliſh nation much blood and treaſure, was entirely ſuppreſſed, and the whole kingdom reduced to a ſtate of ſubjection and tranquillity under the auſpicious government of the lord Montjoy.

A. D. 1603. The mind of the queen being at that time ſeized with a deep melancholy, ſhe was inſuſceptible of any ſatisfaction from ſo fortunate an event as that of the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion in Ireland. There are divers opinions concerning the cauſe of this melancholy; ſome aſcribe it to the aſſiduity with which ſome leading men paid their court to James, her preſumptive heir; but others, with much greater probability, impute it to her grief, for having conſented to the death of the unfortunate Eſſex, to whom ſhe had, on ſo many occaſions, diſcovered an irreſiſtible attachment.

It appeared after his demiſe, that the earl, on his return from Cadiz, had received from her majeſty the preſent of a ring, which ſhe deſired him to keep as a pledge of her affection, aſſuring him, that into whatever diſgrace he ſhould fall, or whatever prejudices ſhe might be induced to entertain againſt him, yet if he ſent her that ring, ſhe would immediately, upon ſight of it, recollect her former tenderneſs, afford him a gracious hearing, and lend a favourable ear to his apology. The earl, after his trial and condemnation, determined to try the experiment, and committed the invaluable gift to the counteſs of Nottingham, whom he deſired to deliver it to the queen. The counteſs was prevailed on by her huſband, who was Eſſex's mortal foe, not to execute the commiſſion; and Elizabeth, who ſtill expected that her favourite would make this laſt appeal to her tenderneſs, and who aſcribed the neglect to his invincible obſtinacy, was, after much delay and many ſtruggles in her own breaſt, impelled by policy and reſentment to ſign the warrant for his execution. The fatal ſecret was not diſcloſed to the queen, till a ſhort time before the death of the counteſs; when, ſtruck with the treachery of her conduct, and compelled by remorſe when too late, ſhe deſired acceſs to her majeſty, and, imploring pardon, confeſſed her guilt. Elizabeth, ſtruck with the dire relation, burſt into a moſt violent rage, and exclaiming, that God might for-"give her, but ſhe never could," ruſhed from her, and thenceforth reſigned herſelf to the deepeſt melancholy.

The fate of Eſſex was ſuppoſed to have brought on the melancholy which ſo apparently affected her after his demiſe; but the ſhock ſhe ſuſtained on the diſcovery of Nottingham's treachery, and the anxiety which enſued thereupon, were beyond all deſcription, and could only terminate with her life. The phyſicians giving no hopes of her recovery, the great officers of ſtate attended on her majeſty, entreating her to ſign her laſt will as to a ſucceſſor. She briefly returned for anſwer, "The throne of Eng-"land has always been filled by a ſucceſſion of "princes, nor do I deſire any other than a royal "ſucceſſor." On being requeſted to be more explicit in her declaration, ſhe added, "I deſire "that a king ſhould ſucceed me, and who ſhould "that king be, but the king of Scotland."

Secretary Cecil waited on her the day before her death, and finding that her ſpeech faultered, deſired that ſhe would by ſome ſign confirm the reſolution of the preceding day, if ſhe ſtill retained the ſame, upon which ſhe put her hand to her head, as a token of affirmation.

Notwithſtanding the nomination of James to the ſuc-

ſucceſſion was approved in general, it was deemed expedient by the council to keep up a ſtrong force for the peace and good order of the nation. Accordingly fleets were ſtationed in the different harbours; all the peers were ſummoned to town, and if any commotion happened on the queen's death, it was determined to veſt the earl of Northumberland with the chief command of the forces.

During theſe neceſſary proceedings by way of caution, the queen's diſorder ſeemed to approach to a criſis; and when ſhe was attended by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſhe appeared fervent in devotional exerciſes preparatory to her final exit. At length the gradual ſymptoms of death came on, and ſhe expired without a groan in the ſeventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign. She was interred in a manner ſuitable to her dignity in Henry the Seventh's chapel, by the ſpecial mandate of king James, who affected to teſtify the higheſt regard for her memory.

Writers cotemporary and future univerſally agree in attributing to queen Elizabeth all the charms of feature, figure, elegance, and grace. They likewiſe acknowledge her extraordinary proficiency in the languages ancient and modern, as alſo in the different ſciences, and in univerſal hiſtory. Her political talents, upon a review of the tranſactions of her reign, appear to have been extenſive, and it muſt be confeſſed, upon the whole, that ſhe was formed by endowments, natural and acquired, to govern a great and powerful nation. Her conduct at times evinced great ambiguity and duplicity, though, from peculiar exigencies, it might admit of a candid palliation. Her prevailing foibles were, doubtleſs, ambition, avarice, and jealouſy. The latter muſt have ariſen from an extraordinary attachment to favorites; but if her foibles proved fatal to the peace and life of the unfortunate queen of Scots, they proved no leſs deſtructive to the queen of England, who fell a victim to their unconquerable predominance. Her reign is marked by a wiſe adminiſtration, and ſhe may be held up as a ſovereign worthy the admiration of ſucceeding monarchs; for though ſhe might have been a fallible woman, impartiality muſt admit that ſhe was a great queen.

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

A. D.

1559 Apprentices of London obliged to wear blue cloaks in ſummer, and blue gowns in winter.

1560 The ſpire of St. Paul's (the timber part of which was 260 feet high, and the roof 720 feet long and 140 feet broad) burnt down by lightning.

1561 On the 16th of July there happened a violent ſtorm of thunder and hail, which deſtroyed 500 acres of corn at Chelmsford in Eſſex.
Gunpowder firſt made in England.

1563 The ſlave trade on the coaſt of Guinea begun by the Engliſh.

1565 Knives firſt made in London.
Tobacco firſt brought to England.

1566 The foundation of the Royal Exchange in London laid by Sir Thomas Greſham.
Needles firſt made in England.

1567 Two marſhals appointed by the citizens of London to clear the ſtreets of vagrants, and to ſend the ſick, lame and blind to the workhouſes and hoſpitals.
Upon an inquiſition taken by order of the queen, only 58 Scotchmen were found in London.

1569 On the 11th of January began drawing the firſt lottery mentioned in the Engliſh hiſtory. It was to produce money for the ſervice of government, and continued drawing, night and day, till the 6th of May.
Book-keeping firſt uſed after the Italian method in England.

1570 The art of gauging diſcovered.

1571 On the 17th of February there happened a great earthquake in Herefordſhire, when Marclay hill was removed from the place where it ſtood, and continued in motion two days: it carried along the trees, hedges and ſheep, overturned Kynaſton chapel, which ſtood in its way, left an opening forty feet in depth, and thirty-two in length, and at laſt ſettled and formed itſelf into an hill twelve fathoms high.
Diſſenters firſt ſeparated from the church of England.

1572 Maſks, muffs, fans, and horſe hair for the women, firſt uſed in England.
The firſt Preſbyterian meeting-houſe in England was built at Wandſworth in Surrey.

1577 The high-ſheriff, with 300 other perſons, died ſuddenly of an infection caught from the priſoners at the Oxford aſſizes.
This year Sir Francis Drake made a voyage round the world.

1579 Linen-ſtaining firſt known in England.

1580 Cambricks and lawns firſt worn in England, and reckoned a great luxury in dreſs.

1582 Coaches firſt uſed in England.
Gregorian calendar firſt uſed in England.

1583 This year a very ſingular prodigy happened in Dorſetſhire. A field of three acres, with the trees and fences, at Black-moor, moved from thence, paſſed over another field, and ſettled in the highway to Hearn.

1587 Artichoaks firſt planted in England.

1588 Chatham cheſt founded for the relief of maimed and ſuperannuated Engliſh mariners.
Fire ſhips firſt uſed by the Engliſh navy in the general engagement with the Spaniſh armada.

1589 The art of knitting ſtockings firſt practiſed in England.

1590 The band of gentlemen penſioners eſtabliſhed.
Sail cloth firſt made in England.
Iron mills firſt erected in England for cutting iron into bars for the uſe of the ſmiths.
The firſt white paper made in England at Dartford in Kent.

The moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages for learning, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were the following:

Richard Hooker, ſome time maſter of the Temple, was one of the moſt celebrated writers of the age in which he lived. His "Eccleſiaſtical Polity" is written with a claſſic ſimplicity, and eſteemed one of the completeſt works, both for ſtyle and argument, that ever appeared in the Engliſh language. Queen Elizabeth uſed to call him "The judicious Hooker." He died on the ſecond of November, 1600.

Sir Philip Sidney was the delight and admiration of the court of Elizabeth. He was the ornament of the univerſity, and appeared with equal advantage in a field of battle, at a tournament, in a private converſation among his friends, or in a public character as an ambaſſador. His talents were equally adapted to proſe or verſe, to original compoſition or tranſlation. He died the ſixteenth of October, 1586.

Sir Thomas Bodley was particularly diſtinguiſhed as a man of letters; but much more for the ample proviſion he made for literature, by the library he founded at Oxford. In 1599, he opened his library, a mauſoleum which will perpetuate his memory as long as books themſelves endure. He died the twenty-eight of January, 1612.

Edmund Spencer, the celebrated author of the "Fairy Queen," was the father of the Engliſh heroic poem, and of true paſtoral poetry in this iſland. He ſtands diſtinguiſhed from almoſt all other poets, by that faculty by which a poet is diſtinguiſhed from other writers, namely, invention; and excelled all his cotemporaries in harmonious verſification. The ſtanza of Spencer, and the old words which conſtantly occur, contribute to give that great poet an air of peculiarity; and hence all the imitations of him reſemble the original. After the death of Sir Philip Sidney, he languiſhed without a patron, and died in want of bread, in 1599.

BRITISH MUSEUM
30 JAN 91

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Born
June 19. 1556.

Crowned
July 25. 1603.

Died
March 27. 1625.

BOOK XII.

From the Beginning of the Reign of JAMES I. to the Reſtoration of CHARLES II.

CHAP. I.

JAMES I.

Acceſſion of James I. His partial attachment to individuals. Inſtance of indignity to the memory of his predeceſſors. James concludes a treaty with Henry IV. of France. Revival of religious diſſentions. Equivocal conduct of the king. His arbitrary proceedings. Detection and prevention of the gunpowder-plot. Various fates of the conſpirators. The king attempts an union of the kingdoms without effect. Inſurrections in England and Ireland. The rebel Tyrone flies for refuge to Rome, and there dies. Peace concluded between Spain and the States of Holland after a war of fifty years. James's eldeſt ſon Henry created prince of Wales. The aſſaſſination of Henry the IVth of France. Diſſolution of the Britiſh parliament. Effects of religious controverſy. Robert Carr introduced to the king, and raiſed to the higheſt honors. James promotes the civilization and cultivation of Ireland. Death of Henry prince of Wales. Cruel fate of Sir Thomas Overbury. Divorce of lady Eſſex, and her marriage with the earl of Rocheſter. He is diſgraced, and ſucceeded in the royal favour by George Villiers. Charles created prince of Wales. Sir Walter Raleigh releaſed from confinement. He makes an expedition to the Spaniſh ſettlements, but proves unſucceſsful. Returns to England, and is put to death. Death of the queen. Charles prince of Wales viſits the court of Madrid. Horrid maſſacre at Amboyna. An expedition is projected for the relief of the Palatinate, which miſcarries through the perfidy of the French. Death and character of James I.

A. D. 1603. JAMES of Scotland had the good fortune of ſucceeding to the crown of England at a time, when that kingdom had arrived at it's ſummit of glory. His right of acceſſion was confirmed by univerſal plaudits on his being proclaimed, according to cuſtom, at the moſt populace places in the metropolis. But he had no ſooner aſcended the throne, than he ſelected, as objects of his peculiar favour and attachment, thoſe of the nobility who had ſignalized themſelves in eſpouſing the cauſe of his mother. The earl of Northumberland, with the lords Thomas and Henry Howard, and the lord Montjoy, were made privy counſellors, notwithſtanding their being ſtrongly ſuſpected of popery; indeed, the Howard family in general were gratified with titles and preferments, by which it plainly appeared, that James highly diſapproved of the behaviour of Elizabeth towards the duke of Norfolk and his family. His diſapprobation of the principles and conduct of the late queen carried him indeed beyond the bounds of duty and decorum; for ſuch was the contempt with which, in reality, he treated her memory, that he neither went into mourning himſelf, nor would admit any perſon into his preſence in a mourning habit. Not an individual of any conſideration, who had ſuffered from their attachment to the unfortunate Mary, eſcaped his notice, for in ſix weeks after his arrival in England, he is ſuppoſed to have conferred the honour of knighthood on no leſs than two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons. Nay, ſo far from following the example of his predeceſſor in the partial beſtowal of honors, James was ſo profuſe of honours and titles, as to occaſion a paſquinade's being affixed to one of the doors of St. Paul's, in which was propoſed, an art for aſſiſting frail memories in retaining the titles of the upſtart nobility.

This prepoſſeſſion in favour of particular perſons, not from any inherent merit or ſuperiority of character, but from mere caprice, or a caſual aſcendancy in point of birth, never prevailed more than throughout the whole reign of this prince, who appears to have been little actuated by the maxims of ſound policy, but wholly governed by fancy and inclination. By the very unpopular meaſure of importing great numbers of his northern friends, and advancing them to poſts of dignity and emolument about his perſon, he incurred the diſapprobation of many of the moſt powerful of his Engliſh ſubjects, which terminated at length in his own diſadvantage. Amongſt theſe the duke of Lenox, the earl of Marr, the lord Hume, the lord Kinloſs, Sir George Hume, and ſecretary Elphinſtone, were admitted into the Engliſh privy council; after which Sir George Hume was made earl of Dunbar; Hay was created firſt viſcount Doncaſter, and then dignified with the title of earl of Carliſle; and Ramſay was preferred to the earldom of Holderneſs.

At the inſtance of thoſe very perſons on whom the honors were conferred, theſe promotions were made preparatory to the coronation, which was ſolemnized at Weſtminſter on the twenty-fifth day of July, by Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury; but as the king, though familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the tumult of a mixed multitude, and was fond of tranquillity and eaſe, a proclamation was publiſhed, forbidding all perſons to reſort to the ceremony, except the nobility, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London. Indeed, this proclamation was juſtifiable on the ſcore of prudent precaution, as the plague raged at this time with ſuch fury in London, that thirty thouſand died of it within the compaſs of a year.

To compenſate for the partiality evident in laviſhing honors and titles upon his countrymen,

James thought it expedient to continue the great officers of ſtate, on the late queen's demiſe, in their reſpective departments of government, ſo that the whole adminiſtration of affairs abroad and at home was veſted in the hands of Engliſh ſubjects. Among others, ſecretary Cecil, ſon of the famous Burleigh, was created lord Eſſendon, and afterwards earl of Saliſbury, and maintained an extraordinary influence both at court, and in the cabinet.

As Cecil muſt naturally have incurred the odium of James from the avowed part his father had taken in the perſecution of queen Mary, his continuance in office, notwithſtanding his political abilities were generally confeſſed, was matter of univerſal ſurprize. Beſides, Cecil himſelf had ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the power of the earl of Eſſex, whom James profeſſedly conſidered as a martyr to the Scotch ſucceſſion. The fact is this: Cecil who knew mankind, and was verſed in thoſe arts which generally prevail, had, on the firſt approach of Elizabeth's diſſolution, ingratiated himſelf with James, without the knowledge of the queen or any of her miniſters, and thereby paved the way for the continuance of his favours. Having once ingratiated himſelf, he obtained the entire confidence of his ſovereign, who being a weak as well as vain prince, was moulded at pleaſure by this ſubtle courtier.

The eyes of all the catholic princes in Europe were fixed upon James, as the ſon of a queen who died a martyr to their religion; and mighty expectations were formed of his reviving the ſupremacy of the holy ſee in England. Accordingly, ambaſſadors arrived from almoſt all the catholic princes and ſtates to congratulate the king on his acceſſion to the throne, and enter into new treaties, as well as form freſh alliances with him. Among the reſt, Henry IV. of France, willing to ſound his inclinations, ſent over the marquis of Roſne, afterwards created duke of Sully, the moſt celebrated politician in the French court.

This ambaſſador, whoſe conſequence was much raiſed by his own merit, and extenſive power and dominion over his maſter, propoſed a league with the king of England in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern potentates, to invade the Auſtrian dominions on all ſides, and humble the lawleſs ambition of that arrogant family. But as the penetration of the French ambaſſador ſoon diſcerned that James was averſe to the noiſe and tumult of war, he was obliged to deſiſt from his former propoſal, and to concert meaſures with the Engliſh miniſtry for the ſecurity of the United Provinces. It was therefore agreed between the powers of France and England, that James and Henry ſhould permit the Dutch to raiſe troops in their reſpective dominions; and ſhould ſupply the republic with the ſum of one million, four hundred thouſand livres a year, for the maintenance of their forces; that the whole ſum ſhould be advanced by Henry, but that the third part ſhould be deducted for a debt due by him to Elizabeth; and that if the Spaniards attacked either of the princes, they ſhould aſſiſt each other; Henry with an army of ten thouſand men, and James with an army of ſix thouſand.

A treaty founded on ſo ſolid a baſis, and confirmed by articles apparently advantageous to the reſpective parties concerned, ſeemed to promiſe a permanent peace, and the continuance of thoſe bleſſings with which it is generally attended. But as human affairs are ever fluctuating, amidſt a moſt profound tranquillity, both foreign and domeſtic, ſome noblemen about the perſon of the king received intelligence that a plot was formed to overturn the government, and to place upon the throne of England, lady Arabella Stuart, nearly allied to the king, and deſcended equally with him from Henry VII. But as there is no authentic account upon record, ſo the whole is merely conjectural, and founded only on what could be gathered from the report of the times. The principal perſons concerned in it, are ſaid to have been Watſon and Clarke, two popiſh prieſts, lord Grey, a puritan, lord Cobham, a man of a wavering and impetuous temper, together with Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Edward Parham. It appears very ſtrange, that Raleigh, who had ever ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf againſt Spain, ſhould act in confederacy with papiſts; yet it is recorded, that he and Cobham were particularly charged with promoting the cauſe of popery, by diſtributing a very conſiderable ſum of money among the diſaffected in England. As Raleigh, Grey and Cobham, were generally believed, after the demiſe of Elizabeth, to have oppoſed the ſucceſſion of James, till conditions ſhould be ſettled with him, they were extremely obnoxious to the court and miniſtry; hence ſome have inferred, that this plot was merely a contrivance of Cecil, in order to rid himſelf of his old friends, who were now become his inveterate enemies. But in fact, nothing can be inferred with preciſion, or deduced with any reaſonable ground from the detail, either abſtractedly or generally conſidered; as for its motley repreſentation, and the jarring principles and intereſts of the parties ſuppoſed to be concerned, it bears very little ſemblance of truth.

The old diſputes between the proteſtant and popiſh parties, were now revived. The latter upon the acceſſion of James, flattered themſelves that the papal ſupremacy would be reſtored in England: but as he gave them to underſtand the contrary, which equally diſguſted the papiſts, as it gave encouragement to the proteſtants.

A. D. 1604. To adjuſt theſe matters in an amicable peaceable manner, the king appointed a meeting of the reſpective parties at Hampton-court, to proceed to a debate on the different topics. The conference was held in the beginning of this year, and the king, who took a conſiderable part in it, gave ſtrong proofs of his theological knowledge, and ſpoke with great preciſion and weight of argument on the ſubject. The puritans vainly imagined, that their ſovereign, who had been educated in Scotland, and profeſſed a ſincere attachment to the church there eſtabliſhed, would at leaſt mitigate the ſeverity of ſome laws enacted againſt them; but they were extremely miſtaken in their conjecture, for James, having obſerved in many of the puritanical clergy, a ſtrong republican ſpirit, and an averſion to monarchy as well as hierarchy, determined to prevent the ſpreading of that ſect.

The reſult of this debate after a variety of propoſitions were ſtated, arguments adduced, and inferences drawn, by the advocates for the hierarchy on the one part, and thoſe of the puritanical ſect on the other, it was the king's decided opinion in favour of the former, to the general diſguſt of the latter, which was not a little augmented by his majeſty's enforcing the cauſe of the hierarchy by citing one of his favourite maxims, "no biſhop, no king." The puritans petitioned

titioned the king, notwithstanding his late rigorous behaviour towards them, for greater liberty and indulgencies; but as he was attached to the contrary principles, all their remonstrances and petitions were ineffectual.

However attached James might appear to the hierarchy, or even the papal supremacy, he could by no means admit of the jesuitical tenet of the pope's unlimited power over crowned heads. As he therefore deemed it necessary, for the number of his subjects who were zealously attached to the reformed religion, to proceed in some respect against the papists, a proclamation was published, commanding all jesuits and other catholics, having any orders from foreign powers, to depart the kingdom within a limited time. But as a kind of salvo for this rigorous edict, his subjects in other matters, were left to their own entire option as to the embracing or rejecting of any doctrine, tenet, or ceremony, from which his attachment to the popish religion was inferred by all dispassionate, thinking persons, who saw through his duplicity and ambiguity in the whole transaction. But the policy, ambiguity, fallacy and inconsistency of this monarch, may be best drawn from a due attention to the following speech delivered in parliament, and cited here as forcibly illustrative of his general character.

"When I have done all that I can for you, I do "nothing but that which I am bound to, and am "accountable to God should I do the contrary; "for I acknowledge, that the greatest and most "essential difference between a rightful king and "an usurping tyrant, is this; that whereas the "proud and ambitious tyrant doth think, that his "kingdom and people are only ordained for the "gratification of his desires and unreasonable ap-"petites; the righteous and just king doth, on the "contrary, acknowledge, that he himself is only "ordained for promoting the wealth of his people, "and that his greatest and principal happiness must "consist in their prosperity. If you be rich, I "cannot be poor; if you be happy, I cannot be "unfortunate; and I protest, that your welfare "shall be the constant object of my study and at-"tention. That I am a servant is most true, and "that as I am head and governor of all the people "in my dominions, considering them in number "and in different ranks; so if we will take the "people as one body and mass, then as the head is "ordained for the body, and not the body for the "head, so must a righteous king acknowledge "himself to be ordained for his people, and not "his people for him; for although a king and peo-"ple be relative, yet can he be no king if he want "people and subjects. But there be many people "in the world that want a king; wherefore, I will "never be ashamed to confess it my principal ho-"nour, to be the great servant of the common-"wealth, and ever think the prosperity thereof "my greatest felicity, as I have already ob-"served."

From this speech it is evident, that the principles of James concerning the duties of a rational being placed in authority, and entrusted with the government of mankind, were, upon the whole, justly founded; though they appear to have had very little or no influence over his general conduct and character. It affords, indeed, a lesson of instruction to the greatest monarch, who by following the same, must ensure renown and affection to themselves, and liberty and happiness to their subjects, which can never be more effectually promoted than by an equipoize of prerogative in the one scale, and privilege in the other.

Notwithstanding the excellent maxims inculcated in this speech, it was so far from answering the purpose of a general conciliation of parties, that it incurred the displeasure of all but the zealous partizans of the church of England, whose principal aim was to ruin the interest of the Puritans. Nor was it long before the practices of James, which, from their being diametrically opposite to those maxims of government he had laid down in his speech, proved the fallacy and duplicity of the royal author: nay, such was his conduct, that the Protestants in general began to suspect his attachment to popery. Indeed he soon began to aver his principles openly; for when he issued writs for summoning the parliament, he published a proclamation, enjoining his subjects not to chuse any outlaw for their representative, and added, "If "any person take upon him the place of a "knight, citizen, or burgess, not being duly "elected, according to the laws and statutes in "that case made and provided, he shall be fined "and imprisoned for the same."

Nothing could more effectually tend to sap the foundation of the liberty of the subject, than an edict, vesting the king's proclamation with the authority of a statute constitutionally passed throughout both houses of parliament, and stamped with the royal signets, and more especially, as, upon this occasion, touching the right of election. Sir Francis Goodwin being declared duly elected knight of the shire for the county of Bucks, after a full hearing of a petition of Sir John Fortescue, the king commanded the commons to re-consider the case, and to hold a conference with the judges, though they had refused to treat with the lords on the subject. He peremptorily enjoined this anti-constitutional conference, and in issuing his mandate, adopted the phrase "absolute king," which the commons very naturally construed as designed to introduce arbitrary and despotic measures, and, in fact, overturn the former system of government; however, for the present, to gratify the king, they appointed a committee to hold a conference with the judges on the subject of the legality of the late election. But James, to evade what he might deem inexpedient to enforce so suddenly, proposed to reject the petitions of the present claimants, and issue a writ for the choice of another representative.

The grand point agitated in this session was, the proposed union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland; but the late arbitrary and illegal proceedings so disgusted the members, that no remonstrances nor arguments could prevail upon them to agree to his favourite scheme, though he ordered himself to be proclaimed king of Great Britain, and quartered the cross of St. Andrew with that of St. George in the English flag. When the king, therefore, found he could not bring them to compliance, according to his usual custom, he exerted the royal prerogative, and having, in a sullen style, informed them that he stood in need of no pecuniary aid, gave orders to the chancellor for their prorogation.

A due attention to the general conduct of this prince respecting both his words and actions, cannot fail to discover a prevailing disposition, not only to the exertion of despotic power, but the revival of its detestable appendage, popish superstition.

This

This is evident not meerly from the treaty concluded and ſigned at London between England and Spain, but from the immediate recall, on his acceſſion, of all the letters of marque granted by queen Elizabeth, before terms of peace had been even propoſed on the part of Spain; as if, becauſe king of Scotland, he had finiſhed the war between the two kingdoms, without any articles of treaty or agreement. Unhappily for James, his puſillanimity, his indolence, and his love of amuſement, ever prevented him from making any progreſs in the knowledge or practice of foreign politics, and, in a ſhort time, leſſened that regard which the neighbouring nations had paid to his illuſtrious predeceſſor. Indeed, from the whole tenor of his proceedings, and particularly a partial attachment to adulatory ſycophants, now ſelected as objects of his favorable regard, he gave great diſguſt to his Engliſh ſubjects in general.

A. D. 1605. This year ſtands memorable in the annals of hiſtory, for a tranſaction that blots the principles which ſuggeſted it, and the characters of the miſcreants who undertook the plan and execution of it, with an indelible ſtigma. It was ſuggeſted by popiſh malice, and undertaken by popiſh bigots and deſperadoes by them ſuborned.

Many of the adherents to the Catholic cauſe, having been diſappointed in their expectations of favour and indulgence on the acceſſion of king James to the throne of England, entered into a confederacy for exterminating at one fatal ſtroke, the king, royal family, and the major part of the members of both houſes of parliament, by an exploſion of gunpowder, and this diabolical plan was from thence denominated, "The gun-powder plot."

Some of the conſpirators were men of birth and fortune; and one Cateſby, who had a large eſtate, had already expended a conſiderable ſum in ſeveral voyages to the court of Spain, in order to introduce an army of Spaniards into England, for overturning the then government, and introducing the Roman catholic religion; but being diſappointed in his deſign, he communicated this plan to Piercy, a deſcendant of the illuſtrious houſe of Northumberland, who, at firſt, propoſed in preference the aſſaſſination of the king, but was ſoon brought over to the more effectual ſcheme of the gun-powder plot, as comprizing the whole circle of their enemies.

The leaders of the confederacy having now unanimouſly agreed upon the means of executing their horrid deſign, imparted the ſame to the whole cabal, who were bound to ſecrecy by the moſt ſolemn oaths, regardleſs of the dire conſequences of ſo fatal a project.

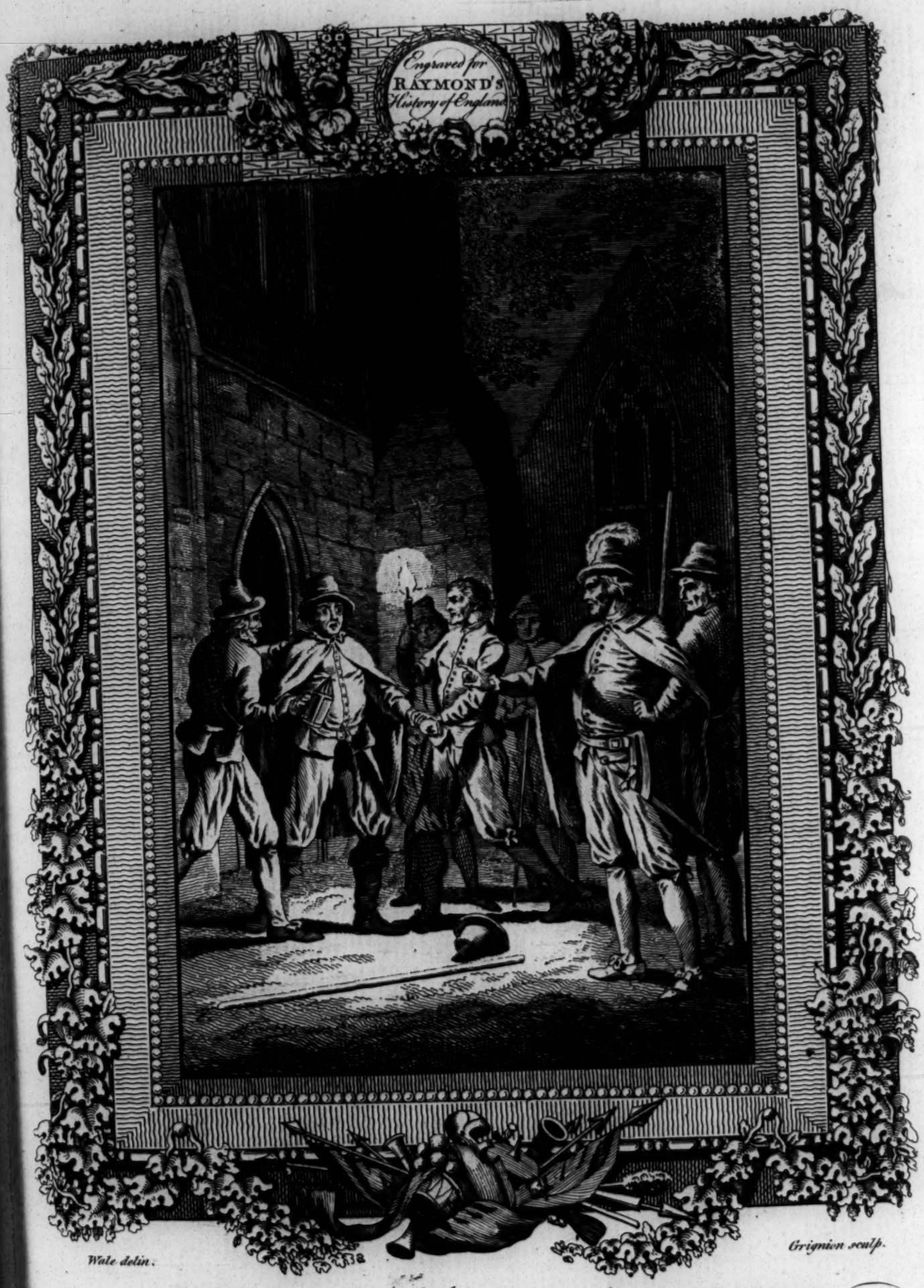
Some indeed from a ſcrupulous regard for thoſe of the ſame perſuaſion, obſerved, that in the execution of the ſcheme, many Catholics muſt fall, either as members of parliament or belonging to the king's ſuite; but Teſmond, a jeſuit, and Garnet, ſuperior of that order in England, ſoon ſilenced their doubts, and convinced them that the ſacred cauſe required that the innocent muſt in this caſe be ſacrificed with the guilty. Theſe conſultations were held in the ſpring and ſummer of the preceeding year, and intended to have been carried into execution towards the cloſe of the preſent.

It had been determined by the confederates, that Piercy, who at that time belonged to the band of penſioners, ſhould hire a houſe contiguous to the ſpot, on which the grand aſſembly of the nation was to be convened; ſo that by means of communication, they might undermine that very place, and there lay the preparatory train of powder. Every art and ſtratagem was deviſed, that could prevent ſuſpicion, or expedite the work, in the proſecution of which they were ſo indefatigable, that in a ſhort time they had dug ſo far through the wall, as to be able to hear a noiſe on the other ſide.

For the neceſſary purpoſe of diſguiſe, Guy Fawkes, who had ſerved in the Spaniſh army, upon this occaſion perſonated Piercy's footman, and was diſpatched to make enquiry, and returned with the favourable report, that a noiſe proceeded from a vault below the houſe of lords; that a magazine of coals had been kept there, and that when the coals were ſold off, the vault would be let to the higheſt bidder. The opportunity was immediately ſeized; the place hired by Piercy; thirty-ſix barrels of gun-powder depoſited in it; the whole concealed with faggots and billets; the doors of the cellar boldly thrown open and every body allowed acceſs, as if it contained nothing dangerous or unuſual. In order to obviate effectually every barrier that might oppoſe their deſign of extirpating the whole royal family, it was reſolved to aſſaſſinate the young duke of York, and immediately to proclaim the infant princeſs Elizabeth queen of England. The period fixed upon for the perpetration of this horrid maſſacre, was the fifth of November, but the execution was prevented by a providential ſtroke unforeſeen by this accurſed cabal.

One of the conſpirators, deſirous of ſaving the life of lord Monteagle, a Catholic, ſon to lord Morley, wrote to him, warning him to avoid coming to the houſe. Struck with ſuch alarming information, lord Monteagle heſitated for ſome time, but at length deemed it moſt expedient to lay the matter before lord Saliſbury, ſecretary of ſtate, who was as much perplexed concerning it, as the nobleman from whom he had received the intelligence, till he came to a reſolution of laying it officially before the king. James, conceiving the import to bear too great a ſemblance of truth, laid the letter before the council, who unanimouſly concurring in the neceſſity of inveſtigating an affair ſo very momentous, on Monday the fourth of November, the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, whoſe office it was to ſee all things prepared for the king's coming, taking lord Monteagle with him, entered the vault, where he obſerved great piles of wood and faggots. As there appeared a greater quantity than the landlord could poſſibly want for his own uſe, the chamberlain enquired of him, to whom all that wood belonged; and being informed that it was the property of one Mr. Piercy, he began to entertain ſuſpicions; knowing him to be a rigid papiſt, and further perſuaded, as that was not his reſidence, he could have no domeſtic uſe for ſo extraordinary a ſtock of wood.

To make trial, however, of the ground of their ſuſpicions, notice was ſent to Sir Thomas Knever, a neighbouring juſtice of the peace, who appointing a proper guard of ſoldiers to be ready, went with them to the ſpot at the dead of night, and at the entrance of the vault, met Fawkes juſt coming out, having completed all his preparations. The guard immediately ſeized him, and removing the faggots, diſcovered the powder. The matches and every thing neceſſary for firing the train, were found in the pockets of Fawkes; but the hardened and intrepid villain, conſcious that he had no hopes of mercy, daringly avowed his deſign, and expreſſed the



Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

GUY FAWKES *seized by* SIR THOMAS KNEVET *and others, after having completed his Preparations for* BLOWING UP *the* PARLIAMENT, A.D. *1605.*

BRITISH MUSEUM
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the utmoſt regret that he had not carried it into execution. When brought before the council, he behaved in the ſame refractory manner, nor could promiſes or threats make him diſcover one of his aſſociates, declaring "he was ready to die, and "had rather ſuffer ten thouſand deaths, than wil-"lingly accuſe his maſter or any other." This obſtinacy continued for two or three days; but being impriſoned, his reſolution at length failed, and he revealed the whole plot. Lord Saliſbury, who left upon record a circumſtantial narrative of this infernal tranſaction, ſeems to give the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, the whole merit of the diſcovery, frankly acknowledging for his own part, that he could not conceive it poſſible for ſo infernal a deſign to enter the heart of man.

Various was the fate of the miſcreant confederates. Cateſby, Piercy, and others, being informed of the diſcovery, fled into Warwickſhire; where Sir Everard Digby was already in arms, in order to ſeize the princeſs Elizabeth; but this deſign was prevented by her taking refuge in Coventry; and the whole body haſtily repaired to Holbeach, the ſeat of Sir Stephen Littleton, on the borders of Staffordſhire. Here they were beſet by the high ſheriff of the county at the head of a numerous guard; and their caſe being deſperate, they boldly determined to ſell their lives as dearly as poſſible to the aſſailants. Cateſby and Piercy fell upon the ſpot; Digby and ſeveral others of inferior note, were taken priſoners, conveyed to London, and after trial publicly executed. The earl of Northumberland was fined thirty thouſand pounds, becauſe among the grounds of ſuſpicion, he had admitted Piercy into the band of gentlemen penſioners, without tendering him the cuſtomary oaths. The lord Monteagle had a conſiderable penſion for life, as a reward for his diligence in tracing and finally diſcovering this horrid conſpiracy.

Such was the infatuated attachment of the king to popiſh principles, that in defiance of this flagrant evidence of the diabolic malignity of their influence, he ſtill entertained the ſtrongeſt prepoſſeſſion in their favour, as appeared by his ſpeech to the parliament on the 9th of November. On this occaſion he obſerved, that though the conſpirators had been induced to undertake the horrid attempt, it ſhould not be thence inferred that Catholics in general were capable of ſo atrocious and complicated a crime; adding, that while with one hand he chaſtized the guilty, with the other he would ſtill protect and ſupport the innocent. Though this declaration might argue an apparent liberality of ſentiment, common preſervation muſt have dictated the neceſſity of prudent caution at ſuch a juncture.

A. D. 1606. The prodigality of James was ſuch, added to his partiality for favorites, that notwithſtanding the continual grant of conſiderable ſupplies from his parliament, his finances were ever in a reduced ſtate.

The ſeſſion opened on the 22d of January, and the topic which principally engroſſed attention, was the propoſed union of the two kingdoms; but this could not be effected by the moſt preſſing inſtances of the king, enforced by an excellent ſpeech delivered by Sir Francis Bacon, ſolicitor-general; as the people continued to perſiſt in their prejudices, and avow their hatred to the Scottiſh nation. An act was then paſſed for a more ſtrict execution of the laws againſt popiſh recuſants, and a mitigation of thoſe enacted againſt the Proteſtants. The king, contrary to his inclination, was compelled to affix the royal ſignature to this act, to gratify the parliament for their generous ſupplies.

A. D. 1607. Commotions were excited this year in various parts of the kingdom, at the inſtance of one John Reynolds, and proclamations were iſſued, commanding the rebels to diſperſe; but, as they did not obey, a party was ſent to chaſtize them, which they effected with ſhedding as little blood as poſſible. At length, in conſequence of a promiſe that their grievances ſhould be redreſſed, they ſubmitted, and ſeveral of the ringleaders were convicted of high treaſon and executed.

Theſe commotions were however trifling in their nature and conſequences to the alarming inſurrections, which were revived in Ireland, where the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel had conſpired to ſeize the caſtle of Dublin, and to make a general maſſacre of the Engliſh families ſettled in that kingdom. Their deſign being diſcovered, a relation of Tyrone was inſtigated to commence a ſuit againſt him, for part of his eſtate; and the council of Ireland, pretending that the cauſe was too weighty for their deciſion, referred it to that of England, hoping that Tyrone might be brought thither and impriſoned in the Tower; but he excuſed himſelf from the journey, and offered to ſend over his papers, by a perſon who perfectly underſtood his concerns. This arch-rebel during the former as well as preſent reign, found means however to evade the ſtroke of juſtice, by flying to the ſanctuary of the papal ſee, in which aſylum, he ſoon after paid the debt of nature.

A. D. 1608. Nothing memorable occurred this year, except ſome inſtances of ſeverity exerciſed towards a few of the principals of the Romiſh church; and the death of Thomas Sackville, earl of Dorſet, who was ſucceeded in his poſt of lord treaſurer, by Robert Cecil, earl of Saliſbury, a convenient tool for ſupplying the king in immenſe ſums to proſtitute on his ſycophants and countrymen.

A. D. 1609. This year commenced with an event that affected the intereſts of the different potentates of Europe. This was the concluſion of a war which had been proſecuted between Spain and the United States, for a great courſe of years, and which was now terminated by means of the powers of England and France. It was an act not of choice, but compulſion on the part of the Spaniſh monarch, who, alarmed at the increaſe of the naval power of the Hollanders, reluctantly conſented to acknowledge their independence.

James now attempted to enforce the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance, by patronizing literary eſſays on that ſubject, and retaining ſome hirelings to propagate notions repugnant to the liberties of his Engliſh ſubjects.

A. D. 1610. The king was deſirous of obtaining a ſupply, and the commons were determined to circumſcribe his exorbitant prerogative. Saliſbury, who was lately advanced to the exalted ſtation of lord treaſurer, in order to enforce the grant of a ſupply, repreſented the king's gracious intention of redreſſing the grievances of his people, the vaſt ſums expended in keeping a formidable armament, and quelling the late rebellion in Ireland. To theſe arguments, he added the three numerous houſholds, which the king was obliged to maintain, for himſelf, for the queen, and for the prince of Wales; and affirmed, that Elizabeth, during

her reign, had made great appropriations of the crown lands; an expedient, which though it ſupplied her preſent wants, without burthening her people, extremely increaſed the neceſſities of her ſucceſſor. Theſe, with many other inſtances, he cited, and from them inferred the indiſpenſable expediency of an immediate ſubſidy.

But this eloquent parade of a pliant miniſter by no means exempted his maſter from the cenſure of exceſſive prodigality; however, the parliament declined an abſolute refuſal, and voted him one ſubſidy and one fifteenth, which would hardly amount to one hundred thouſand pounds, and was not the ſixth part of what had been demanded on the preſent occaſion, wiſely arguing, that the nation being then in a ſtate of profound peace at home and abroad, its exigencies could neither be ſo numerous nor ſo preſſing, as they had neceſſarily been in times of war and inteſtine commotions. The king's deſire of creating his eldeſt ſon Henry, prince of Wales, gave riſe to warm parliamentary debates during the courſe of this ſeſſion. Several objections were ſtarted to this creation, as by the profuſions of late reigns, the revenues of that principality were greatly diminiſhed. The debts of the crown were urged as ſo many reaſons why the expences of the king ought not to be increaſed, and it was inſinuated to him, that the juriſdiction of a prince of Wales, when exerciſed by him in perſon, would claſh with that of the crown of England. But theſe arguments had no force with the king, who therefore peremptorily created his ſon prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, and ſettled upon him an immenſe income to ſupport the dignity of his blood and titles.

The prince maintained an amiable character, poſſeſſing many accompliſhments mental and perſonal, and purſuing ſuch ſtudies and manly exerciſes, as were neceſſary to form him for the important and elevated rank, which he ſeemed by Providence deſigned to fill.

The attention of Europe was ſoon called to an extraordinary event that happened in France. This was the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. by the poniard of a fanatic named Ravaillac. This prince, who had acquired univerſal fame for his valour and wiſdom, was on the point of atchieving a grand exploit, which would have altered the face of things in Europe, when his noble deſign was prevented by a frantic enthuſiaſt, who ſacrificed his own life, and that of the prince, to his unbounded bigotry and unreaſonable prejudices. The villain, on his examination, boldly confeſſed aſſaſſinating the king, becauſe he did not take up arms againſt the Hugonots, and affirmed, that his making war againſt the pope, was the ſame as making war againſt God.

The king of England ſecretly approved the cauſe for which the aſſaſſin was executed; however, as the Jeſuits were univerſally ſuppoſed to be concerned in it, in order to remove ſo dangerous a ſet of men from his perſon, he iſſued a proclamation, commanding all Jeſuits to quit the kingdom, and all recuſants to keep themſelves at the diſtance of ten miles from the court. He then cauſed the juſtices of peace in all the counties to adminiſter the oath of allegiance which had paſſed in the third year of his reign, and which, without regard to any particular religion, eſtabliſhed the independency of the crown againſt the court of Rome, and all other powers whatever.

Though James, from his general conduct and adminiſtration of government was extremely cenſureable, he acquired much popularity this year by exerting a laudable care for the trade and navigation of the nation, encouraging ingenious men to make diſcoveries, erecting large ſtore-houſes, and, by his direction, bringing naval architecture into a greater perfection than it ever had been known in England, or perhaps in Europe. But after all theſe ſtrenuous endeavours to promote the opulence and dignity of the nation, ſo exceſſive had been his profuſion, that from the exigencies of the ſtate, it was found expedient to call the parliament together at a very early ſeaſon, and to ſtate the urgency of affairs as a plea for granting conſiderable and ſpeedy ſupplies. After long and tedious debates on that hackneyed and diſagreeable ſubject, it does not appear that any thing deciſive was reſolved upon; however, it may be inferred from the king's diſſolving it by poclamation, after a ſeſſion of about ten weeks, that their proceedings were not highly approved by the ſovereign.

A. D. 1611. A foreign incident occurred this year concerning ſome religious matters, which appeared greatly to intereſt king James, and rouzed him to the exertion of his utmoſt ability as well as reſolution. Indeed, it eventually proved of the utmoſt moment to the ſtates of Europe in general.

The famous theologiſt Arminius had been choſen divinity-profeſſor at Leyden, and had been accuſed by the diſciples of Calvin, with aſſerting the doctrine of free-will, and denying that of predeſtination.

The diſciples of Arminius before the death of their leader in 1608, ſeemed to have the beſt of the argument. He was ſucceeded by Vorſtius, who had publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes in defence of Arminian principles. But as he advanced ſome tenets repugnant to the opinion of king James, who was a mighty caſuiſt in theological matters, he officiouſly influenced the ſtates to deprive him of his profeſſorſhip, though he deſiſted from any further proſecution, charitably hinting "that he left the burning of Vorſtius for his blaſphemies and atheiſm "to their chriſtian wiſdom, though he was perſuaded that no heretic ever more deſerved the "flames." The States, however, had too much of the milk of humanity, as well as the genuine ſpirit of chriſtianity, to condemn a man for his private opinion, and therefore raiſed the profeſſor to a higher rank in another univerſity.

After the diſſolution of the laſt parliament, ſo obnoxious to the king, nothing prevailed at court, but hilarity, diſſipation, and profuſion. To gratify his majeſty, who had ever a propenſity to a favorite (from what motive we are not to determine) ſome ſycophants around his perſon introduced to him one Robert Carr, a young Scot of an ancient and honourable family. This youth attracted the notice of his majeſty, by happening to break his leg by a fall from his horſe in a tournament. James, ſtruck with the perſon of the unfortunate adventurer, paid him a viſit while he lay ill of the fracture, and ſo rapid was the progreſs of his regard, that, upon his recovery, he became the growing favourite at court. His perſon was handſome, his years not above twenty; he was extremely ambitious, but profoundly ignorant; in ſhort, he was a compound of every vice that can diſgrace human nature. Honours and riches were ſoon heaped upon this minion, and he quickly became the channel, through which all favours paſſed from the king to his ſubjects. On the ninth of April, he was advanced to the dignity of viſcount Rocheſter, and treaſurer of Scotland, and afterwards inſtalled knight of the garter.

But this ſeaſon of feſtivity, indolence, and the indulgence of the ignoble paſſions, was ſucceeded by an event, which will ever reflect honour on that part of the reign of this monarch at leaſt, in which it happened. This was the ſettlement of Ireland, in which he had been ſeriouſly engaged, ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne of England, to effect which he purſued a ſteady, regular, and uniform plan, inſomuch, that in the ſpace of nine years, he made greater progreſs in civilizing that kingdom, than had been made in all the time which had elapſed ſince the conqueſt had been firſt attempted. To conciliate the minds of the people to his perſon and government, he paſſed an act of oblivion as to former inſurrections and commotions, allowed them the ſame privileges as the ſubjects of England, and purſued ſuch a plan of ſound policy, as promoted a total reformation both in their manners and commerce, and thereby tended to the mutual advantage of both countries.

A. D. 1612. To this James added another inſtance of prudence and juſtice, that does honor to his character. Lord Sanquar, a Scottiſh nobleman, had baſely aſſaſſinated one Turner his fencing maſter; in conſequence of which, petitions were preferred to the king, to obtain his pardon. But James, ſenſible of the odium he had incurred from an evident partiality to his countrymen, determined not only to wipe off that ſtigma, but, by an act of juſtice in the execution of a murderer, evince his regard to thoſe laws which are the bulwark of government; ſo that he was deaf to all entreaty, and the delinquent was brought to condign puniſhment.

In the courſe of this year, Frederic V. elector palatine, in conſequence of a treaty of marriage negociating between him and the princeſs Elizabeth, James's daughter, arrived in England on the ſixteenth of October. He was magnificently entertained, but the ſolemnization of the nuptials was deferred, on account of the ſudden and unexpected death of Henry, prince of Wales, who, by his many excellent endowments, had engaged the eſteem of the whole nation. As a proof of his penetration to diſcern, and a diſpoſition to reward merit, he highly eſteemed Sir Walter Raleigh, and it was his common ſaying, "ſure no king but my father would keep ſuch a bird in the cage." James has been cenſured by ſome writers as acceſſary to the death of prince Henry, but ſuch opinion being merely conjectural, the charge is therefore without foundation. Indeed it might probably ariſe from the diſregard his father ſhewed to the memory of the deceaſed, by prohibiting even a court mourning upon ſo public and intereſting an occaſion as the demiſe of the heir apparent.

A. D. 1613. Early in the ſpring the marriage of the princeſs Elizabeth with Frederic V. was celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence, preparations having been made for the ſame during the courſe of ſome preceding months. The elector had been previouſly inſtalled knight of the garter and raiſed to other honours and dignities becoming his rank as united to a princeſs of England. But this marriage, though extremely agreeable to the nation, was productive of many calamities, both to the king and his ſon-in-law. As the elector, elated by ſo great an alliance, embarked in enterprizes beyond his ſtrength, and the king, deſirous of aſſiſting him in his diſtreſs, made ſuch unreaſonable demands, as incurred the univerſal diſpleaſure of his people.

While the attention of James was engroſſed by the nuptials of his daughter, a private ſcene was acting which occaſioned great clamour throughout the kingdom. To complete the happineſs of the minion Rocheſter, nothing ſeemed wanting but a female partner, and where high fortune concurred with all the graces of external form, ſuch an attainment was not eaſily to be accompliſhed. But this very circumſtance, inſtead of gratifying the vanity and ambition of the favourite, eventually baniſhed him the court, and conſigned him, during the remainder of his life, to that oblivion and penury from which he had been taken.

The king, compaſſionating the misfortunes of the noble families of Howard and Devereux, reſtored young Eſſex to his paternal honours and eſtates, and promoted the marriage of the earl with lady Frances Howard, daughter to the earl of Suffolk; but as they were too young for cohabitation, the earl was ſent on his travels, in order to finiſh his education. During his abſence, viſcount Rocheſter became enamoured of the lady, and had gained ſuch an aſcendancy over her, that, when on the earl's return, after an interval of four years, he claimed the privileges of a huſband with all the impatience of youthful ardour, ſhe treated him with the greateſt coldneſs and indifference.

With juſt reſentment at ſuch behaviour, the earl gave her up as a woman unworthy the honour of a conjugal alliance; indeed, the grand motive of his rejecting her was his diſcovery of her partiality for the deſpicable minion Rocheſter. The counteſs, not ſatisfied with being the miſtreſs of Rocheſter, eagerly wiſhed to be his wife, and being now loſt to all ſenſe of honour and virtue, ſhe prevailed on her paramour to uſe his influence with the king, in order to procure her divorce from Eſſex. An affair of ſuch importance could not be accompliſhed without conſulting Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of integrity, ſagacity, and experience, to whom Rocheſter was wont to communicate all his ſecrets. That faithful counſellor was alarmed at the propoſal, and employed every argument to divert his friend from ſo abſurd and baſe an attempt. Rocheſter had the weakneſs to report the converſation to the counteſs of Eſſex, who in the fury of her reſentment, wrought upon him to doom to deſtruction his worthy monitor, for this inſtance of his ſincere and cordial regard.

To carry this horrid deſign into execution, Rocheſter intimated to the king, that Overbury, by his blunt and peremptory manner of behaviour, had rendered himſelf obnoxious to him, and other favourites at court, and therefore, in order to remove him, propoſed that he might be ſent ambaſſador to Ruſſia. The king, not ſuſpecting the real deſign, immediately appointed Sir Thomas to the embaſſy; but the perfidious Rocheſter perſuaded him to reject the propoſal, under pretence of not being able to ſupport his abſence, and having ſucceeded in his deſign, repreſented the matter to the king in ſuch a light, that a warrant was granted for ſending him to the Tower, as a gentle puniſhment for his diſobedience. Sir Jervais Elwis, the lieutenant of the Tower, was one of Rocheſter's creatures, and therefore not only ſubjected Overbury to the moſt rigorous treatment, but after having almoſt reduced him to a ſtate of deſpair, by the moſt barbarous practices for ſix months together, ſuborned ſome villains to take him off by poiſon.

Having perpetrated this infernal deſign, and thereby obviated a barrier to the accompliſhment of

of their desires, they determined to prosecute their designs, and the earl of Northampton, uncle to the countess, who had been prevailed on to further their impious purpose, sollicited the king in behalf of his neice, and at length, by the most scandalous means, obtained a divorce, on pretence of debility on the part of the earl of Essex, but, in reality, to gratify the lady and her infamous paramour.

As a token of the continuance of his attachment to Rochester, the king, immediately after the divorce, not only granted him his permission to espouse the countess; but also created him earl of Somerset, thereby adding royal sanction to the most flagitious proceedings.

James sustained a great loss in his councils and government in general, by the death of that able statesman, Cecil, earl of Salisbury, a man deeply versed in the genius, politics and constitution of the English nation, and consequently capable of admonishing and directing a prince constantly tossed about by impetuous passions.

The earl of Suffolk, his successor, was by no means adequate to the office of raising supplies for the exigencies of a profuse, voluptuous prince. The late treasurer had projected a scheme to raise money by the creation of baronets, and two hundred patents had been purchased by private gentlemen for so many thousand pounds. But as this project did not answer the purpose, recourse was had from necessity to the old expedient of application to parliament.

A. D. 1614. As the public finances were almost exhausted, the ministry were under a necessity of exerting their utmost efforts to procure a majority to vote the supplies for the ensuing year. But the people were in general so disgusted by the arbitrary, as well as dissolute measures of the king, that instead of granting a supply, they resumed the subject which had been canvassed in the last parliament, and exclaimed against the king's usurpation, in pretending to levy new customs by the meer authority of prerogative.

The period of retaliation on the head of the infamous favorite the earl of Somerset, now approached. He had indeed found means to avert the stroke of justice for the murder of his faithful counsellor Sir Thomas Overbury, but now began to feel the stings of remorse; those attractive qualities which captivated his royal patron were upon the decline, and when he could no longer contribute to his gratification, he was no longer the object of his regard.

A. D. 1615. As enemies and ambition are mischievous fiends, which incessantly infest the purlieus of courts, it is not to be wondered that the enemies of Somerset, who, of course must have been numerous, availed themselves of this declension of the royal favour, and introduced a new object in order to supplant the present minion. With this view, they fixed upon George Villiers, a youth possessed of a fine person, improved by a genteel air and fashionable apparel. The glaring object was placed, at a comedy which was performed at Cambridge, full in the view of the king, and immediately engaged his attention, and most profound regard. The junto, perceiving that James was touched, pursued their success, and even prevailed upon the queen, and Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, to recommend the youth to the king's farther notice, who, embracing this sanction to his wishes, no longer restrained the visible tokens of his regard, but sent for him to court, and there retained him as one of his cup-bearers. In this situation he daily grew in the esteem of the courtiers, and the king's attachment to him was carried to a degree of folly, though he still thought it requisite to keep up a shew of regard for his old favourite Somerset, who, being assured that he must be supplanted in the royal favour by the introduction of a youth of elegant form and engaging mien and behaviour, wisely anticipated the probable consequences of his dismission by imploring at the hands of the king, a general pardon for his past conduct. His majesty immediately complied with the petition, and signed the pardon, but the lord chancellor, averse to so infamous a character, refused to pass it, and informed the queen of the contents. Upon this refusal, the whole party against Somerset concluded they must make their last effort, and the discovery of his guilt in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, soon involved him in all the ruin and infamy which they could desire or he deserve. Sir Ralph Winwood, secretary of state, having obtained the knowledge of the murder from the apothecary's servant, who had prepared the poison, imparted the matter to the king, and the lieutenant being questioned on the fact, gave visible signs of guilt, and at length, acknowledged that he knew of some attempts being made against the life of Sir Thomas Overbury. Circumstances which amounted almost to absolute conviction.

Matters being carried thus far, the king, to exempt himself from suspicion of being accessary to so a heinous a transaction, gave orders to Sir Edward Coke to investigate the affair fully and impartially; in consequence of which the whole of the plot was revealed: the lesser criminals, Sir Jervais Elwis, lieutenant of the Tower, together with some inferior accessaries, were first tried and found guilty; as were afterwards Somerset and his countess.

The inferior agents were brought to condign punishment; but, to the disgrace of humanity, the principals, who were the late favourite and his iniquitous consort, obtained pardons, and were, after some years imprisonment, restored to their liberty, and indulged with a pardon, with which they retired into the country, and languished the rest of their days in infamy and obscurity. There the hand of justice overtook them, conscience arrested their guilty minds, and they lived in misery and obscurity mutual plagues to each other.

An absurd, if not criminal, attachment to favourites influenced the mind of James as powerfully as ever. Villiers succeeded to all the honours and dignities of which the former minion had been possessed, and the king gave fresh instances of an arbitrary disposition. Lord chief justice Coke was divested of his office on pretence of some trivial misdemeanours, though the real cause of his disgrace was his opposing the king, in bestowing a vacant bishopric in commendam. Coke was succeeded by Montagu, and the lord chancellor Ellesmere, being seized with a dangerous distemper, resigned the seals into the hands of the king, who kept them till his death, and then delivered them to Francis Bacon, a man eminent for his unrivalled abilities both professional and literary.

A. D. 1616. The honour conferred on the king's son in being created prince of Wales, was inferior, (considering their vast disparity in the rank of life) to the dignities heaped on Villiers, his relatives and creatures. He was raised to the title of marquis and duke of Buckingham, and appointed knight of the garter, master of the horse, warden of

of the cinque ports, ſteward of Weſtminſter, conſtable of Windſor, and lord high admiral of England. His mother was created counteſs of Buckingham, his brother viſcount Purbeck, and a numerous train of needy relatives admitted to places of truſt and profit.

The king now formed a reſolution of viſiting Scotland in the ſpring of the year, in order to accompliſh a ſcheme he had formed for reducing the Scottiſh clergy to a conformity with the church of England.

After ſo long an abſence, as a kind of compliment to their ſovereign, the aſſembly of the kirk of Scotland were prevailed on to adopt ſome innovations; but theſe innovations laid the foundation of thoſe troubles, which afterwards brought ruin upon his ſon and ſucceſſor.

James at the ſame time diſguſted his Engliſh ſubjects by an attempt to revive a cuſtom, which, to the diſgrace of the chriſtian religion, ever prevailed in Romiſh countries, where the people are allowed to take their diverſion on Sundays, after the performance of divine ſervice. With this view, he publiſhed a performance, entitled "The Book of Sports," recommending all kinds of diverſions after ſermon. He commanded this book to be publicly read in all churches, and ſeverely puniſhed ſuch miniſters as refuſed to comply with his royal mandate.

Sir Walter Raleigh, a man of an enterprizing genius, and intrepid ſpirit, having been long immured in a dreary priſon, where he had rendered himſelf uſeful to the community in finiſhing ſo arduous a work as the hiſtory of the world, the people compaſſionated his caſe, and conceived the warmeſt prejudices in his favour, which being made known to the king, concurred with other circumſtances to procure his releaſe.

A. D. 1617. Sir Walter, whoſe active ſpirit was rouzed by his releaſe, ſpread a report of a golden mine which he had diſcovered in Guiana, and affirmed it to be ſufficient not only to enrich the adventurers, but alſo to bring immenſe treaſure to the government. The king, whoſe love of money was founded on his love of pleaſure, granted him a commiſſion to engage adventurers, but with this limitation, that he ſhould not injure the ſubjects of Spain; but that was abſolutely inconſiſtent with their deſign of carrying away the Spaniſh ore. Many wealthy perſons, however, embarked in this project, ſo that Raleigh, being properly ſupplied with ſhips and men, ſet ſail in the month of Auguſt in queſt of the mine. When he arrived at the river Oroonoko, he remained at the entrance with five of his largeſt ſhips, and ſent the reſt to the town of St. Thomas, under the command of his Son and captain Keymis, in whom he repoſed the moſt entire confidence. The Spaniards endeavoured to oppoſe the landing of the Engliſh, but were repulſed and driven back into the town, after young Raleigh was killed in the aſſault.

The expedition proved unſucceſsful, and in the event was the cauſe of Raleigh's untimely fate. After the fatigue of cruizing about, and long marches up the country in queſt of this mine without effect, the detachment he had ſent off returned to their commander in chief, who, vexed at the diſappointment and the loſs of his ſon, threatened Keymis with the king's diſpleaſure, and that commander, being ſoon after found dead in his cabin, was ſuppoſed to have ended his life with a piſtol. The ſailors, tired with this chimerical expedition, inſiſted upon returning to England; and when they arrived at Kinſale in Ireland, Raleigh would have perſuaded them to go with him; but inſtead of complying with his deſire, they carried him againſt his will into Plymouth, where he was arreſted by the king's order, and from thence conveyed to the Tower of London.

There were two conſiderations which rendered his death inevitable; the one was the offence given to the Spaniſh court, and the other much more important in the opinion of the king, though the conſequence of the former, was the breaking off the treaty of marriage between the prince of Wales and the Infanta, ſo that James without heſitation ſigned the warrant for putting him to death upon the former ſentence. Sir Walter, finding his fate inevitable, ſummoned up all his courage, and ſuffered with becoming compoſure and reſolution, in the old palace yard, Weſtminſter, on the twenty-ninth of October, which was ſome months after his condemnation.

A. D. 1618. James was juſtly cenſured for the inhumanity, as well as temerity of his conduct, in thus ſacrificing the life of an Engliſh ſubject, whoſe general character did honour to his country, merely to gratify the reſentment of the haughty Spaniards, and from a puſillanimous apprehenſion of the breaking off the intended match between the prince of Wales and the infanta of Spain.

Raleigh having thus fallen a ſacrifice to the mortal hatred the Spaniards had conceived againſt him, the grand point which retarded the marriage was obviated, and the articles were ſoon after drawn up at Madrid, importing, that the children of this marriage be not conſtrained in matters of religion; that the Infanta and her family be permitted the free exerciſe of their religion; that the marriage be celebrated in Spain by a procurator, and that after the Infanta's arrival in England, ſuch a ſolemnization ſhould be uſed as might render the marriage valid, according to the laws of England.

From the enormous power Villiers had acquired by his influence over the mind of his ſovereign, he was conſtantly ſurrounded by a groupe of ſycophants, who obtained promotion as they could flatter that exalted minion. Amongſt his chief favorites was Dr. John Williams, who through his intereſt was made keeper of the great ſeal, and after advanced to the archiepiſcopal ſee of York, not from any predilection for Williams on account of ſuperior piety or learning, but becauſe he could condeſcend to gratify the vanity and pride of his ambitious patron.

A. D. 1619. During theſe tranſactions, the king loſt his royal conſort, who departed this life on the firſt day of March, in the fifty-ſixth year of her age, an event that ſo ſenſibly affected him, as to bring on a melancholy which threatened his diſſolution.

Ferdinand II. ſucceeding to the Imperial throne on the demiſe of the emperor Matthias, he prepared with great vigour to aſſert the cauſe of the Catholic religion throughout his dominions. Beſides the aſſiſtance of his ſubjects, who adhered to the Romiſh faith, he attached to his intereſt a powful combination of the neighbouring potentates. Gondemar, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who received orders to keep on the deluſion of the marriage, by means of artful inſinuations, and a large ſum of money judiciouſly diſtributed, had ſo wrought upon the king, the favourite, and the miniſters in general, that nothing was tranſacted without his advice and concurrence.

The king of England, who was deemed entirely

ſubſervient to the Spaniſh court, at their inſtance, and in oppoſition to the petitions of his ſubjects, ſent an ambaſſador to treat with the emperor Ferdinand, but his deſign, from various cauſes, was rendered abortive.

Commotions on account of religion now univerſally prevailed in Germany. Tho' the emperor had declared for the Catholic cauſe, the Proteſtants entertained hopes of his being influenced to moderation at leaſt, as being nephew to prince Maurice, who had obtained an almoſt unlimited authority in the United Provinces. The ſtates of Bohemia continued their rebellion againſt Ferdinand, and inſiſting on the obſervance of all the edicts enacted in favour of the reformed religion, made Frederic an offer of their crown, and the young palatine, prompted by ambition, immediately embraced the tender, and advanced with all his forces into Bohemia to aſſert their cauſe, and that of their religion.

A. D. 1620-1. Ferdinand, alarmed at this ſudden turn of affairs, raiſed a powerful army with the utmoſt expedition, which he ſent to oppoſe Frederic in Bohemia under the command of the duke of Bavaria. Spinola aſſembled an army of thirty thouſand veterans in the Low Countries. When Edmonds, the king's reſident at Bruſſels, demanded of the archduke Albert the meaning of theſe preparations, he was told, that Spinola alone could reſolve him, and when the Engliſh miniſter applied to him, he received for anſwer, that his orders were ſealed, and therefore he muſt defer his curioſity till he was allowed to break them open.

But ſufficient information was ſoon derived from the event, for intelligence was diſpatched at one and the ſame time to England, that Frederic was totally defeated in the deciſive battle of Prague, and had fled with his family into Holland; and that Spinola had invaded the Palatinate, and meeting with no oppoſition, but from one Engliſh regiment under the command of the gallant Sir Horace Vere, ſubdued the greateſt part of that principality. During theſe ſtruggles between the partizans of the proteſtant and popiſh religion, James remained an indolent ſpectator, which expoſed him to the cenſure of the Engliſh nation, and the contempt and deriſion of all Europe. He might have afforded Frederic conſiderable aid; but diſſipation and puſillanimity ever marked his character, and at this time in particular, he was fearful of embarking in any enterprize that might diſguſt the court of Spain, and thereby be the means of breaking off favourite match, from which, without juſt foundation, he propoſed to himſelf ſuch mighty advantage.

The king, however, though he purſued meaſures diametrically oppoſite to the opinion and voice of his people, exerted himſelf with his uſual diligence to raiſe his ſubſidies. Accordingly at the very firſt meeting of parliament, he addreſſed both houſes, expatiating on his own merit and neceſſities, and demanding ſupplies for the relief of the Palatinate, in defence of which, he declared he would hazard his crown, and even the life of his ſon, ſhould he miſcarry in his endeavours to procure a reaſonable pacification.

This declaration to eſpouſe the cauſe of the Palatinate proved agreeable to the commons, who immediately granted a ſubſidy, with which the king at preſent ſeemed to be ſatisfied. They then proceeded in a very calm and deliberate manner, to examine and redreſs public grievances. They found that a patent had been granted to Sir Giles Mompeſſon and Sir Francis Michel, for licenſing public houſes, and for the ſole vending of gold and ſilver lace; by virtue of which privileges, they had been guilty of ſuch ſcandalous frauds and oppreſſions, that upon complaint to the upper houſe, they were committed to priſon, though Mompeſſon, who was Buckingham's creature, found means to eſcape, but he was degraded from the dignity of knight, and his eſtate confiſcated.

Having carried this much deſired reformation thus far, the commons proceeded in their reſearches into other abuſes of a more delicate and important nature. The ſeals were at that time in the hands of the celebrated Bacon, created lord Verulam and viſcount St. Albans, a man equally diſtinguiſhed for his genius and affability. His want of œconomy, and his indulgence to ſervants, had involved him in debt, ſo that in order to ſupply his neceſſities, he had been tempted to take bribes, and that in a very open manner, from ſuitors in chancery. Some writers have endeavoured to palliate the conduct of chancellor Bacon in this reſpect, and have affirmed that his equity in giving decrees in the court wherein he preſided, was ſo extraordinary, that they were never reverſed. But how far conſiſtent ſuch an aſſeveration can be, provided the former charge could have been ſubſtantiated muſt be evident to every reader, who is capable of judging from plain facts. Nay, as a confirmation of the validity of the charge, it appears, that he was not only committed to the Tower, but that, conſcious of his guilt, he implored the mercy of his judges, and endeavoured, by a general confeſſion, to avoid the diſgrace of a ſtricter examination. But the lords were inexorable, and inſiſted upon a full confeſſion of his miſdemeanours, which having made, he was ſentenced to pay a fine of forty thouſand pounds, to be impriſoned in the Tower, during the king's pleaſure, and to be rendered for ever incapable of any office, place, or employment. This rigid ſentence he ſurvived, and being in a little time reſtored to liberty, notwithſtanding his ſentence precluded him from acting in a public capacity, he gave ſuch glaring proofs of genius, as have immortalized his name, as the glory and ornament of his age and nation.

Parties had long before ſubſiſted, but were only diſtinguiſhed by the titles of papiſt and proteſtant. Another diviſion now took place under the denomination of Whigs and Tories. All thoſe who favoured the hierarchy of the church, and the prerogative of the crown, were denominated Tories; thoſe who maintained toleration, and the liberty of the ſubject, where called Whigs. As the court, in order to diſcourage all parliamentary oppoſition, affixed the name of Puritans to its antagoniſts, thoſe rigid aſſertors of the proteſtant cauſe, in oppoſition to popiſh doctrines, as well as popiſh ceremonies, not only admitted, but gloried in the diſtinguiſhed appellation.

James had lately, to anſwer particular purpoſes, affected ſome popular and patriotic meaſures; but from the prevalence of oppoſite principles, ſoon degenerated into proceedings that ſullied the renown he had acquired. He impriſoned Sir Edwin Sandys and Mr. Selden, without any known cauſe; perſons highly reſpected by their repreſentatives for their integrity, hoſpitality, and patriotiſm.

To add to the jealouſy and ſuſpicions of the people, the proteſtant intereſt evidently declined in Germany: the parliament, therefore, was no ſooner re-aſſembled, than the commons took into conſide-

ration thoſe very affairs, and drew up a remonſtrance, which they propoſed to preſent to his majeſty. They there repreſented, that the growing power of the houſe of Auſtria threatened the general liberties of Europe; that the progreſs of popery in England begat the moſt alarming apprehenſions, leſt it ſhould once more gain the aſcendant in the kingdom; that the king's lenity towards the profeſſors of the Catholic religion had rendered them arrogant and preſumptuous; that the uncontrouled conqueſts made by the Auſtrian family greatly raiſed the expectation of the Engliſh papiſts, and that the proſpect of the Spaniſh match in particular, excited the moſt ſanguine hopes, if not of the final re-eſtabliſhment, at leaſt the entire toleration of their religion.

To obviate the evils which muſt neceſſarily flow from the circumſtances thus particularly ſtated, they dutifully petitioned his majeſty, that he would immediately undertake the defence of the palatine, and ſupport him by force of arms; that he would declare war againſt Spain, whoſe arms and riches were the chief bulwark of the Catholic intereſt in Europe; that he would engage in no negotiation for the marriage of his ſon, but with a Proteſtant princeſs; that the children of popiſh recuſants ſhould be taken from their parents and committed to the care of proteſtant teachers and ſchoolmaſters; and that the fines and confiſcations to which the Catholics were by law ſubjected, ſhould be exacted with the utmoſt rigour.

A petition comprizing grants ſo oppoſite to the principles, and ſubverſive of the real deſigns of the king, met with ſuch a reception as might reaſonably have been expected. It was ſent to him from London to Newmarket, where having peruſed the contents, he diſpatched a letter to the ſpeaker, in which he ſeverely reprimanded the houſe, for interfering with matters above their reach and capacity, and enjoined them, in a particular manner, not to concern themſelves with his ſon's marriage, nor to aſperſe the character of the Spaniſh monarch, nor any of his friends and confederates. To enforce this reprimand, he mentioned the impriſonment of Sir Edwin Sandys, and further declared, that he was reſolutely determined for the future to take cognizance of any hint thrown out in word or action, that might ſeem to infringe on the royal prerogative. But the commons were by no means intimidated by this menacing mode of enforcing prerogative in oppoſition to privilege; and inſtead of retracting what they had done, entered with greater freedom on the national grievances, aſſerted their right to interpoſe in all affairs of ſtate, inſiſted that it was their ancient and undoubted right to uſe freedom of ſpeech in all their debates, and that if any member abuſed that liberty, the houſe alone, who were witneſſes of his offence, were entitled to inflict a puniſhment upon him.

This peremptory and unequivocal declaration of the repreſentatives of the people in favour of the rights of their conſtituents, put the principles of their king to the teſt, and extorted from him a reply more explicit than moſt of the former. He told them, that their remonſtrance carried in it the air of a declaration of war, rather than an addreſs from dutiful ſubjects; that their pretenſions to intermeddle in all ſtate affairs without exception, was ſuch an extent of power, as had never been arrogated by any of their anceſtors, even under the weakeſt princes; but aſſured them at the ſame time, that as long as they continued within the limits of their duty, he would be as careful to maintain their lawful liberties and privileges, though he was determined in all his tranſactions never to encroach on his own royal prerogative.

Thus aſſured of his inflexible attachment to deſpotic and arbitrary government, the commons nobly aſſerted their claim as fully veſted in them by the ſeveral clauſes of the ever memorable Magna Charta, and accordingly drew up a proteſtation, inſiſting on all their former claims and privileges, as the undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the ſubjects of England.

On the reception of the paper containing the reſolutions of the houſe officially tranſmitted to him in the country, the king haſtened to town, and ſending for the journal of the houſe of commons, tore out with his own hand, in the preſence of the council, this ſpirited proteſtation, declaring it null and and void as an infringement on the royal prerogative. The commons, however, ſtill perſevered in their claim, and the king had recourſe to his uſual mode of diſſolution, and then diſcovering his reſentment to thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves in the eſpouſal of the laws and liberties of their country.

A. D. 1622. To preſerve the parade and pageantry of government, and an affectation of attachment to the proteſtant cauſe in Germany, James diſpatched lord Digby on an embaſſy to the emperor, deſiring a ceſſation of hoſtilities, and that miniſter being referred to the duke of Bavaria, who commanded the Auſtrian forces, was informed by him "that there needed no treaty for that purpoſe, as hoſtilities were already ceaſed by his "having got firm poſſeſſion of the Palatinate, "which he intended to maintain till a final accommodation ſhould be effected between the contending parties." But the timid and puſillanimous king of England, inſtead of reſenting ſuch an indignity offered to him as ſovereign of a mighty people, concurred with Ferdinand in the purſuit of meaſures deſtructive of the intereſts he proteſted to maintain. The palatine, in the mean time, exerted his utmoſt endeavours, in order to recover his dominions; but without any proſpect of ſucceſs, as the Auſtrians were ſuperior in number, and being duly paid obſerved a much ſtricter diſcipline than his troops, which were greatly fatigued as well as diſcouraged by maintaining ſo unequal and fruitleſs a conteſt.

The king of England, therefore, ſuſpecting that his eſpouſal of the cauſe of the Palatine would involve him in a diſpute with the Auſtrians, and bring on an expenſive war, which, at that juncture, it was his particular intereſt to avoid, adviſed Frederic to withdraw his forces under pretence of dutiful ſubmiſſion to the emperor, and this counſel was immediately followed.

As a proof of the verſatility of human nature, and the influence of the paſſions even over exalted minds, lord Digby, who had lately been created earl of Briſtol, now went over to Spain in quality of king James's ambaſſador to Philip, to negotiate that very match between Charles prince of Wales and the Infanta, which he had reprobated upon ſo many former occaſions. To gloſs over the inconſiſtency of his conduct, he endeavoured to prevail on the Engliſh council, by inſinuating, that a daughter of Spain, extremely amiable, would be conducted into England, with an immenſe fortune of two millions of pieces of eight (amounting to ſix hundred thouſand pounds,) a ſum four times greater than Spain had ever given with

with any other princeſs. Nothing now ſeemed wanting to the concluſion of the marriage, but a diſpenſation from the pope, who would not grant it without ſtipulating terms greatly conducive to the intereſt of the Catholic religion, which met with no oppoſition from the king of England, who, provided he could bring about the favorite match, and thereby procure an immediate ſupply for the gratification of his folly and extravagance, was diſpoſed moſt obſequiouſly to accede to any terms the court of Spain, or his holineſs, might propoſe, however diſgraceful to himſelf, or injurious to his people.

A, D. 1623. The minion Buckingham had the addreſs to inſinuate himſelf as much into the graces of prince Charles, as of the king, inſomuch that both father and ſon implicitly followed his counſels, and adopted his maxims. He had long ſwelled with envy at the earl of Briſtol's having the ſole management of the Spaniſh match, and was therefore determined to exert all his influence to procure a ſhare in the honour of the negotiation. To gratify this ambitious deſire, he prevailed with the prince, to apply to his royal father for permiſſion to pay a viſit to the court of Madrid, repreſenting to him, in a moſt alluring point of view, both the intereſt and advantages with which it muſt be attended, in conciliating at once the affection of the Infanta, and the regard and eſteem of the Spaniſh nation in general. The king, through motives of affection for his ſon, and regard for the minion Buckingham, gave his aſſent to the propoſal, but upon reflection on the conſequences that might probably attend it, he determined to prevent it, and accordingly, when the prince and Buckingham returned for their diſpatches, he acquainted them with the reaſon which induced him to alter his mind, and deſired they would drop all thoughts of ſo ridiculous an adventure.

But the favorite, through an infatuated prevalence over the mind of the king, obtained that which his ſon had importuned, without real effect. Preparations were accordingly made for the expedition, and Sir Francis Cottington, the prince's ſecretary, and Endymion Porter, gentleman of his bed-chamber, being appointed to attend them, the prince and Buckingham paſſed diſguiſed and undiſcovered through France, and even ventured into a court-ball at Paris, where Charles had an opportunity of ſeeing the princeſs Henrietta whom he afterwards eſpouſed. In eleven days from the time of their leaving London, they arrived at Madrid, and were received with every token of honour and reſpect, as the Spaniſh monarch employed every expedient to ſhow the eſteem which he had for his royal gueſt.

As good is frequently produced by cauſes apparently evil, trivial, or abſurd, this chimerical project eventually ſubſerved the Proteſtant intereſt; for when, on a peremptory demand whether they intended to give the infanta to the prince, and upon what terms, Olivarez, a leading perſonage in the court, informed him, that it was expected the prince ſhould change his religion, and that it was generally ſuppoſed he had come to Spain on that account, Buckingham ſpiritedly diſclaimed even an inſinuation of that kind, and demanded a categorical reply, equally regardleſs of the pretences of the holy ſee, as of the court of Madrid. To retard the negociation and final adjuſtment of the affair, his holineſs added ſome new clauſes, and containing articles wholly exceptionable upon Proteſtant principles, as they had reference to the iſſue of the marriage, imbibing popiſh tenets from their earlieſt years, and conſequently abetting the ſame in more advanced life.

But the weak and pliant James, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, not only ſigned theſe articles, but ſeveral private ones, in which he promiſed to ſuſpend the execution of the penal laws againſt the Catholics, and tolerate the popiſh religion in private houſes. By theſe means, king James highly contributed to the gratification of his holineſs, as well as the Spaniſh monarch, and affairs reſpecting the match wore a pleaſing aſpect, till on the demiſe of Gregory XV. the nuncio refuſed to deliver the diſpenſation, until confirmed by his ſucceſſor Urban VIII.

This manœuvre produced the effect ſo much deſired by Buckingham; the royal gueſt took his leave, and was honoured at his departure with every circumſtance of reſpect; even a pillar was erected on the ſpot where they parted, as a monument of their friendſhip. The prince and Buckingham then embarked, and after a tempeſtuous paſſage arrived at Portſmouth, from whence they poſted immediately to James, who received them with infinite joy and ſatisfaction.

The minion Buckingham having rendered himſelf as obnoxious to the court of Madrid by his ſupercilious behaviour, as the prince had endeared himſelf by his affability and modeſty, dreading the reſentment of the Spaniards, ſhould the match take place, from the alliance which muſt naturally enſue, exerted his utmoſt influence to prevent the ſame, and maintaining ſtill an abſolute aſcendancy over the mind of Charles, he wrought on him to recede from the articles, and diſcloſe to the king the grounds of his objections to the marriage with the infanta, in conſequence of which orders were diſpatched to the earl of Briſtol to return from his embaſſy, and put a ſtop to all future proceedings.

The Spaniſh monarch, naturally piqued at this unexpected behaviour of the king of England, not only laid aſide all thoughts of the match, which was now ſo apparently approaching, but made vigorous preparations throughout his dominions for re-commencing hoſtilities.

However odious Buckingham might have rendered himſelf in other reſpects to the Engliſh nation, in this particular inſtance of breaking off the match with the houſe of Spain, he was much applauded: nay, ſo general was the joy upon this occaſion, that throughout the kingdom they celebrated the rupture with bonfires and every token of mirth and feſtivity.

A. D. 1624. James having thus fell out with Spain, laid before both houſes his cauſes of complaint, and condeſcended to aſk the parliament advice, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the management of ſo important an affair as the marriage of his ſon. The duke of Buckingham preſented to a committee of both houſes a long narrative, which he affirmed to be full and complete of every ſtep taken in the treaty with the Spaniſh monarch; and though it was loaded with palpable falſities and miſrepreſentations, it was vouched for truth by the prince of Wales, and even the king ſeemed tacitly to approve of it. Though this narrative, vamped for a temporary purpoſe, evidently bore the ſemblance of fiction, the parliament admitted the contents as valid, and, in conſideration of the urgent demands of the ſtate, voted a conſiderable ſupply. This meaſure on the part of the parliament was productive of very ſalutary effects; for as it conciliated the mind of the king,

king, it was embraced as a happy opportunity for paſſing a bill againſt monopolies, which had miſcarried through the long breach that had ſubſiſted between them. The bill was expreſſed in ſuch terms, that all monopolies, without exception, were condemned as inconſiſtent with law and the known liberties of the people. The houſe of commons likewiſe confirmed, by a new precedent, the important power of impeachment, which had been exerted ſome time before in the caſe of chancellor Bacon, and which before had lain dormant for more than a century paſt, excepting when it was employed on the part of the crown alone, thereby excluding the privilege of the ſubject.

While the attention of the Engliſh parliament was engroſſed by the Spaniſh match, and concerns relative to the commercial intereſts of the kingdom, freſh commotions were excited in Germany. The electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, jealous of the growing power of the houſe of Bavaria, and the untractable inſolence of the emperor, had ſignified their diſguſt, and James, after renewing his round of negotiation, brought matters to ſuch a criſis, that he wrote a letter to the king of Bohemia, wherein he adviſed him to lay down his arms, and ſubmit to an arbitration between him and the emperor; but Frederic would not hearken to ſuch advice, and James ſeemed inclinable to have him aſſiſted powerfully, could he have ſecured the concurrence of the Dutch or the French. But this pacific negotiation on the part of the king of England was fruſtrated by an event that happened at Amboyna in the Eaſt Indies, in the beginning of the preceding year. It had been agreed, four years before, in a treaty between England and the United States, that the Dutch, as a compenſation for the immenſe expence they had been at in obtaining the trade to the Molucca iſlands, Banda, and Amboyna, from the Spaniards and Portugueſe, ſhould enjoy two thirds of that trade, and the Engliſh one third. Purſuant to this treaty, the Engliſh factories were founded at the reſpective ſettlements; but the Dutch, deſirous of monopolizing the ſpice trade in particular, feigned a pretence that a plan had been concerted between the Engliſh and the natives to ſeize the fort of Amboyna, in order to exclude them from one part of that trade. To vindicate their right thus pretendedly infringed by this attempt, the Engliſh were tortured in the moſt cruel manner, ten of whom, together with nine Japoneſe and one Portugueſe, were ignominiouſly executed, though they proteſted their innocence to the very laſt.

The artful and fallacious manœuvres of the miniſter Buckingham to fruſtrate the intended marriage between the prince of Wales and the Infanta, at length became apparent to the king, and though he ſtifled his reſentment for certain reaſons, he conceived an averſion to him which he was determined openly to avow, on the arrival of the earl of Briſtol.

Notwithſtanding ſuch were the diſguſt and reſolution of the king, Buckingham, who wiſhed to put off the day of retribution for his fallacious conduct towards his blind infatuated ſovereign, wrought on his mind ſo powerfully, that he procured an order for committing the earl to the Tower, immediately upon his landing in England, and though he was ſoon after releaſed, orders were ſent him by the king, to retire to his country ſeat and not approach the court. The earl obeyed the mandate of his ſovereign; but aſſerted his right of appeal to him for the rectitude of his conduct, as well as alledging circumſtances to criminate the favourite, who, alarmed at the reſolution of Briſtol, declared, in concurrence with the the prince of Wales, that they were willing to be reconciled to him if he would confeſs his errors; but he diſdained to purchaſe favour at ſo dear a rate, and the favourite thereupon determined to proſecute his intention of completing his ruin.

To further the deſigns and vindicate the cauſe of the injured earl, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, (having previouſly cautioned him to read it apart,) put a paper into the hands of the king, in which he aſſured him, that the prince and Buckingham had formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and had the whole court at their devotion; that cabals were raiſing among the popular leaders in parliament, extremely prejudicial to his perſon and government, and therefore, that it behoved him, by one vigorous effort, to aſſert his independency, and to chaſtiſe thoſe who had ſo groſsly infringed on his royal prerogative. But ſuch was the infatuation of this weak prince, that this repreſentation produced no real effect; indeed, he gave ſome oblique hints of jealouſy of the favourite, which, however, ſoon vaniſhed.

A deſign was conceived in the ſummer, of making ſome military preparations to oppoſe the Spaniſh monarch, and to aſſiſt the elector palatine. An army of ſix thouſand men was, therefore, raiſed and tranſported into Holland, under the command of four young noblemen, who were ambitious of ſignalizing their valour on this occaſion.

While this matter was in agitation, the king received intelligence from his ambaſſador at the court of France, that Lewis XIII. was diſpoſed to attend to an overture of marriage between the prince of Wales and his ſiſter the princeſs Henrietta Maria, in conſequence of which the earl of Carliſle was appointed to negotiate the affair, in conjunction with the earl of Holland.

James affected, at the commencement of this affair, a concern for the ſecurity of the proteſtant cauſe and intereſt, but at length being apprehenſive leſt his ſon ſhould be diſappointed of a bride, the Chriſtian king no ſooner interpoſed his mediation in behalf of the Catholics, than orders were given for the releaſe of thoſe of that faith who had been impriſoned ſince the petition of parliament. So ſtrong was the deſire of the Engliſh monarch to terminate this affair, that in a few months the articles were ſigned at Paris, being in ſubſtance much the ſame as thoſe concluded with Spain; for as prince Charles, while in Spain, had given a verbal promiſe to leave to the infanta the education of her children till they attained to the age of thirteen years, this article was alſo inſerted in the treaty; and this very circumſtance ſeems to have given riſe to the ſubſequent and juſt expulſion of the race of Stuarts from the throne of the realms.

To facilitate the propoſed match, the court of France, with their uſual perfidy, had made pompous promiſes, though in general terms, not only of affording a free paſſage to the Engliſh troops, but alſo of ſending them powerful ſuccours in their march towards the Palatinate, and the Engliſh council were ſo imprudent as to conſider theſe profeſſions as ſincere. The troops were embarked, indeed, at Dover, but on their arrival before Calais, found that no orders were come for their admiſſion. In conſequence of this, embaſſies were continually diſpatched between the Engliſh and French courts, till the French equivocally urged the expediency of deliberation, previous to the fulfilmen

filment of their engagements. The Engliſh forces directed their courſe towards Zealand, where, before any meaſures could be taken for their landing, great numbers were carried off by a peſtilential diſeaſe, and thoſe that remained, weakened by ſickneſs and diſcouraged by misfortunes, were deemed incapable of the intended expedition.

This negotiation between the powers of England and France, evinces the greateſt duplicity and perfidy on the one part, and the utmoſt credulity and puſillanimity on the other; indeed, it appears, from a review of that part of the hiſtory, which relates to the different tranſactions that have paſſed between theſe nations, that the Engliſh miniſtry have in general been duped by French policy, if not bribed by French gold.

Commotions ſtill continued in various parts of Ireland at the inſtigation of the Spaniſh monarch and the Roman pontiff. But their malicious efforts were greatly fruſtrated by the powerful influence, both as an orator and a writer, of Dr. Uſher, archbiſhop of Armagh, who ſtood forth an able and zealous champion of the proteſtant cauſe.

A. D. 1625. This was the laſt memorable tranſaction in the reign of James I. who ſoon after departed this tranſitory life at Theobalds, in Hertfordſhire, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, having reigned in England twenty-two years, and over Scotland almoſt from his infancy.

The character of this monarch, like that of moſt others, has been miſrepreſented through the influence of party prejudice, and religious bigotry, which have induced writers to applaud or condemn as actuated by their own particular prejudices, or prepoſſeſſions. On an impartial ſurvey, however, of his life and conduct, whether we conſider him as a man, or a king, we cannot hold him up as an example to poſterity. That he poſſeſſed ſome talents is indiſputable, but that in general he perverted them, muſt alſo be granted. Though he appears to have had ſome ſkill in logic, his actions ſeem rarely to have been guided by the dictates of reaſon and common ſenſe; indeed, he was a ſlave to the meaner paſſions, and therefore proſtituted favours on the moſt unworthy and deſpicable objects. As a king, he was ambitious, deſpotic, and tyrannical; characteriſtics, which have branded his name with the moſt indelible odium.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of James I.

A. D.
1603 Maſter of the ceremonies firſt appointed at the Engliſh court
Cauliflowers firſt planted in England.
1604 This year the plague raged with great violence, and in London only carried off upwards of 30,000 of the inhabitants.
1605 Drunkenneſs puniſhed in England by a fine of 5s. for each offence, or the offender placed in the ſtocks.
The title of king of Great Britain firſt uſed by the Engliſh ſovereigns.
1605 Hugh Calverly, of Calverly in Yorkſhire, Eſq. having murdered two of his children, and ſtabbed his wife in a fit of jealouſy, being arraigned for his crime at York aſſizes, ſtood mute, and was thereupon preſſed to death in the caſtle.
1608 Allum firſt manufactured in England.
Aſparagus firſt planted in England.
1609 Mulberry trees firſt planted in England.
1610 Artillery company of London inſtituted.
1614 This year the firſt ſhip was ſent from England to Greenland to catch whales.
The New River brought from Amwell, in Hertfordſhire to London, by Sir Hugh Middleton.
Powdering the hair firſt introduced.
1615 Bands for lawyers firſt uſed.
Smithfield firſt paved.
1617 Whalebone firſt brought to England.
1620 Tapeſtry firſt manufactured in England at Mortlake.
Coining with a die firſt uſed in England.
1621 Licences for public-houſes firſt granted.
1624 The Thames made navigable to Oxford.
1625 Hackney coaches firſt uſed in London, when they were limited to no more than 20 in number.

CHAP. II.

CHARLES I.

Succeeds his father on the throne. Marries the princeſs Henrietta Maria of France. Proſecutes the Spaniſh war. Evinces an arbitrary diſpoſition. Conſtitutional rights aſſerted by parliament. Aſſaſſination of the Duke of Buckingham by Felton. The nation aggrieved by enormous taxes. The Proteſtants oppreſſed and perſecuted. Commotions in Scotland from the king's attempt to introduce church conformity. Memorable tranſactions of the houſe of commons, in the maintenance of the religious as well as civil rights of the people. Trial and execution of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Stafford. The king viſits his Scottiſh dominions. Inſurrections in Ireland, attended with horrid maſſacres. Charles returns from Scotland. Parliamentary tranſactions. Various events of the war between the royal and parliamentary armies. Trial and execution of archbiſhop Laud. Abolition of the liturgy of the church of England. Succeſs of the parliamentary army againſt the royaliſts. Diſſentions between the Preſbyterian and Independent parties. Power civil and religious engroſſed by the army. The king ſeized, and committed to cloſe confinement. His trial. Affecting ſcene at taking leave of his children. His death and character.

ACCORDING to the uſual form and ceremony upon ſuch occaſions, prince Charles, on the demiſe of his father, was proclaimed king in all the public places of the metropolis, and from the general good opinion the people entertained of him, aſcended the throne with the eclat of univerſal approbation. The principal object of his regard upon his acceſſion, was the conſummation of the marriage with the princeſs Henrietta Maria of France, of which notice being ſent to the French court, that princeſs ſet out with her retinue, and arriving at Dover on the twelfth of July, the nuptials were ſolemnized the following day with great pomp and magnificence.

The marriage being thus conſummated, the young king immediately dirrected his attention to the great concerns of the nation; and on the meeting of the parliament, he repreſented, in a ſhort ſpeech, to both houſes, the ſituation of public affairs, the war in which he was engaged with the king of Spain, together with the difficulty of reſtoring the palatine to his dominions; and thence inferred the neceſſity of a proportionate ſupply. The commons deliberated on the particulars re-

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

CHARLES
I

Waledelin *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Dumferling in Scotland Nov.r 19. 1600. | *Crowned at Westminster February. 2. 1626.* | *Beheaded at Whitehall Jan.y 30. 1648.9.*

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counted in his ſpeech; but, after all, could not be induced to grant his majeſty more than a ſupply of two ſubſidies, amounting only to about an hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. Charles very prudently ſeemed ſatisfied with the grant, deeming it an earneſt of the good affections of his people, and not doubting but he ſhould obtain farther ſupplies before the cloſe of the ſeſſion.

The influence of the minion Buckingham now began to decline. It is natural to ſuppoſe, from the honours he engroſſed, and the wealth he had accumulated, that he was as obnoxious to the people in general as to the courtiers in particular. Indeed, on the acceſſion of Charles, the nation laboured under many grievances, which loudly called for redreſs.

The houſe of commons was at this time filled with men of diſtinguiſhed abilities, who, inſpired with the ardent love of liberty, ſaw with regret an unlimited power uſurped by the crown, and were determined to ſeize the opportunity which the king's neceſſities afforded, of circumſcribing the prerogative within more reaſonable bounds. They therefore came to an unanimous reſolution not to grant any ſupplies till the king had given up ſome points that reſpected the liberty of the ſubject. But, juſt as this determination might appear in itſelf, Charles could not entertain the ſame ſentiments; and was, therefore, not a little ſurpriſed, that the parliament ſhould refuſe to ſupport the expences of a war that had been undertaken at their own requeſt. It is evident, that the king inherited the arbitrary principles of his father, and that they invariably actuated his whole conduct, from his acceſſion to the throne, till they unhappily terminated in his death. While he meant to requeſt, he ſeemed to threaten; and by declaring, that reſpectful treatment would endear him to the uſe of parliaments, he might naturally be ſuppoſed to inſinuate, that harſh treatment would prejudice him againſt thoſe popular aſſemblies, and perhaps induce him to diſcontinue them entirely; a power which, however deſirous he might be to uſurp, the commons were by no means whatever willing to allow.

Notwithſtanding the diſagreement between the king and his parliament, Charles was determined to proſecute the Spaniſh war with vigour, and accordingly ſent the duke of Buckingham, and the earl of Holland, ambaſſadors to the United Provinces, where, at the Hague, they met the ambaſſadors of France and Denmark, and concluded a league with them and the States, for reſtoring the liberties of Germany.

To carry on this intention, as he was denied the parliamentary aid he required, Charles iſſued privy ſeals for borrowing money from his ſubjects, by means of which he was at length enabled to fit out a fleet. It conſiſted of eighty veſſels, and had on board ten regiments of infantry. Sir Edward Cecil, lately promoted to the title of viſcount Wimbleton, was appointed commander, and had under him the earl of Eſſex as vice-admiral. They bent their courſe for Cadiz, where the enemy was fully prepared to meet them, and the attack of Port Puntal was, with twenty Engliſh and five Dutch ſhips, committed to Eſſex, who was ſo intent upon ſtorming the port, that he was charged by the commander in chief of the land forces, with ſuffering the ſhipping, which formed the line, to give him battle to eſcape. But this charge ſeems rather invidious: however, on the reſult of the whole, the Spaniards retired to Port Real, and the earl of Eſſex, after many vigorous efforts, found it impracticable to take the Puntal on that ſide. Upon this, Sir John Burroughs, an old Engliſh officer, landed with his regiment, and driving ſome companies of Spaniards, who had oppoſed his landing, back to the fort, the governor ſurrendered. But this conqueſt was of no importance, for the raw Engliſh troops, tempted by the deliciouſneſs of the Spaniſh wines, indulged themſelves in ſuch exceſſes as produced univerſal confuſion. At length, diſſention increaſing among the officers, and diſeaſes among the private men, they abandoned the enterprize and returned to England, without having performed any one action of conſequence.

A. D. 1626. Notwithſtanding the failure of this expedition, and the very little probability of deriving any important advantage from the Spaniſh war, the king, on the opening of the ſeſſion of parliament this year, made that, together with the demands of his houſhold, a pretence for requiring their aid; and they accordingly voted him three ſubſidies and three fifteenths, to which they afterwards added one ſubſidy more.

It has been already obſerved, that the influence of Buckingham was viſibly on the decline; but now, in conſequence of the houſe of commons being, in general, as ſevere in their invectives againſt the minion, as they had before been laviſh of their encomiums in his favour, informations from all quarters were brought againſt him, and the commons proceeded, with great acrimony, in their enquiries concerning them. They accuſed him of having engroſſed many offices in his own perſon; of neglecting to guard the ſeas in quality of high-admiral; of furniſhing the French with ſhips in order to ſerve againſt the Hugonots; of procuring extenſive grants from the crown; and of giving medicines to the late king without the knowledge of his phyſicians. Theſe charges being never ſubſtantiated, have been deemed the fictions of his moſt inveterate foes to effect his ruin. However, the king, notwithſtanding the reſolution and rigour which the commons evinced in their proceedings againſt Buckingham, continued to diſcover his contempt and diſregard of them; for when they exclaimed againſt the favourite's being appointed to ſucceed the earl of Suffolk in the chancellorſhip of the univerſity of Cambridge, the king was ſo imprudent as to write with his own hand a letter to the univerſity, thanking them for their choice. Nay, he was ſo imprudent as to threaten the commons, in one of his meſſages, that if they did not furniſh him with ſupplies, he muſt be obliged to try new councils.

The parliament being convinced by this, as well as former inſtances, of the king's proceedings, of an arbitrary diſpoſition, which evidently ſhewed his deſire of obtaining a deſpotic ſway, determined to purſue ſuch cautious meaſures as might obſtruct his ambitious and unconſtitutional deſigns. Accordingly, two members of the houſe, who had managed the impeachment againſt Buckingham, having been committed to priſon, the commons declared, they would deſiſt from all farther buſineſs, until ſatisfaction ſhould be given them for this violation of their privileges.

The king alledged in excuſe, that thoſe members, in their impeachment, had uſed ſome ſeditious expreſſions; but as, upon examination, the pretence appeared to be groundleſs, the members were diſmiſſed, and Charles, upon the whole of this affair, not only ſhewed his arbitrary principles, but expoſed himſelf, in a particular manner, to the reſentment of the parliament. The

The houſe of lords, who had been, ſome time, inactive ſpectators of the meaſures of the commons, now determined to aſſert their privileges, and inſiſted upon the releaſe of the earl of Arundel, who had been ſome time committed to the Tower; and the king, with much apparent reluctance, complied with their requeſt.

It appears, from the ſequel, that Charles, in the aſſurance he gave the commons of a general redreſs of religious grievances, had been actuated by a view of engaging them to compliance with his exorbitant demands by way of ſupply; for the houſe, finding him rather diſpoſed to defer the fulfillment of his promiſe, actually claimed the execution of the penal laws enacted againſt the catholics, preſenting him, at the ſame time, with a liſt of perſons inveſted with offices under the government, who were either convicted or ſuſpected of popery. By this method of proceeding they intended to include Buckingham, as his mother, who had great influence over him, was a catholic, and the indulgence given them, of conſequence, thought to be wholly owing to his credit and authority.

After a minute and critical inveſtigation of the general conduct of Buckingham, they could not find ſufficient ground for impeachment: however, conſidering him as a very incapable miniſter, as well as dangerous minion, they came to a reſolution to preſent a petition for removing him from his majeſty's councils and perſon for ever. The king, incenſed at this meaſure, reſolved on the diſſolution of the parliament, and carried his determination into execution notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the peers, who entreated him to permit them to ſit a little longer. But as the commons had the utmoſt reaſon to expect this meaſure, they haſtily finiſhed and induſtriouſly diſperſed their remonſtrance, which they preſumed would amply vindicate their proceedings to the public.

A paper war enſued upon theſe proceedings between the king and parliament, which, of courſe, excited violent animoſities amongſt the partiſans on both ſides. Application being made to the council, they granted a commiſſion for compounding with the catholics, and agreeing for a diſpenſation with the penal laws, which had been paſſed againſt them. This was a circumſtance highly pleaſing to the king, as it produced the ſupply refuſed by parliament, and diſappointed the hopes of the puritanical ſect, who were the objects of his averſion.

To raiſe the ſupplies for fitting out a powerful fleet, an order of council was iſſued for all the ſea-ports to equip a certain number of veſſels, and the city of London was rated at twenty ſhips. This taxation, which had been impoſed by queen Elizabeth, and afterwards aggravated by Charles, produced great diſcontent among the people. Such methods of ſupply, though exceeding unconſtitutional, were purſued, till intelligence arrived that the king of Denmark was defeated by the imperial general, in a great and deciſive engagement.

A ſupply being now abſolutely requiſite for the defence of the kingdom, the council, after ſome deliberation, paſſed an act, importing, that as the then exigency of the ſtate would not admit of the leaſt delay, the moſt ſpeedy and convenient method would be, a general loan from the public, to be levied according to every perſon's reſpective aſſeſſment.

But the form and mode they purſued in effecting this neceſſary purpoſe were exceeding unpopular, as well as dangerous in their conſequences; as appears from the following injunction laid on the commiſſioners appointed to gather the money: "If any ſhall refuſe to lend, and ſhall make delays and excuſes, and perſiſt in his obſtinacy, you ſhall examine him upon oath whether he has been dealt with, to deny or refuſe to lend, or make an excuſe for not lending; who has dealt with him, and what ſpeeches and perſuaſions were uſed to that purpoſe. And you ſhall alſo charge every ſuch perſon, in his majeſty's name, upon his allegiance, not to reveal to any one what was his anſwer."

But this aſſumption of inquiſitorial right excited the ridicule rather than dread of the public, who ſeemed determined to concur in the aſſertion of their legal privileges; while the council, to enforce their arbitrary meaſures, tampered with ſome creatures among the clergy, who preached and publiſhed ſermons, not only recommending the loan, but inculcating the odious doctrine of paſſive obedience in its full extent; inſiſting that the authority of the ſtate was veſted in the king alone, and condemning all reſtrictions of laws as ſeditious and impious.

To add a ſanction to the efforts of theſe infamous hirelings, the king interpoſed his eccleſiaſtical authority, in the ſuſpenſion and confinement of archbiſhop Abbot, merely becauſe that venerable prelate had refuſed to licenſe one of thoſe ſermons as ſubverſive of the civil and religious liberties of England. Theſe united means, however, had no influence over the people in general, who diſcovered a zeal for the aſſertion of a juſt cauſe, inſomuch that numbers abſolutely declined all concern in the loan.

The council now arrogated to themſelves a lawleſs power in impriſoning many who refuſed to comply with their peremptory mandates; but the perſons ſo confined were generally diſmiſſed after preſenting petitions to the king. Five knights of conſiderable property defended their liberties at their own hazard and expence, demanding enlargement, not as a favour from the court, but as their right by the laws of their country. No reaſon was given for their confinement, but the warrant from the king and council; ſo that it was affirmed by law, that this plea was not a ſufficient cauſe for denying the priſoners bail or enlargement.

A. D. 1627. Through the interference of ſeveral zealous and powerful adherents to the cauſe of the people, the legality of theſe warrants iſſued from the king and council, independent of parliament, was litigated in the court of King's Bench. On ſumming up the matter, after a formal diſcuſſion, and due attention to the ſeveral debates, it appeared, that the parliaments of England had ever moſt cautiouſly guarded againſt the encroachments of deſpotiſm, and for that purpoſe had enacted ſix ſevere ſtatutes, and among the reſt a ſpecial artile of Magna Charta, the moſt ſacred foundation of the laws and conſtitution of the realm. It likewiſe appeared that, upon extraordinary occaſions, ſuch as foreign invaſions, or domeſtic inſurrections, theſe articles had been diſpenſed with; but as no ſuch urgency could be pleaded in the preſent caſe, it was thought impoſſible that the judges could decide in favour of their arbitrary proceedings, ſo oppoſite to the expreſs letter of the law, and repugnant to the very genius of the Engliſh conſtitution: all, therefore, they thought proper to do in ſo critical a caſe was, to refuſe the bail that was offered.

But the nation at this time was not only diſtracted by internal feuds and lawleſs oppreſſions, but alſo harraſſed by ſoldiers being quartered all over the kingdom; as if impoſitions were to be laid on the people by force of arms. Many perſons likewiſe of inferior rank in life, who joined in the oppoſition to unconſtitutional meaſures, were impreſſed, and obliged to ſerve in the fleet or army; and this is the firſt reign ſtigmatized with a practice ſo incongruous with the character of a free ſtate.

Notwithſtanding the odium Charles had incurred from his deſpotic meaſures, the ill ſucceſs of his arms in Germany, and the exhauſted ſtate of his finances at home, he was ſo infatuated as to meditate and embark in a war with France as well as Spain, though thoſe two powers united were a match for all Europe. The king is ſaid, by the generality of thoſe who had ſeconded this abſurd tranſaction, to have been inſtigated to it by the perſuaſion of the miniſter Buckingham, who was prompted to this advice by diſappointed ambition and implacable reſentment.

The duke had been ſent to aſſiſt at the royal nuptials celebrated by proxy in France, where his exalted character, together with the ſplendor of his equipage, and the graceſulneſs of his perſon, contributed to procure him univerſal reſpect and veneration. Intoxicated with the honours that were heaped upon him by the court, he ambitiouſly aſpired to the favour of the queen-mother herſelf, and is ſaid to have made an impreſſion upon the heart of that princeſs. This opinion was founded on more than ſurmiſe, for it is very certain, that after his departure from Paris on the buſineſs for which he was ſent thither, he privately returned, paid her a viſit, and was diſmiſſed with a reproof, that betokened more kindneſs than diſapprobation.

But cardinal Richlieu, as conſummate a courtier as ſtateſman, fired at the aſpiring ambition of the Engliſh favourite, deſcended from an obſcure origin, determined to level his touring project, and accordingly prevailed on the French king, when the duke was preparing for a new embaſſy to Paris, to inform him by meſſage, "that he muſt lay "aſide all thoughts of ſuch a journey;" but the haughty Buckingham exclaimed in a rage, that he "would ſee the queen in ſpite of the whole "power of France;" and from that very moment reſolved to embroil the two nations.

To foment the diſſentions he had already excited, Buckingham perſuaded the king to diſmiſs all the queen's French attendants; though the marriage articles poſitively ſtipulated their continuance in their reſpective poſts and employments. He likewiſe not only permitted but encouraged Engliſh ſhips of war to make captures of French merchantmen, and condemned them as lawful prizes. But perceiving that even theſe injuries could not effect an open rupture, as they were only followed by remonſtrances, or at moſt by repriſals on the part of France, he determined to ſupport the intereſt of the duke of Soubiſe, and engage at once in a military expedition againſt that nation.

Soubiſe, who was a moſt ſanguine advocate for the Proteſtant cauſe, being then in London, was perſuaded by Buckingham to ſolicit Charles to vindicate the wrongs which the Hugonots ſuffered in France. Though the king was particularly averſe to theſe Hugonots, from their ſimilarity in principles to the puritans of his kingdom, he was ſo wrought on through the repreſentations of Soubiſe, urged and enforced by the preſſing inſtances of his miniſter, that, with the utmoſt expedition, he made the moſt formidabe preparations for an invaſion of France, and committed ſo important and hazardous an undertaking to Buckingham, though literally unſkilled both in naval and military manœuvres; ſo that on the arrival of the fleet before Rochelle the inhabitants ſhut the gates in defiance, refuſing them admittance, till made acquainted with the purport of their viſit.

Buckingham, foiled in all his attempts both naval and military as commander in chief, inſtead of invading Oleron, a fertile and defenceleſs iſland, directed his courſe to the iſle of Rhé, a place ſtrongly garriſoned and well fortified both by art and nature. Having landed his men with conſiderable loſs, he relaxed in his operations; and allowed the French governor five days reſpite, during which the fort of St. Martin was furniſhed with great ſtore of proviſion, and put into a poſture of defence. Beſides, he was ſo careleſs in guarding the ſea, that the garriſon received continual reinforcements, ſo that deſpairing of being able to reduce it by famine, he aſſaulted it without having made any breach, and raſhly, as well as cruelly, ſacrificed the lives of his ſoldiers. Underſtanding, at length, that a body of French troops had ſtolen over in ſmall parties, and landed at Priè, he began to think of a retreat, but made it with ſo little judgment, that it was equal to a total defeat. He was the laſt of the whole army that embarked: he returned to England, after an expedition carried on with as much weakneſs and more expence, as it had been ſuggeſted by folly and preſumption. The lives of the greateſt part of his men were ſacrificed to the temerity of a commander, of whom nothing can be ſaid in commendation, but a ſignal diſplay of perſonal courage and reſolution.

A. D. 1628. Theſe important loſſes evidently reſulting from the king's obſtinate attachment to a favourite, added to the former diſguſt of the people: they ſaw their liberties encroached on; illegal taxes impoſed; their commerce ruined; their military glory ſtained by two unſucceſsful enterprizes; they apprehended greater calamities from perſiſting in a war with two powerful monarchs, and all theſe diſtreſsful circumſtances were but too juſtly attributed to the obſtinacy of their ſovereign, in adhering to the councils of Buckingham, who had given ſo many proofs of incapacity for the due diſcharge of the important truſt veſted in him by an infatuated king.

The ſtate of public affairs was involved in ſuch perplexity through the mal-adminiſtration of Charles, his miniſter, and partizans, that they were reduced to the diſagreeable expedient of calling a parliament. To introduce this deſign on the tapis, Sir Robert Cotton, one of Buckingham's dependants, propoſed that the duke himſelf ſhould be the firſt perſon who ſhould mention in council, the aſſembling a new parliament; by which means it was imagined, all his former faults would be excuſed, and that inſtead of a tyrannical oppreſſor, he would be conſidered as the firſt patriot in the kingdom. But this plan, like moſt of thoſe projected by an infamous junto, fell to the ground, being too palpable to eſcape the detection of the diſcerning part of both houſes. But this ſcheme had no effect, as the view of the leading men in both houſes were more rational and profound.

At the opening of the ſeſſion, notwithſtanding the late flagrant violations of the privileges of

the ſubjects in general, and of parliament in particular, in the impriſonment of ſeveral of the members, they proceeded with great order and decorum, in the grand buſineſs of the nation.

Charles had given repeated proofs of averſion to parliamentary reſtraint in the proſecution of arbitrary meaſures, and now openly and explicitly avowed his principles in the following part of his ſpeech; "that if they ſhould not do "their duties in contributing to the exigencies of "the ſtate, he muſt, in diſcharge of his conſcience, "uſe thoſe means which Providence had put into "his hand, in order to ſecure that prerogative "which was endangered by the follies of ſome "particular perſons." This intimation was enforced by the lord-keeper, who, purſuant to his majeſty's command, ſubjoined, "that his majeſty "had choſen the way of parliamentary ſupplies "as the fitteſt method; not that he was deſtitute "of others, but becauſe it was moſt agreeable to "his own gracious diſpoſition; and that if ſuch "means were deferred, neceſſity and the ſword of "the enemy might make way to the others." He concluded with theſe remarkable words, "Re-"member his majeſty's admonition; I ſay, re-"member it."

Theſe ſpeeches, however, though conceived in haughty language, and uttered with an air of confident importance, did not deter the commons from entering on the means of redreſſing public grievances; reſtraining the exerciſe of lawleſs power; fixing the limits of the royal prerogative, and ſecuring the rights and privileges of the people. Having diſpatched theſe grand and important duties to themſelves in particular, and the body of the people in general, as their legal repreſentatives, they proceeded to the buſineſs of the ſupply, and in order to convince his majeſty, that they were readily diſpoſed to relieve his neceſſities, provided he would comply with their juſt demands, they voted him five entire ſubſidies; a ſum with which Charles declared his entire ſatisfaction, and promiſed to comply with all their reaſonable requeſts.

But they wiſely deferred paſſing the ſupply into an act, having experienced, in many former inſtances, that the moſt liberal grants were not only proſtituted to unworthy purpoſes, but inſufficient to ſecure their privileges againſt future invaſions. With this proviſo they nominated a committee to draw up the form of ſo important a law; they aſpired not, as they declared, to any new or unuſual privileges, but only aimed at ſecuring thoſe which had been tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors: this law they determined to call "a pe-"tition of right," thereby intimating, that it contained only an explanation of their ancient privileges, not any infringement of royal prerogative or acquiſition of new liberties.

The upper houſe, generally diſpoſed from their elevated rank in life to ſupport the prerogative in its utmoſt extent, propoſed a more moderate law, and recommended the ſame to the conſideration of the commons, who reſolutely perſiſting in defence of "the petition of right," it paſſed the houſe, and only waited the royal aſſent to carry it into execution.

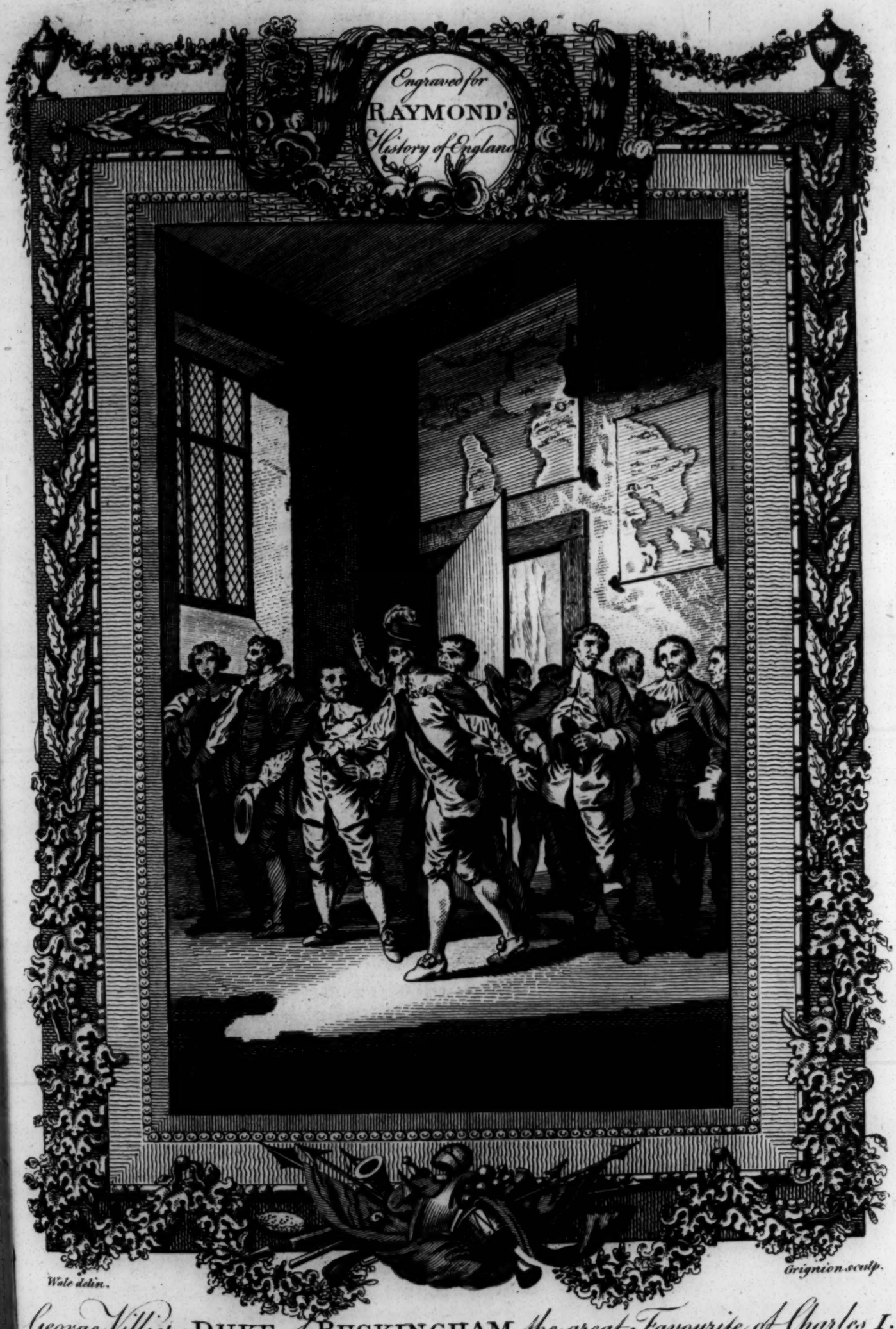
When the king came to the houſe of peers to ſettle this important point, he ſent for the commons, and being ſeated in his chair of ſtate, the petition was read before him; after which he thus addreſſed the houſe: "The king willeth, that right "be done according to the laws and cuſtoms of "the realm, and that the ſtatutes be put in due "execution; that his ſubjects may have no cauſe "to complain of any wrong of oppreſſion contrary "to their juſt rights and liberties, to the preſerva-"tion whereof he holds himſelf in conſcience as "much obliged as of his own prerogative." But the commons, deeming this ſpeech equivocal and by no means agreeable to their deſire, returned to the houſe, and proceeded to take under conſideration the caſe of the duke of Buckingham, whom they juſtly deemed the author of many grievances, under which the nation then laboured.

To protect his favourite from public reſentment, the king anticipated the deſigns of the commons, by granting them the full import of the petition according to its moſt extenſive reference, and for that purpoſe he came to the houſe and ſtamped it with the royal aſſent. As a gratification for this compliance, they immedietely granted a very large ſubſidy, and having thus balanced accounts with his majeſty, continued to carry their reſearches into every abuſe of government.

The miniſter Buckingham ſeemed to be the determined victim of their wrongs and injuries; for they unanimouſly reſolved to preſent a remonſtrance to his majeſty, recapitulating the national grievances and calamities, to which his arrogance and ambition were ſuppoſed to have given riſe. But Charles, to prevent ſo diſagreeable an addreſs from being preſented, prorogued the parliament. Being now freed for ſome time from the reſtraints of parliament, Charles turned his attention towards foreign wars, in which his efforts were as unſucceſsful, as in domeſtic government.

The reign of the favourite now approached its period, and he fell a ſacrifice to that very paſſion of revenge he ſo often gratified in his behaviour and conduct towards others. His brother-in-law lord Denbigh, having incurred the imputation of cowardice, in declining to engage the enemy's fleet off Rochelle, which he had been ſent to relieve, to wipe off this ſtain, Buckingham repaired to Portſmouth, where he had equipped a conſiderable armament, but before he could ſet out on his expedition, he met with death from the hands of a deſperate aſſaſſin, which, had he ſurvived much longer, he would probably have ſuffered from the laws of his country.

It ſeems the duke had been applied to by one Felton, a lieutenant in the navy, for a company vacated by his captain's having been killed in a late expedition, but being denied, he had reſigned his commiſſion and retired in diſguſt. Watching an opportunity for wreaking his vengeance on the duke, he followed him to Portſmouth, where having heard that he had an appointment with ſome gentlemen at a certain houſe, he waited for him near the entrance, and as he turned about in the paſſage to ſpeak to a colonel in the army, ſtabbed him to the heart with a knife. The duke exclaiming, "the villain has killed me," drew out the knife, and inſtantly expired. No one had perceived the blow, nor obſerved the perſon that gave it; near the door, however, was found a hat, in the inſide of which was ſewed a paper, inſcribed with a few lines of that remonſtrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom, and containing ſome private reaſons of the aſſaſſin for the commiſſion of the fact. From this circumſtance it was naturally concluded that the hat belonged to Felton, and in the mean time, a perſon without a hat being obſerved to walk very compoſedly



George Villiers DUKE *of* BUCKINGHAM, *the great Favourite of Charles I.*
STABBED *at* PORTSMOUTH *by* FELTON *the Assassin.*

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Charles had given repeated proofs of averſion to parliamentary reſtraint in the proſecution of arbitrary meaſures, and now openly and explicitly avowed his principles in the following part of his ſpeech; "that if they ſhould not do "their duties in contributing to the exigencies of "the ſtate, he muſt, in diſcharge of his conſcience, "uſe thoſe means which Providence had put into "his hand, in order to ſecure that prerogative "which was endangered by the follies of ſome "particular perſons." This intimation was enforced by the lord-keeper, who, purſuant to his majeſty's command, ſubjoined, "that his majeſty "had choſen the way of parliamentary ſupplies "as the fitteſt method; not that he was deſtitute "of others, but becauſe it was moſt agreeable to "his own gracious diſpoſition; and that if ſuch "means were deferred, neceſſity and the ſword of "the enemy might make way to the others." He concluded with theſe remarkable words, "Re-"member his majeſty's admonition; I ſay, re-"member it."

Theſe ſpeeches, however, though conceived in haughty language, and uttered with an air of confident importance, did not deter the commons from entering on the means of redreſſing public grievances; reſtraining the exerciſe of lawleſs power; fixing the limits of the royal prerogative, and ſecuring the rights and privileges of the people. Having diſpatched theſe grand and important duties to themſelves in particular, and the body of the people in general, as their legal repreſentatives, they proceeded to the buſineſs of the ſupply, and in order to convince his majeſty, that they were readily diſpoſed to relieve his neceſſities, provided he would comply with their juſt demands, they voted him five entire ſubſidies; a ſum with which Charles declared his entire ſatisfaction, and promiſed to comply with all their reaſonable requeſts.

But they wiſely deferred paſſing the ſupply into an act, having experienced, in many former inſtances, that the moſt liberal grants were not only proſtituted to unworthy purpoſes, but inſufficient to ſecure their privileges againſt future invaſions. With this proviſo they nominated a committee to draw up the form of ſo important a law; they aſpired not, as they declared, to any new or unuſual privileges, but only aimed at ſecuring thoſe which had been tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors: this law they determined to call "a pe-"tition of right," thereby intimating, that it contained only an explanation of their ancient privileges, not any infringement of royal prerogative or acquiſition of new liberties.

The upper houſe, generally diſpoſed from their elevated rank in life to ſupport the prerogative in its utmoſt extent, propoſed a more moderate law, and recommended the ſame to the conſideration of the commons, who reſolutely perſiſting in defence of "the petition of right," it paſſed the houſe, and only waited the royal aſſent to carry it into execution.

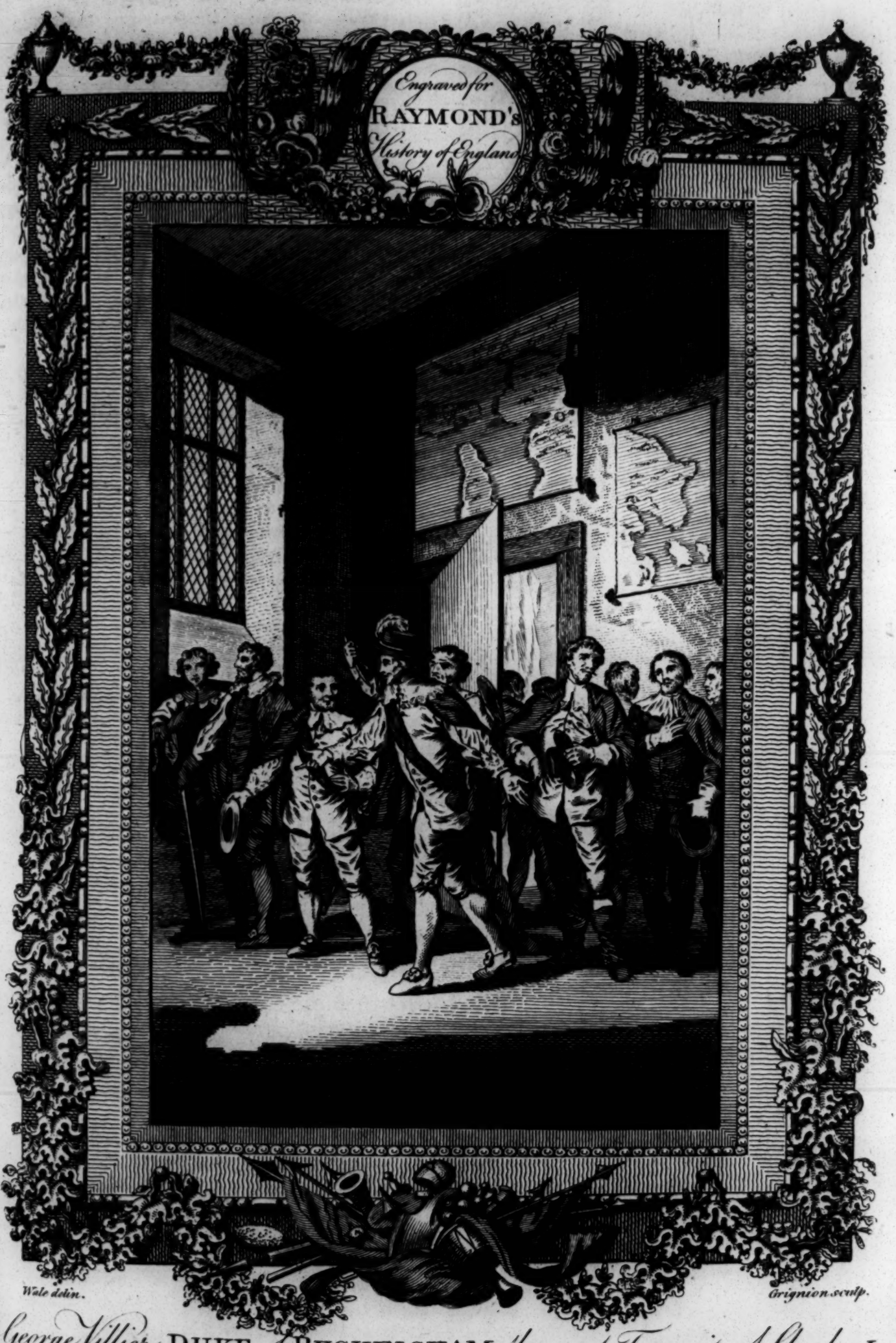
When the king came to the houſe of peers to ſettle this important point, he ſent for the commons, and being ſeated in his chair of ſtate, the petition was read before him; after which he thus addreſſed the houſe: "The king willeth, that right "be done according to the laws and cuſtoms of "the realm, and that the ſtatutes be put in due "execution; that his ſubjects may have no cauſe "to complain of any wrong of oppreſſion contrary "to their juſt rights and liberties, to the preſerva-"tion whereof he holds himſelf in conſcience as "much obliged as of his own prerogative." But the commons, deeming this ſpeech equivocal and by no means agreeable to their deſire, returned to the houſe, and proceeded to take under conſideration the caſe of the duke of Buckingham, whom they juſtly deemed the author of many grievances, under which the nation then laboured.

To protect his favourite from public reſentment, the king anticipated the deſigns of the commons, by granting them the full import of the petition according to its moſt extenſive reference, and for that purpoſe he came to the houſe and ſtamped it with the royal aſſent. As a gratification for this compliance, they immedietely granted a very large ſubſidy, and having thus balanced accounts with his majeſty, continued to carry their reſearches into every abuſe of government.

The miniſter Buckingham ſeemed to be the determined victim of their wrongs and injuries; for they unanimouſly reſolved to preſent a remonſtrance to his majeſty, recapitulating the national grievances and calamities, to which his arrogance and ambition were ſuppoſed to have given riſe. But Charles, to prevent ſo diſagreeable an addreſs from being preſented, prorogued the parliament. Being now freed for ſome time from the reſtraints of parliament, Charles turned his attention towards foreign wars, in which his efforts were as unſucceſsful, as in domeſtic government.

The reign of the favourite now approached its period, and he fell a ſacrifice to that very paſſion of revenge he ſo often gratified in his behaviour and conduct towards others. His brother-in-law lord Denbigh, having incurred the imputation of cowardice, in declining to engage the enemy's fleet off Rochelle, which he had been ſent to relieve, to wipe off this ſtain, Buckingham repaired to Portſmouth, where he had equipped a conſiderable armament, but before he could ſet out on his expedition, he met with death from the hands of a deſperate aſſaſſin, which, had he ſurvived much longer, he would probably have ſuffered from the laws of his country.

It ſeems the duke had been applied to by one Felton, a lieutenant in the navy, for a company vacated by his captain's having been killed in a late expedition, but being denied, he had reſigned his commiſſion and retired in diſguſt. Watching an opportunity for wreaking his vengeance on the duke, he followed him to Portſmouth, where having heard that he had an appointment with ſome gentlemen at a certain houſe, he waited for him near the entrance, and as he turned about in the paſſage to ſpeak to a colonel in the army, ſtabbed him to the heart with a knife. The duke exclaiming, "the villain has killed me," drew out the knife, and inſtantly expired. No one had perceived the blow, nor obſerved the perſon that gave it; near the door, however, was found a hat, in the inſide of which was ſewed a paper, inſcribed with a few lines of that remonſtrance of the commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom, and containing ſome private reaſons of the aſſaſſin for the commiſſion of the fact. From this circumſtance it was naturally concluded that the hat belonged to Felton, and in the mean time, a perſon without a hat being obſerved to walk very compoſedly



George Villiers DUKE *of* BUCKINGHAM, *the great Favourite of Charles I.*
STABBED *at* PORTSMOUTH *by* FELTON *the Assassin.*

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composedly before the door, there was a general cry, "here is the villain who killed the duke." The man replied, with great intrepidity, "True, I "am he;" and resolutely exposed his naked breast to the swords of the assailants, being desirous to save himself by instant death from the disgrace of a public execution. Felton boldly avowed the fact, and being asked at whose instigation he had committed that atrocious crime, replied, that they need not concern themselves about that matter; that the resolution was entirely owing to the suggestions of his own conscience; that his motives would appear if his hat was found; for that apprehending he should perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them. Charles was so affected at the untimely fate of his favourite, that he commanded the assassin to be put to the torture, to extort from him a discovery of his accomplices, but he at length desisted from enforcing his mandate, on the judges giving their opinion against such a proceeding. Thus fell the minister Buckingham, by the poniard of resentment. We will not attempt to justify the act, but would only hold it up as a memento to succeeding favourites, in order that they may shun his example, lest they share his fate.

A. D. 1629. The conquest of Rochelle by the French, after a fruitless attempt of the earl of Lindsay to relieve it, with other unfortunate incidents, could not fail to weaken the king's authority with the commons. They accordingly availed themselves of the same, by rectifying many abuses ecclesiastical and political, but their sudden prorogation, however, hindered them from bringing the matter to a final conclusion.

Notwithstanding the late spirited behaviour of the commons, Sir John Elliot, Valentine, and Hollis, were summoned to answer in the king's bench for the pointed remonstrances they had made in the house, which the ministers were pleased to term disloyal; but refusing to account in an inferior court for their conduct, as members of a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to pay a fine, and to give security for their good behaviour.

A. D. 1630. Charles having, on every occasion that presented itself, evinced a disposition arbitrary in the highest degree, repugnant to the very genius of English liberty, and thereby rendered himself so obnoxious to his sujects and parliament, as to frustrate every attempt to raise subsidies adequate to the prosecution of a war with two of the most powerful potentates in Europe, was reduced to the necessity of concluding a peace on terms that reflected no more honour on his arms, than they had acquired by his military exploits.

The negotiation which followed was as frivolous as fruitless. Charles had entered into a private agreement with Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, by which he engaged to support him in his intended invasion of Germany; but that he might save appearances with the house of Austria, he employed the marquis of Hamilton to levy the troops destined for that purpose. The Swede, however, did not perform his part of the agreement, and Charles withdrew his forces, after having incurred much expence without gaining either profit or honour.

The person who principally engrossed the royal favour on the decease of the late minister, was Laud, bishop of London, afterwards promoted to the see of Canterbury, a prelate of some parts and learning, but strongly suspected of an attachment to popery. The doctrine of the puritans had now made great advances in England, and the king, by the advice of bishop Laud, sent instuctions to all the prelates in the kingdom, enjoining them, amongst other things, to take the greatest care that no puritan minister should be admitted into the church; and to discover all such teachers as should neglect the rites prescribed by the canons. It is therefore no wonder that the puritans conceived the most implacable hatred against Laud, who, in the end, severely felt the effects of their resentment. The archbishop now made great and even apparent strides in favour of the Romish religion; for at his instance, when a certain sum was imposed on each county for the maintenance of a regular militia, compositions were openly made with Catholics, and their religion became a regular part of the revenue.

A. D. 1631. Recourse was now had to methods of raising money equally oppressive to the subject, injurious to trade and commerce, and destructive of industry. The last parliament of this king's predecessor, which abolished monopolies, had made an exception in favour of new inventions; and, on pretence of these, and of establishing new companies and corporations, this grievance was now renewed.

The aversion of Charles to any parliamentary restraint has been strongly marked in many preceding parts of his reign, but in none so pointedly as in the following instances: besides some innovations introduced by the late king, with the council of York erected by patent from Henry VIII. without consent or authority of parliament Charles had ventured to enlarge its powers, and to invest it with a kind of civil jurisdiction, which, in some respects, was even discretionary. In consequence of this illegal measure, all the northern counties were deprived of the protection of the common law, and subjected to an authority which was wholly arbitrary. The court of Star-chamber was a grievance no less intolerable; it infringed upon the privileges of the other courts, imposed the heaviest fines, and inflicted the severest punishments beyond the usual courts of justice.

A. D. 1632-3. He also revived an act of Edward II. compelling persons possessing twenty pounds per annum, of landed property, to appear and receive the honour of knighthood. Edward VI. and queen Elizabeth, who had employed this expedient for raising money, had summoned only those possessed of forty pounds a year and upwards, to receive the honour of knighthood, or compound for their neglect; and Charles, without considering the great alteration in the value of money since this law was enacted, followed the example of those monarchs. He appointed commissioners for establishing the rates of composition, and enjoined them not to accept of a less sum than the person would have paid upon a tax of three subsidies and a half. These arbitrary measures met with little opposition; Sir David Foulis, indeed, was fined five thousand pounds, chiefly because he had persuaded a friend to refuse compounding with the commissioners.

Taxes were now levied on various articles of trade, manufactures, and domestic conveniencies. Commissioners were appointed for collecting, and officers for receiving the same; as if the king was as desirous of stripping his subjects of their property, as he had been of depriving them of their liberty.

liberty. In ſhort, he evinced throughout the whole tenor of his conduct, principles diametrically repugnant to the true intereſt, welfare, and happineſs of his ſubjects, and his prevailing foible was an implicit deference to the queen, who, being a bigot to popery, inſtigated him to meaſures ſubverſive of the Proteſtant cauſe.

To further his deſigns in Scotland, the king viſited thoſe parts of his dominions in the ſpring, accompanied by his court, in order to hold a parliament there, to paſs through the ceremony of his coronation, and to eſtabliſh, if poſſible, the Engliſh liturgy in that country. The act for regulating the habits of clergymen was eaſily paſſed; but the attempt to introduce the liturgy was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

Charles, immediately on his return to England, preferred his favourite Laud, biſhop of London, to the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, vacant on the demiſe of Abbot the late dioceſan. The newly erected primate procured the ſee of London for his friend Juxon, but though he was poſſeſſed of many virtues and endowed with a good underſtanding, his promotion was exceeding diſagreeable to the nation.

A. D. 1634. As Laud determined to maintain eccleſiaſtical dignity with great rigour, proſecutions were commenced, and the ſevereſt puniſhments inflicted on the ſmalleſt pretences. As an inſtance one Prynne, a barriſter of Lincoln's-Inn, but a bigotted and even fanatical puritan, having compoſed a volume, entitled Hiſtorio Maſtyx, intended to explode muſical and theatrical diverſions, in which were ſome oblique hints on the king and queen's encouraging the ſame, he was proſecuted in the Star-chamber, condemned to be expelled from the bar, to ſtand on the pillory in two places, to loſe both his ears, to pay a fine of a thouſand pounds to the king, and to be impriſoned during life.

Nor was this adminiſtration leſs attentive to pecuniary concerns, for the tax of ſhip money was impoſed during the courſe of this year; the firſt writs of that kind had been only directed to ſea-port towns, but ſhip money was now levied throughout the kingdom, and each county was aſſeſſed in a particular ſum, which was afterwards exacted from individuals.

There were many taxes levied at this time both reaſonable and neceſſary, and the candid and diſcerning part of the public did not object to theſe taxes conſidered in themſelves, but the mode in which they were both firſt paſſed as ſuch, and afterwards levied. For theſe being entirely arbitrary, by the ſame rule any other tax might be impoſed, and moſt perſons conſidered a powerful fleet, though very neceſſary, a poor compenſation for their liberties, which were thus ſacrificed in order to obtain it.

The higher claſs of people, and particularly the courtiers, now imperiouſly lorded it over the reſt of their fellow creatures and fellow ſubjects, as is always the caſe where deſpotiſm prevails,; and whenever the latter failed in what was ſuppoſed to be their duty, they were ſure to be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. One Granville, a private gentleman, having received an injury from the earl of Suffolk, had engaged in a law ſuit with him, and in the courſe of the trial, happened to ſay of that nobleman, that he was a baſe lord: the evidence againſt him was exceeding weak; yet for this ſlight offence, inſufficiently proved, he was condemned by the Star-chamber to pay a fine of eight thouſand pounds; one half to the earl, and the other to the king.

A perſon of the name of Alliſon was alſo expoſed to the ſentence of this oppreſſive and arbitrary tribunal. He had intimated that the archbiſhop of York inſtigated the king to many meaſures in favour of the Catholics, which by the Star-chamber being pronounced defamation, the culprit was fined ten thouſand pounds, obliged to find ſecurity for his good behaviour during life, and to ſtand on the pillory at Weſtminſter, and in three different towns of England. Theſe inſtances are adduced to demonſtrate the baneful influence of power perverted, through the prevalence of ambitious and arbitrary principles, when veſted in the hands of weak or wicked men. Nothing can be more injurious to ſociety, or deſtructive of the good order of government, as appears from the fatal conſequences which terminated this reign.

A. D. 1635. Amidſt theſe deſpotic meaſures, the king found leiſure to attend to the naval ſtate of the kingdom, and ſent a fleet under the command of the earl of Northumberland to ſeize the Dutch fiſhing veſſels which annoyed the Britiſh coaſt. Through this meaſure the Hollanders were obliged to purchaſe a licence for this ſeaſon, by paying the ſum of thirty thouſand pounds.

A. D. 1636. This ſquadron was ſent the following year to clear the channel and coaſts of a ſwarm of piratical adventurers, which had long infeſted the ſame to the interruption of commerce and diminution of the revenue. The Star-chamber penalties were alſo again enforced aginſt ſeveral individuals, who dared to oppoſe the arbitrary meaſures of a deſpotic government.

A. D. 1637. Religious perſecution began to break out with ſuch violence, that numbers of Proteſtants, and particularly thoſe of the ſect of Puritans emigrated to America, and there laid the foundation of a government, which enjoyed the moſt perfect liberty civil and eccleſiaſtical. To enforce the ſhip-money tax, whenever he was diſpoſed to gratify his own caprice, Charles obtained from a corrupt bench of judges, a declaration, that in caſe of neceſſity, the king might, by his own authority, levy that tax; and that he was the ſole judge of that neceſſity.

This proceeding in a great meaſure obviated the difficulty of levying the tax, as it enforced ſubmiſſion; one man, however, was found amidſt a torrent of oppreſſion and corruption, who nobly dared to oppoſe the arbitrary meaſures of the court, and to ſtand up in defence of the laws and liberties of his country.

John Hampden, immortalized in the page of hiſtory, having been rated at twenty ſhillings for an eſtate he poſſeſſed, determined, rather than comply with ſo illegal an impoſition, to try the event of a legal proſecution, and expoſe himſelf to all the reſentment and indignation of the court. The caſe was argued during twelve days in the exchequer chamber before all the judges of England, and the people beheld with the utmoſt anxiety every ſtep of a trial, which though it ſeemed to relate meerly to a private perſon, was for ever to decide the fate of national liberty.

After many and long debates, the prejudiced or proſtituted judges, notwithſtanding the crown lawyers had nothing in the end to oppoſe to the pleadings of Hampden's council, gave ſentence againſt him by a conſiderable majority; however, this diſtinguiſhed patriot, though he failed in carrying a particular point, laid the foundation of that neceſſary

ſary ſpirit of oppoſition, which at length ſtemmed the rapid progreſs of tyranny, that was ready to overwhelm the civil and religious rights and liberties of Britain.

It is but juſtice to record, that Scotland nobly withſtood the deſpotic meaſures of Charles and his tyrannical court. The preſent king was deſirous of completing the work that his father had begun, which was to reduce the Scottiſh church to perfect conformity with the Engliſh, and to effect that deſign, he propoſed to encreaſe both the numbers and authority of epiſcopal dignitaries. With this view the liturgy was literally copied from that of England, and tranſmitted to the clergy at Edinburgh, with orders to begin the uſe of it with all convenient ſpeed.

In conſequence of the royal mandate, on Eaſterday, the time appointed by proclamation, the dean of Edinburgh, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, began the ſervice, the biſhop himſelf and the members of the privy council being preſent; but he was ſoon interrupted by the populace, who exclaimed "a pope! a pope! an antichriſt! ſtone him." As this tumult prevented the continuation of the ſervice, the biſhop mounted the pulpit in order to appeaſe the multitude, who were ſo incenſed that they threw ſtools at him, inſulted the council, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that the magiſtrates were able to expel them, and to ſhut the church doors againſt them.

Notwithſtanding this tumult, and the repreſentation of the primate of Scotland, a man eminent for his learning and candour, who, together with the lord treaſurer, repaired to London to diſſuade the king from the purſuit of ſo unpopular a meaſure, he obſtinately perſiſted in his reſolution of introducing his liturgy into Scotland, and iſſued a proclamation, in which he pardoned all paſt offences, and exhorted all people to be more ſubmiſſive for the future, and to receive peaceably that form of worſhip which he was pleaſed to preſcribe.

According to the intimation Charles received from the primate and lord treaſurer, this proclamation was inſtantly oppoſed by a public proteſtation, preſented by the earl of Hume and lord Lindſay; and this was the firſt time that perſons of quality appeared to countenance the proceedings of the people. The ſpirit of diſcontent, which had been gradually ſpreading among all ranks of men, now blazed out at once. Four tables, as they were called, were eſtabliſhed in Edinburgh; one was compoſed of nobility, another of gentry, a third of miniſters, a fourth of burgeſſes; and among the firſt of their acts was the production of the covenant.

The tenour of this memorable covenant was a ſolemn abjuration of the ſupremacy, doctrines, ceremonies and tenets of the church of Rome, and a general agreement confirmed by oath of the parties, to aſſiſt each other, and concur in the defence of their religion, againſt all innovations, or oppoſition, whatſoever.

A. D. 1638. Charles, alarmed at theſe ſtrenuous efforts, ſent the marquis of Hamilton as his commiſſioner into Scotland, and impowered him to treat with the covenanters. He inſiſted that the covenant ſhould be renounced and aboliſhed, and offered to ſuſpend the canons and the liturgy, until they could be introduced in a fair and legal manner. In anſwer to this propoſal, they plainly told the marquis, that, as they had engaged in a general combination to defend their civil and religious liberties, they were fully determined to hazard their lives and fortunes in ſupport of ſo good a cauſe. Hamilton, finding all his attempts ineffectual, returned to London, and was immediately ſent back with more ſatisfactory offers. The king therefore from compulſion agreed to diſpenſe with divers ceremonies and forms, which he found to be highly obnoxious to the kingdom, and as a proof of his conciliatory diſpoſition, empowered his commiſſioner to convoke firſt an aſſembly, and then a parliament, when every public grievance might be redreſſed.

Theſe conceſſions, however, on the part of the king, were very far from being ſatisfactory to the covenanters, who had entered into an agreement to convoke a general aſſembly even without the king's permiſſion. By an order of the tables, whoſe authority was ſupreme, an elder from every pariſh was empowered to attend the preſbytery, and to vote in the choice both of the commiſſioners and miniſters, who ſhould be ſent to the aſſembly; and to every commiſſioner four lay-aſſeſſors were aſſigned, who, though they could have no vote, might interpoſe with their council and authority in the aſſembly.

To fruſtrate every effort that had been uſed to introduce the hierarchy, and confirm their religious rights and privileges, acts were paſſed by the aſſembly convened at Glaſgow, not only condemning the liturgy, canons, high commiſſion, excommunicating fourteen biſhops, and abjuring epiſcopal government, but even annulling the ſubſcription of ſuch as had ſigned the confeſſion of faith according to the king's order, and to defend and ſupport theſe reſolutions by force of arms, if it ſhould be found neceſſary; military bodies were raiſed amongſt the vaſſals and dependants of ſeveral noblemen, who had embarked in the deſign.

A. D. 1639. The king incenſed at theſe bold attempts of the Scottiſh male-contents, determined at once to reduce them to obedience and conformity; and with that view fitted out a fleet, conſiſting of ſixteen ſail of large ſhips, and conferred the command on the marquis of Hamilton, with orders to ſail to the frith of Forth, and make a diverſion among the forces of the enemy. The army amounted to twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and was conducted by the earl of Arundel, a nobleman of great family, but diſtinguiſhed neither for his military or political talents. The Scottiſh army in point of infantry was equal to that of the king's, but inferior in cavalry; the officers had more experience, and the ſoldiers were fired with the proſpect of throwing off the yoke the king was deſirous of impoſing upon them.

Previouſly, however, to the actual commencement of hoſtilities, ſome of the more moderate and prudent of the leaders ſuggeſted the propriety of a dutiful addreſs to the king, praying for admittance to a treaty. Charles, influenced by ſome unſucceſsful attempts lately made by one of his generals, aſſented, ſo that a pacification was concluded, in which it was agreed, that within eight and forty hours, the Scots ſhould diſband their forces; that the king's forts ſhould be reſtored to him; his authority acknowledged, and a general aſſembly and parliament be forthwith ſummoned, in order to compromiſe all differences.

But the reſult of this temporary pacification by no means anſwered the expectations of the king; for a general aſſembly having been convened at Edinburgh, they then declared epiſcopacy to be unlaw-

unlawful in the church of Scotland; repreſented the liturgy and canons as popiſh inſtitutions; and affirmed the high commiſſion to be a ſtretch of tyranny. The parliament which met after the aſſembly, laid claim to ſeveral pretenſions, which tended ſtill farther to abridge the power of the crown; and on account of theſe claims, hoſtilities were re-commenced, with great advantages on the ſide of the covenanters, and infinite diſadvantages on that of the king.

Charles, on the ſettling of the late treaty, had, from the reduced ſtate of the public finances, been under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of diſbanding his forces; while the covenanters, ſenſible that their pretenſions would ſoon occaſion a freſh rupture, took care, in diſmiſſing their troops, to preſerve nothing but the appearance of peace. The officers were ordered to be ready on the firſt warning; the ſoldiers had the ſame charge; and the religious zeal which poſſeſſed all ranks of men made them flock to their ſtandards as ſoon as the ſignal was given.

Such was the alarming ſituation of affairs in Scotland, that Charles was again compelled, though with the utmoſt difficulty, to make military preparations, in order to oppoſe the male-contents. But being conſcious of the exhauſted ſtate of his exchequer, and conſequently of his inability to ſupport the expences of the ſame, recourſe was had to the only expedient, of ſummoning a parliament to raiſe the neceſſary ſupplies.

A. D. 1640. Charles having received private intelligence, that the male-contents had ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the French king, and partly repenting of the conceſſions he had made to the Scots, as well as offended at their late pretenſions, embraced this opportunity of breaking with them. He had committed to the Tower the lord Loudon, commiſſioner from the covenanters, one of the perſons who had ſubſcribed a treaſonable letter; and he now laid the matter before parliament, whom he hoped to inflame by the indignity, and alarm by the danger of this application to a foreign power. But all that he could urge had no effect on the commons, ſo that the king went to the houſe of peers, and entreated their good offices in his behalf with the other houſe. The peers complied with his requeſt, but the commons, ſtill perſiſting in their reſolution of humbling an haughty ſovereign, voted the interpoſition of the lords to be a breach of privilege; ſo that Charles, provoked at their paſt proceedings, and dreading the conſequences of their future, diſſolved the parliament. Various cauſes concurred at this time to inflame the minds of the people, and excite commotions in the ſouthern as well as northern parts of the king's dominions. The introduction of the pope's agent in a public capacity, at the inſtance of the queen, an avowed abettor of the Catholic religion, gave ſingular offence, and irritated the male-contents to a more vigorous exertion than ever, inſomuch that the king, after divers meaſures had been purſued, and many difficulties encountered, aſſembled an army, amounting to nine thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe. The earl of Northumberland was appointed commander in chief, the earl of Stafford acted as lieutenant general, and lord Conway was general of the horſe. The Scots, whoſe army was always held in readineſs, had already advanced to the borders of England, and were encamped at Newburn, about four miles from Newcaſtle. The lord Conway with a body of four thouſand men had intrenched on the other ſide, in order to defend the ford, but the Scots determined to force a paſſage. This, after ſome oppoſition, they effected, and took poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle, Conway having retired with precipitation to Durham.

With the advice of ſome prudent leaders, the Scots diſpatched meſſengers to the king, who was arrived at York, humbly to entreat admiſſion into his preſence, in order to lay their complaints before his majeſty. Charles, ſeeing no other method of ſtopping their progreſs, than by complying with their propoſals, agreed to a treaty, and appointed ſixteen Engliſh noblemen to confer with eleven Scottiſh commiſſioners at Rippon. But all that was done upon this occaſion, was the ſigning preliminary articles, providing for the maintenance of the Scottiſh army, and reviving the commerce which uſed to ſubſiſt between the two nations.

In order to expedite the deſign of this conference, or rather negotiation, it was transferred to London, and ordered to be laid before parliament. The commons attended moſt cordially to all public grievances, but the principal objects of their reſentment were archbiſhop Laud, and the earl of Stafford, whom they impeached of high treaſon, and committed to the cuſtody of the uſher of the black rod; and in a few days the latter was ſent to the Tower. The Scottiſh commiſſioners, who acted in concert with the puritan party, impeached Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, taxing him with being the cauſe of all the troubles in England and Scotland, and exciting a war between his majeſty and his ſubjects, for which the commons committed him to the Tower.

The lord keeper Finch, who from his abetting arbitrary meaſures had rendered himſelf extremely unpopular and was in danger of impeachment, ſecretly withdrew, and took refuge in Holland. Theſe ſtrenuous exertions of the repreſentatives of the people, in defence of their rights againſt the invaſion of deſpotiſm, produced a viſible declenſion in the intereſt of the king's party, which, added to the popular clamour, diſpoſed him to wiſh for an accommodation. The committee for examining the rights of the ſubject was ordered to draw up impeachments againſt lord keeper Finch, and the reſt of the judges, concerning the juriſdictions of eccleſiaſtical courts, and the court of admiralty, as well as their own illegal proceedings.

In the courſe of a parliamentary inveſtigation into the public grievances, as well as infringements on religious liberty, ſo many enormous inſtances of the arbitrary proceedings of the courts of high commiſſion in the provinces of Canterbury and York appeared, that the commons appointed commiſſioners to examine into the ſame.

A. D. 1641. Alarmed at theſe meaſures, the king went to the houſe of peers, where in a ſpeech he recommended diſpatch, in providing for the maintenance of the fleet and army, and obſerved the diſtinction between reforming and altering the government. The upper houſe would by no means accede to the expulſion of the prelates from their ſeats in the grand aſſembly; ſo that it was oppoſed by a great majority. The commons, however, to ſhew how little they were diſcouraged by this repulſe, preſented to the peers nine reaſons for excluding the biſhops from parliament, and in a few days afterwards, the peers voted that the prelates ſhould be maintained in their right to ſit in parliament. Upon this the commons paſſed a vote importing, that all deans, chapters,

chapters, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and their officers, ſhould be totally ſuppreſſed, and their revenues employed in the encouragement of ſcience, and other laudable uſes.

Encouraged by the ſucceſs of their attempts, in vindication of the religious rights of their conſtituents, the commons turned their attention to the civil intereſts of the nation. As the levying the duties of tonnage and poundage, without conſent of parliament, and even encreaſing them at pleaſure, was repugnant to the very genius of a free government, where the people, by their conſtitutional privileges, cannot be taxed but by their own conſent; ſuch encroachments, therefore, could no longer be endured by the then vigilant guardians of liberty. In the preamble, therefore, to the bill, by which theſe duties were granted to the king, the commons aſſerted, in the moſt clear and expreſs terms, their own right to beſtow this gift, and to deprive the crown of all independent title of aſſuming it: and in order to put the matter beyond all controverſy, they voted theſe duties only for two months, and reſerved to themſelves the power of renewing the grant, as they from time to time ſhould deem expedient.

Such was the urgent ſituation of affairs, that the king was under a neceſſity of paſſing even this bill, which deprived him of ſuch a large and conſiderable branch of his revenue. The next meaſure purſued by this very ſpirited houſe of commons, was to draw up a bill for triennial parliaments; to which his majeſty alſo ſubjoined his ſignature, from the ſame motives as had influenced him to ſuch compliant behaviour in divers late inſtances. However, he obtained the hearty thanks of both houſes, and the whole nation reſounded with ſhouts of joy and exultation. As a change of miniſters as well as meaſures was now deemed neceſſary, the king admitted into his council the earls of Hertford, Bedford, Eſſex, Briſtol, and Warwick; the lords Say, Kimbolton, and Saville. Juxon, biſhop of London, and friend of Laud, reſigned the poſt of treaſurer; and Oliver St. John was appointed ſolicitor-general.

In the mean time, the lower houſe proceeded with great rigour againſt the earl of Stafford. A committee was choſen to prepare the charges againſt him; authorized to examine witneſſes, and papers touching any part of the earl's conduct. They alſo took an oath of ſecrecy, that the earl might be perplexed in ſolving their enquiries, and from preparing for his defence.

To deprive him of the aſſiſtance of a powerful advocate, Sir George Ratcliff, the earl's intimate friend, was accuſed of high-treaſon, brought over from Ireland, and thrown into priſon. The Iriſh houſe of commons ſent over a committee to aſſiſt in the proſecution of Stafford, againſt whom they were highly incenſed; and indeed, the whole nation was bent on his deſtruction. Eight and twenty articles of impeachment were preferred againſt him; charging him with having been the cauſe of the war in Scotland; levying an army of Iriſh papiſts to enſlave the kingdom, and adviſing the king to eſtabliſh an abſolute government on the ruins of the conſtitution. The earl behaved with courage and compoſure; his defence was able and ſpirited. He acquitted himſelf of every imputation, except a few inſtances of indiſcretion, to which every man is liable.

Such was the prejudice which prevailed in general, with the members of the houſe of commons, againſt this unfortunate nobleman, that though they could not find juſt cauſe for proſecution, they were reſolutely bent on his deſtruction. With this view, young Vane pretended he had found ſome papers by accident in his father's cloſet, and as they were thought to bear teſtimony againſt the earl, his accuſers next day read them openly at his trial: they were intituled, No danger of war with Scotland if offenſive, not defenſive. The earl in his defence obſerved, that it was hard to be proſecuted for giving his opinion. After he had anſwered the different articles of impeachment, which were enforced with all the virulence of malice, and energy of elocution, he directed his diſcourſe to his children, and then to the lords preſent, with ſuch grace and elegance, that the audience (except a few hardened wretches) were deeply affected with his hapleſs fate.

To mitigate the rigour of ſuch proceedings againſt the earl, the king in his ſpeech to the parliament, after having aſſured them that Stafford ſhould never more be admitted into his councils, or any public poſt of government, requeſted that they would treat him with juſtice and lenity. The earl and his council produced ſuch weighty arguments in his defence, that the commons ſaw no proſpect of his deſtruction but by a bill of attainder, which paſſed the houſe after a long debate, and was immediately ſent to the houſe of lords.

To compleat their deſign againſt Stafford, a bill was brought in for the purpoſe of continuing the ſeſſion of this parliament, which ſhould not be prorogued or diſſolved without the conſent of both houſes, until the grievances ſhould be redreſſed. A majority of the peers voted the earl of Stafford guilty of high treaſon. This circumſtance affected the king in the moſt ſenſible manner; his counſellors adviſed him to give up the earl, in order to appeaſe the enraged people. Stafford himſelf, in a letter, gallantly exhorted his majeſty to ſacrifice him to a reconciliation with his ſubjects. The queen, who was no friend to the earl, uſed all her influence with the king to make him comply with inceſſant importunities, ſo that at length he conſented to their requeſt. Stafford, when he found that his ſovereign had conſented to his death, exclaimed with a ſtart of ſurprize and aſtoniſhment, "Put not your truſt in princes, nor "in the ſons of men; for in them there is no "ſalvation." The king, filled with compunction for his late conduct towards the unfortunate earl, addreſſed the peers in the ſtrongeſt terms, to recommend to the houſe of commons a mitigation of his ſentence; but the repreſentation of his majeſty was without effect, the commons obſtinately perſiſting in their reſolution.

The day of execution being fixed for the twelfth of May, on Tower-Hill, the earl appeared on the ſcaffold with that ſerenity, which is the attendant on true courage and conſcious innocence; obſerving, that a reformation begun with the ſhedding of innocent blood could not have a happy iſſue. Having bid a final adieu to his brother and friends, who attended him, and ſent a bleſſing to his near relations, who were abſent; "And now, ſaid he, "I have nigh done; one ſtroke will make my "wife a widow, my dear children fatherleſs, de-"prive my poor ſervants of an indulgent maſter, "and ſeparate me from my affectionate brother "and all my friends." In preparing himſelf for the block; "I thank God (added he) that I am "no way afraid of death, nor am daunted with "any terrors; but can reſign a weary life with the "utmoſt compoſure."

So

So finiſhed this precarious ſtate of exiſtence the illuſtrious Thomas Wentworth, earl of Stafford, a nobleman poſſeſſed of many amiable and recommendatory qualifications, but unhappily attached to ſuch principles as incurred the reſentment of the nation, and thereby brought him to a premature death. The king apprehended the moſt alarming conſequences from the fate of Stafford, inferring, that thoſe very men who had been acceſſary to the ſame, would perſiſt in their violent meaſures. This produced in him an immediate attention to every propoſal the parliament then thought proper to make; nor did they fail to avail themſelves of ſo favourable an opportunity, for by one ſtroke they ſuppreſſed all the taxes the king had heretofore impoſed; carried up an accuſation to the lords againſt thirteen biſhops, who had aſſiſted the king in levying money contrary to law; and aboliſhed the high commiſſion. Lord Digby, ſon to the earl of Briſtol, who had ſignalized himſelf in vindication of Stafford againſt his moſt powerful opponents, was not only called up to the houſe of peers, but honoured with particular tokens of royal favour and approbation.

Though the king was ſo circumſtanced as to comply with almoſt every requiſition of parliament, he peremptorily refuſed to diſband the Iriſh army; alledging, that he had engaged to ſend a body of four thouſand men into the Spaniſh ſervice, and could not violate his honour. But no maſters of veſſels would venture on the tranſporting troops into foreign parts; the commons having publiſhed a declaration that any perſon concerned in ſuch tranſportation, ſhould be deemed an enemy to the ſtate; and thus his majeſty's intentions were fruſtrated.

In conſequence of the diſputes which had long ſubſiſted between his majeſty and his Scotiſh ſubjects being ſettled through the concluſion of a treaty, their parliament reſumed buſineſs, and the king ſignified his pleaſure of aſſiſting at it in perſon. But the commons of England interpoſed their authority, and appointed a committee to attend him to Scotland, on pretence of conferring with the Scotiſh parliament, but in reality to inſpect the king's conduct. They then adjourned from the ninth of September, till the twentieth of October.

Purſuant to this reſolution, the king attended by the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hamilton, and the lord Willoughby, arrived at Edinburgh, where he found it convenient to acquieſce in every thing that the Scottiſh parliament propoſed. In order to acquire popularity in that nation, he promoted the earl of Argyle to the dignity of a marquis, Loudon to an earldom, and general Leſley was created earl of Leven. A law was enacted to prevent foreigners from being created peers of Scotland, unleſs they poſſeſſed eſtates in that kingdom. Argyle and Hamilton, having conceived a ſuſpicion that the earl of Crawford, and others, intended to murder them, left the parliament abruptly, and withdrew into the country.

The parliament of England, who had ſo ſtrenuouſly exerted themſelves in the cauſe of religious liberty, ſuſpecting from ſome late intelligence, that the Catholics of Scotland had formed a conſpiracy againſt them, to protect their perſons from ſuch attempts, obtained a guard by order of the earl of Eſſex, whom the king had appointed generaliſſimo, to attend the avenues of both houſes, during the time of their coming and going from thence.

While his majeſty was employed in ſettling affairs in Scotland, information was received of a dangerous inſurrection in Ireland, attended with dreadful ſcenes of rapine and ſlaughter. The old adherents to the Romiſh religion, ſince the advancement of the Proteſtant cauſe, had, it ſeems, been treated with ſome degree of rigour, reſpecting the forms and ceremonies of their worſhip. Animated by their prieſts, they reſolved to riſe throughout all the provinces in one day, and attack the Engliſh ſettlements, and it was agreed, that the caſtle of Dublin ſhould be ſurprized by lord Maguire and Sir Roger More, two of the leaders of the faction.

Matters having been duly concerted, Maguire and More repaired to Dublin, with a large body of their confederates, intending to attack the caſtle in the morning. But O'Connolly, a Proteſtant, revealing the ſecret, the juſtices and council took ſhelter in the city, and reinforced the guards. Maguire was taken, but More eſcaped.

The fate of the inſurgents in Dublin did not intimidate the inhabitants of other parts from proſecuting their deſign; for a rebellion broke out immediately after in Ulſter, where the horrid maſſacre that followed ſurpaſſes conception, and cannot be deſcribed without thrilling the human breaſt. During the ſpace of three months only, no leſs than forty thouſand fell victims to ſuperſtition and bigotry. The roads were crowded with ſpectacles of horror; men, women, and children, were driven naked into the fields, to periſh with cold and hunger; and more than ſavage barbarity exaſperated beyond all feeling, by religious phrenzy, left its dreadful tracts throughout the greater part of the nation. The juſtices aſſembled all the troops that were not already ſurrounded by the rebels, and thoſe, together with ſuch as inliſted in the ſervice, amounted to ſix thouſand, but ſix hundred were routed and put to the ſword, in their attempt to relieve the tower of Tredagh, which was beſieged by the natives.

An army of twenty thouſand rebels, under the command of lord Goſmanſtone, threatened to inveſt the city of Dublin; and in order to encourage the people to repair to their ſtandard, aſſumed to themſelves the title of the queen's army; nay, to cover the pretence with the ſemblance of authority, they affixed the ſeal torn from the royal patent of a general officer they had murdered, to a commiſſion, and preſented the ſame as duly ſigned and ſtamped.

His majeſty having applied by meſſage to the Engliſh parliament for a grant, to enable him to ſuppreſs this dangerous rebellion, the commons, with the conſent of the upper houſe, borrowed fifty thouſand pounds of the city of London, for the relief of Ireland. They alſo voted that two hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be raiſed and tranſported into that country, that a magazine of arms and ammunition ſhould be eſtabliſhed at Cheſter for the uſe of Dublin, and the ammunition at Carliſle be ſent to Carrickfergus.

But in all theſe meaſures the commons had particular regard to the preſervation of their own ſuperior importance, and the ſecurity of their property and rights, in caſe of commotions they apprehended in England, in conſequence of the rebellion of Ireland. By engroſſing the management of the war, they acquired an aſcendant in the army; they levied money under pretence of the Iriſh expedition, but received it for purpoſes in which they were more deeply intereſted; they took arms

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King CHARLES *the* FIRST *in the* HOUSE *of* COMMONS, *demanding the* FIVE *impeached* MEMBERS *to be delivered up to his* AUTHORITY.

arms from the king's magazines, but preſerved them with a ſecret intention of employing them againſt their ſovereign, and voted and paſſed every law they deemed neceſſary for the promotion of their ſchemes and deſigns.

Reſolved to curtail prerogative as much as poſſible, the commons drew up a remonſtrance replete with the utmoſt virulent malignity againſt the king's adminiſtration, ſince the commencement of his reign, and even from every accident that proceeded from the uncertain chance of war. Charles, however, met with a moſt favourable reception from the public on his return from Scotland, and entered London amidſt the univerſal plaudits of the people. Sir Richard Gournay, lord-mayor of London, a man of merit and influence, had promoted theſe favourable diſpoſitions, and prevailed on the populace to give the king theſe tokens of their duty and allegiance.

But the complacency ariſing from theſe tokens of public eſteem was but of ſhort duration, for his mind was ruffled and embarraſſed by a remonſtrance and petition preſented from the commons relative to the inſurrection in Ireland. To preſerve moderation in their meaſures, he anſwered the one in general but reſpectable terms, and publiſhed a declaration as to the other; but neither produced any favourable effect. He alſo recommended diſpatch in the relief of Ireland, and deſired they would appoint commiſſioners to treat with the two Scottiſh noblemen, deputed by the parliament of that kingdom to receive their propoſals, touching the ſuccours to be ſent from thence to Ireland. A committee was immediately appointed for that purpoſe.

The inſurgents of Ireland having, in a memorial preſented to the juſtices, demanded liberty of conſcience, and a toleration of the Romiſh religion in that kingdom, it was determined, by a majority of both houſes, to put an abſolute negative upon ſuch demand, as incompatible with the general intereſt of his majeſty's ſubjects. At this time multitudes of people crouded towards Weſtminſter, and abuſed the prelates and ſuch lords as adhered to the court. The peers drew up a declaration againſt theſe tumults, and ſent it to the other houſe, but they paid no regard to it.

During the tumults and riots which prevailed at this time in London, many apprentices being apprehended and committed to priſon, were immediately reſtored to their freedom; by an order of the commons. Hence aroſe the appellation of Round Heads, on account of the cropt hair worn by the apprentices, who, in return, gave their antagoniſts the name of Cavaliers.

Anarchy and confuſion now univerſally prevailing, it is not to be wondered that a licentious and diſſolute mob availed themſelves of the ſame, to make wanton depredations in defiance of law, juſtice, and every tie civil and ſacred. No ſteps being taken to reduce the people to order, and Mr. Pym being requeſted to uſe his influence for that purpoſe, he replied, "God forbid that people ſhould be hindered from obtaining their juſt deſires."

A proteſt having been preſented to the king by twelve prelates aſſembled at the palace of the archbiſhop of York, ſetting forth the inſults and injuries offered them in their attendance on their duty in parliament, and declaring againſt all tranſactions which might paſs there during their abſence, it was, by the upper houſe, laid before the commons, who immediately preferred an impeachment of high treaſon againſt the biſhops, as endeavouring to deſtroy the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the legiſlature. The prelates were therefore not only prohibited from attending parliament, but were alſo taken into cuſtody.

A. D. 1642. At the inſtance of lord Digby, a nobleman of conſiderable talents, but of a violent, impetuous temper, the king was unfortunately at this juncture prevailed upon to impeach lord Kimbolton, and five of the moſt popular commoners, of high treaſon. This proceeding being pronounced by the houſe (from which, it ſeems, there was no appeal) a breach of privilege, they entered into a reſolution of defending the liberty of the members thus encroached on. The king, incenſed at this oppoſition, went next day to the houſe in perſon, attended by his ordinary retinue, conſiſting of about two hundred perſons armed as uſual. The five members immediately withdrew, and they had ſcarce quitted the houſe, when the king entering, walked up to the ſpeaker's chair, ſaying, "By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I muſt make uſe "of your chair a little." Having ſeated himſelf, he looked around, and told them, he was ſorry that their refuſing to deliver the perſons he had impeached to his Serjeant at Arms, had obliged him to come to ſeize them in perſon; and then addreſſing himſelf to the ſpeaker, he aſked whether any of them was in the houſe. The ſpeaker, falling on his knees, replied, that he had neither eyes to ſee, nor tongue to ſpeak, in that place, but as directed by the houſe, whoſe ſervant he was, and begged his majeſty's pardon, that he could give no other anſwer. The commons were in the utmoſt confuſion, and when the king was leaving the houſe, ſome members cried aloud, "privilege, "privilege;" after which they adjourned from the fifth to the eleventh of January.

Charles, whoſe temper was compoſed of a mixture of obſtinacy and puſillanimity, ſeems to have repented of the reſolute meaſures he had lately purſued; for when the commons met, purſuant to adjournment, he ſent them a meſſage, offering to pardon the accuſed members, to aſſent to any law that ſhould acquit or ſecure them, and to make any reparation to the houſe for the breach of privilege, of which he owned they had reaſon to complain. But theſe conceſſions produced no effect in his favour; the commons being determined that his majeſty ſhould deliver up to juſtice the adviſers of his late illegal proceeding, as the only ſatisfaction he could make for their injured honour.

The breach between the king and parliament viſibly widening every day, and producing effects of an alarming nature, the queen made preparations for withdrawing to Holland; and to obviate immediate danger, ſhe perſuaded the king to comply with the demand of the commons, in hopes of ſuſpending the fury of the people, till ſhe ſhould effect her eſcape.

The commons, aſſured of the neceſſity of aſſerting their rights and privileges by force of arms, determined on the purſuit of thoſe means. According, a large magazine of arms being lodged in the town of Hull, they beſtowed the government of that place upon Sir John Hotham, forbiding him to deliver it up to any perſon whatever, except ſuch as ſhould be commiſſioned by the king, and both houſes of parliament.

Injunctions to the ſame effect were laid on Goring, governor of Portſmouth, and ſeveral others; and the commons poſſeſſed themſelves of extenſive power by giving the command of caſtles and forti-

fied places in general, to officers of their own appointment, and firmly attached to the common intereſts of the people.

An enthuſiaſtic zeal for liberty, which had manifeſted itſelf in ſo many inſtances, having deprived the officers, both civil and military, of that power which is neceſſary to enforce the execution of the laws, and preſerve the order of government, it was now deemed expedient to remedy this inconvenience. Accordingly, an ordinance was framed, and paſſed the two houſes, which reinſtated lieutenants and deputies in the poſſeſſion of their former powers; but at the ſame time, the names of all the lieutenants were mentioned in the ordinance, and theſe conſiſted entirely of perſons devoted to the ſervice of the parliament.

As the ordinance was preſented to the king, on his journey to Dover with the queen and princeſs, he returned for anſwer, that the particulars contained in it required ſome deliberation. The parliament pronounced this anſwer unſatisfactory, and declared, that in caſe he ſhould perſiſt in his refuſal, they were determined to regulate the militia by the authority of both houſes. They entreated he would reſide in ſome place near London, and begged leave to inform him, that the power of regulating the militia could not be granted to any community or corporation, without the authority of the parliament. With reſpect to the militia, he told them their requeſt was agreeable to juſtice and reaſon; but inſinuated ſome doubts reſpecting his own perſonal ſafety, ariſing from their requeſt of his reſiding in the vicinity of London; declaring, that as all his views centered in the intereſt and happineſs of his people, he relied on the guardianſhip of an all-diſpoſing Providence.

Theſe compliant meaſures induced the commons to revoke their reſolution reſpecting the militia; and on the ninth of March, the king being at Newmarket, they preſented him with a declaration, explaining the cauſe of their pretended fears and ſuſpicions, which they aſcribed to a fictitious plot againſt the religion and peace of the kingdom, formed by evil counſellors, by whom his majeſty had been miſled.

The apprehenſions of the king being greatly increaſed by the contents of this declaration, he determined to reſide in a ſituation more remote from London; and accordingly, taking with him the prince of Wales and the duke of York, he repaired to York, where, from the attachment that ſtill prevailed towards the hierarchy, he was received by the people with open arms.

Such was the popularity of Charles in the northern parts of the kingdom, that the principal inhabitants repaired to York, in order to pay their reſpects to their ſovereign, and to promiſe him their aid and aſſiſtance in his then neceſſities. Encouraged by this appearance in his favour, Charles began to retort the accuſation of the commons, with a ſpirit which he had never before diſcovered, and, unmoved by all their entreaties and menaces, perſiſted in his reſolution of refuſing the militia ordinance. But the commons, with their uſual reſolution, proceeded to eſtabliſh a new ordinance, in which, by the authority of the two houſes, the command of all the military force, and of all the garriſons and forts in the kingdom, was given to the lieutenants of the counties whom they had appointed.

Charles publiſhed a proclamation againſt this invaſion of his prerogative; and as he was firmly reſolved, he ſaid, to obey the laws himſelf, ſo was he determined to compel every other perſon to yield them a like obedience. As theſe meaſures, both on the part of the king and the parliament, could not fail of producing ſuch an avowed oppoſition as muſt terminate in open hoſtilities, the aim of both, at ſo critical a juncture, was to acquire popularity, as the moſt effectual means of furthering their reſpective deſigns.

A determined oppoſition now took place, and ſeemed, for ſome time, to be carried on with the utmoſt reſolution on both ſides. The king, eſcorted by a retinue of only three hundred horſe, on the 23d of April, demanded entrance into the town of Hull, which Sir John Hotham, the governor, refuſing, was proclaimed a traitor; but the parliament approved and juſtified his conduct. The forces which had been every where raiſed, on pretence of the ſervice of Ireland, were henceforth more openly inliſted by the parliament for their own purpoſes, and the command of them beſtowed on the earl of Eſſex. They iſſued orders for bringing in loans of money and plate for the maintenance of the army; and the people contributed with ſuch amazing alacrity, that in ten days no leſs than eleven millions are ſaid to have been collected; circumſtances which evidently proved a ſpirit of liberty actuated the people in general, whoſe efforts in oppoſition to deſpotiſm and hierarchy, prevailed againſt the united intereſts of the principal nobility in the kingdom.

The royal proclamation having been iſſued for transferring the courts of juſtice to York, the parliament prevented its execution; and, in order to bring the matter to a final iſſue, ſent the king certain conditions, on which they were willing to compromiſe the difference. The particulars of theſe conditions were, that no man ſhould continue in council, who was not agreeable to parliament; that no act of the king's ſhould be deemed valid unleſs it paſſed the council, and was atteſted under their hands; that all officers of ſtate ſhould be choſen with conſent of parliament; that none of the royal family ſhould marry without conſent of parliament or council; that the laws againſt catholics ſhould be ſtrictly executed; that popiſh lords ſhould be deprived of their votes; that the liturgy and church government ſhould be reformed according to advice of parliament; that the ordinance with regard to the militia ſhould be ratified; and that no peers be created but with conſent of parliament.

As theſe conditions were abſolutely levelled at the very extinction of the royal prerogative, which the king determined, at all events to maintain, he raiſed ſome forces, marched to the ſouthward, and at Nottingham erected his ſtandard, the open ſignal of civil war throughout the nation. Every advantageous circumſtance ſeemed to favour the parliament. London, and all the ſea-ports, except Newcaſtle, being in their hands, the cuſtoms afforded a conſtant fund of money, and all contributions, loans, and impoſitions, were more eaſily levied in the cities, which poſſeſſed ready money, than they could be raiſed by the king in thoſe open countries. The parliament intercepted the greateſt part of the ammunition and arms which the queen ſent from Holland; and the magazines were in their own hands.

The royal party was ſo inconſiderable in point of numbers, and ſo ill provided with arms and ammunition, that it was generally apprehended the king could never be induced to contend with foes

Wale delin. *Taylor sculp.*

KING CHARLES *the First after his retreat from York to* NOTTINGHAM, *ordering the* ROYAL STANDARD *to be erected on the* CASTLE.

foes so evidently superior in force, as well as determined in their resolution. The wretched condition in which he appeared at Nottingham strengthened these conjectures. He had been forced to leave his artillery behind him for want of horses to bring it up. His cavalry were only about eight hundred, and those ill accoutred, and (except the militia of the country, which had been raised by Digby the sheriff) he had only about three hundred infantry; while Essex, the general of the parliament, assembled an army of sixteen thousand men at Northampton, well armed, with an excellent train of artillery. Notwithstanding the reinforcements obtained from his partisans throughout all quarters of the kingdom, the king's army was in every respect so inadequate to that of his opponents, that he deemed it expedient, by slow marches, to withdraw to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury, that the levies which his friends were making in those parts might be increased by his presence.

To conciliate as much as possible that popularity which he foresaw must eventually decide the contention between prerogative and privilege, the king, on a general review of his forces at Wellington, solemnly protested, before the whole army and surrounding multitude, that he would maintain the true protestant religion, defend the rights and privileges of his subjects, and particularly observe those laws to which he had given his assent in the present parliament.

While the king's army lay encamped at Shrewsbury, himself was engaged in collecting money, which he received from the neighbouring gentry by voluntary contributions; and with the plate of the universities which was presented him, he received the news of an action, in which victory determined in favour of the royal party.

This victory was attended with success in another part; for the princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate palatine, having offered their services to the king, the former was appointed to the command of a party of horse, which had been ordered to Worcester, to watch the motions of Essex, who was advancing to that city. The prince had no sooner reached the place, than he perceived some of the enemy's cavalry advancing to the gates. Without delay he gallantly attacked them as they came out of a lane, and totally routed them, after killing their commander, and about thirty men on the spot, as well as taking several officers prisoners. This action, though in itself of little consequence, raised the reputation of prince Rupert, and flattered the royalists with hopes of success.

Fortune now seemed to favour the royal cause: the king had considerably augmented his army, and disposed of the command in the following manner: Lord Lindsay, who had been trained to military discipline in the Low Countries, was general; prince Rupert commanded the horse; Sir John Astley the foot; Sir Arthur Ashton the dragoons, and Sir John Heydon the artillery.

The royal and parliamentary armies had casually approached without the knowledge of either of the generals. The day was considerably advanced before prince Rupert gained intelligence of the situation of the enemy, of which the king was no sooner apprised, than he determined on an immediate engagement; and accordingly drew up his army on Edge-Hill, about two miles from the parliamentary forces.

The defection of Sir Faithful Fortescue, who had engaged in the cause of the people, and had been stationed on the left wing, but afterwards wheeled off and joined the royalists under the command of Prince Rupert, contributed not a little to the success of the day; insomuch that the adverse party was nearly routed, till Sir William Balfour, advancing with his reserve, fell upon the flank of the royalists, and did great execution. Lindsay, the general, was taken prisoner, after having been mortally wounded. His son, in attempting to rescue him was likewise made captive; Sir Edmund Verney, who bore the king's standard, was slain, and the standard seized, but it was afterwards recovered. It appears, from the immediate result, that the loss sustained by each party was nearly equal, and the prospect of victory equally doubtful, as, having rested all night on their arms, they took different routs the ensuing morning, indisposed to re-commence an attack.

The king with his party proceeded towards London, hoping to obtain a reinforcement from that quarter; of which the parliament receiving intelligence, they voted an address for a treaty, by way of gaining time, as their own army lay at a considerable distance, and the royal army was so near the capital.

The earls of Northumberland and Pembroke, with three commoners, presented the address of both houses, in which they entreated his majesty to chuse some convenient place where he might reside, till committees could attend him with proposals for an accommodation. Charles named Windsor, and demanded that his troops might be received into the castle instead of the garrison, which he desired might be withdrawn.

During the delay occasioned by the address, and the interval of time between the presentation and the answer, the parliamentary army, under the command of their general the earl of Essex, had reached London. But the king, far from being intimidated at their approach, attacked two of their regiments which were quartered at Brentford, drove them thence, and made about five hundred prisoners. But this being considered as a violation of treaty, the city of London sent the train-bands to reinforce Essex, whose army, already much larger than that of the king's, now amounted to about twenty-four thousand men. In consequence of this the king retired to Reading, and from thence marched back to Oxford, where he spent the winter season in making military preparations on the one hand, and projecting schemes of accommodation on the other; while the parliament was employed much in the same manner.

Though the king, during this inactive season, with the greatest difficulty raised means for the subsistence of his army, there were many other demands which he could not possibly supply; while the parliament had better and more certain methods of raising money, and consequently their military prepararions were in much greater order and readiness. Besides a tax levied in London, amounting to the twenty-fifth part of every one's substance, they imposed on that city a weekly assessment of ten thousand pounds, and another of twenty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen on the rest of the kingdom, and as their authority was very great in most counties, they found no great difficulty in levying these taxes.

A. D. 1643. The fate of this struggle between the king and parliament still remaining doubtful, and

and the reſult being equally important to each party, a treaty was renewed the beginning of this year, but without any ſuſpenſion of arms, as was at firſt propoſed. In this treaty, the king demanded the re-eſtabliſhment of the crown, in its legal powers, and the reſtoration of himſelf to his conſtitutional prerogatives; the parliament ſtill inſiſted on new conceſſions, and farther limitations of regal authority, as a more effectual ſecurity againſt future oppreſſions. The parliament recalled their commiſſioners, on finding that their differences were too great to promiſe any chance of an accommodation.

Hoſtilities were now carried on with the utmoſt vigour. Eſſex inveſted the town of Reading on the fifteenth of April, when Sir Arthur Aſhton, the governor, being dangerouſly wounded, colonel Fielding aſſumed the command. In a little time, the town was found to be no longer tenable, and though the king advanced with a deſign of compelling Eſſex to abandon the ſiege, the parliamentary army was ſo well diſpoſed, as rendered that ſcheme wholly impracticable. The town was, therefore, given up by Fielding, and on condition of his delivering up the deſerters, he was permitted to march out with the honours of war.

The conduct of the governor in ſurrendering the deſerters was deemed ſo puſillanimous as well as diſloyal, that he was tried by a court-martial and condemded to death, but pardoned, in conſideration of former ſervices, and lived to ſignalize his courage and fidelity on many different occaſions.

Eſſex being reinforced by a party under the command of Sir William Waller, having made an unſucceſsful attempt upon Worceſter, received orders from the two houſes to march towards Oxford, where the king was ſuppoſed to be in great diſtreſs for want of ammunition, and accordingly advanced to Thame, within a few miles of that city. During his ſtay in this place, colonel Urrey, a Scottiſh officer took this opportunity of deſerting to the king, and perſuaded prince Rupert to beat up the enemy's quarters, propoſing to go himſelf as a volunteer, with a detachment, which he conducted to part of theſe quarters, defeated ſome regiments, and brought a great number of priſoners to Oxford with a ſtrong body of horſe, and arriving by break of day at Wickham, routed two regiments of the enemy and cut them to pieces.

During this ſucceſsful attempt of the king's party, the commander of the parliamentary army detached ſome of his cavalry to cauſe a diverſion, till he could bring up his infantry. But this detachment was charged with ſuch fury by the royaliſts, that they fled, after having ſuſtained the loſs of ſome of their braveſt officers, and amongſt the reſt, the renowned John Hampden, who had the ſatisfaction of dying in opinion as he lived, in the ſervice of his country, and vindication of its deareſt rights and privileges. Lord Eſſex's forces, diſpirited by theſe diſaſters, being ſick and in great want of proviſions, were obliged to march to Uxbridge and St. Alban's to ſeek refreſhment.

When the royal army reached Oxford, colonel Urrey was recommended by the commander in chief to the king; who, as a reward for his bravery, conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and promoted him to the rank of general. The earl of Stamford about the middle of May marched into Cornwall, at the head of ſeven thouſand horſe and foot with a train of artillery, encamped on the top of a hill near Stratton, and detached Sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred cavalry, to ſurprize the high ſheriff of Bodmin. The Corniſh royaliſts under lord Mohun and Sir Ralph Hopton, ſeizing this opportunity of attacking their infantry, in the abſence of the horſe, formed their little body into four diviſions, and attacked the hill in ſo many different places. After a warm conteſt, they met upon the ſummit, diſarmed major Chudleigh, routed the parliamentary army, and took poſſeſſion of the camp and artillery; while the earl of Stamford fled to Exeter, and Chudleigh to Bodmin. The royaliſts then marched into Somerſetſhire, where they were joined by prince Maurice, and the marquis of Hertford.

Bridgewater and Dunbar caſtle were now reduced by theſe united forces, which compoſed an army of ſeventeen thouſand men, with a good train of artillery.

The fortune of war having favoured the royal army with theſe important ſucceſſes, which of courſe were attended with conſiderable loſs on the part of their opponents, it was deemed expedient to ſend Sir William Waller into Somerſetſhire to recruit. On this expedition he acted with ſuch caution, that a detachment of his army ſurprized that of the earl of Somerton; but were repulſed by the earl of Caernarvon, who purſued them ſo far, that he fell into a kind of ambuſcade, formed by a ſtrong party of Waller's dragoons; before which he was obliged to fly in his turn, till he was joined by prince Maurice, who here diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a ſignal victory over the enemy.

Sir William Waller having received intelligence that a part of the royal army was on the march to Mansfield in their way to Oxford, in order to intercept them, took poſſeſſion of Landſdown-hill, which he fortified with cannon and breaſt-works; then he detached a body of horſe towards Mansfield, from whence they were repulſed by the royaliſts, who marſhalled their army on the plain; but obſerving the advantageous ſituation of the enemy, retreated to their old quarters. But they were attacked on their retreat with ſuch ſpirit and reſolution by Waller's horſe, that their cavalry were diſperſed; however, they returned to the onſet with vigour, and put the parliamentary army to flight. The royaliſts then attacked the hill with intrepidity, and after an obſtinate engagement, gained the ſummit; the enemy concealing themſelves behind a ſtone wall, retired afterwards to Bath through favour of the night. Victory was at length obtained by the royaliſts, but with conſiderable loſs; many gallant, veteran officers fell in the attack. The day following the engagement, Sir Ralph Hopton, and major Sheldon were blown up by an exploſion of gunpowder, as they were ſurveying the field of battle on horſeback. The former's life was with difficulty preſerved, but the latter expired two days after the accident to the general regret of his fellow ſoldiers.

Lord Hertford intending to join the royal army began his march for Oxford, but Waller attended to his motions with ſuch vigilance, that finding impoſſible to reach that city with his whole army it was reſolved, that he and prince Maurice ſhould fight their way through the enemy; and that the infantry ſhould remain at the Devizes. Waller then beſieged that place, and the earl of Crawford marching to its relief, was intercepted by a ſtrong body of the enemy's cavalry, ſo that having loſt his whole convoy and ammunition, he preſerved his life with great difficulty.

The attack on the Devizes was carried on with ſuc-

such vigour, that the town was on the point of surrender, till relieved by a detachment of horse with two pieces of cannon, under command of lord Wilmot. Waller then drew up his forces to Roundway-down, in order to prevent that general from joining the king's troops; and Wilmot, hoping the infantry from the Devizes would join him during the action, resolved to give the enemy battle; when Waller, charging the royalists with his whole cavalry, met with such obstinate resistance, that his forces were routed with great slaughter. Wilmot, at this juncture, being joined by the Cornish infantry from the Devizes, attacked the enemy's foot with such impetuosity, that the greatest part of them were killed or taken prisoners; and the city of Bristol being in possession of the parliament, Waller and his few followers hastened thither, as their only asylum.

During these various events which attended the conflicts between the two armies, his majesty met the queen on the field of Keinton, who had brought with her for his service about two thousand infantry, and one thousand horse, well accoutred, together with six pieces of cannon, two mortars, and one hundred waggons of ammunition, which were safely conveyed to Oxford.

It having been determined in a council of the royalists to invest the city of Bristol, where the scattered remnants of the enemy's infantry had retired, the king undertook the siege, and proceeded by assault. But as the place was strongly fortified, and well supplied with military stores and provisions of every kind, the assailants were, at the onset, repulsed with considerable loss. At length colonel Washington breaking in upon the line, and opening a passage for the horse, the enemy quitted their posts, and retired within the town, when the governor marched out with his arms and baggage, surrendering the city, though the opponents had with great loss and difficulty only obtained possession of the suburbs.

The capture of Bristol was attended with the loss of many of the king's gallant officers, who bravely fell in carrying on the attack. Fiennes, the governor, was sentenced to death by the parliament, for having surrendered the city; but at the intercession of the earl of Essex, the sentence was remitted. The success of the parliamentary army was much obstructed by a disunion which prevailed between the commander in chief, and Sir William Waller, who upbraided each other with remissness in duty, and this circumstance, added to the late defeat, induced the parliament to apply to their friends in Scotland for assistance.

The king having received from the commander of the garrison of Gloucester, an assurance that he would surrender on a summons from his majesty in person, repaired thither, attended by the marquis of Hertford, and forthwith sent a trumpet to sound a summons, but received for answer, that the citizens would always keep their proper district, according to the commands of his majesty signified by both houses of parliament, so that the investiture of the place as a retaliation for the indignity offered to his majesty became inevitable.

The parliament who had long acted with vigour and unanimity, were now divided in their councils through the prevalence of faction and personal disgust. Edmund Waller, the celebrated poet of those days, opposed their measures with great force of argument, and formed an association of respectable persons, who refused the payment of taxes imposed without the royal assent. The councils of this association were over-heard, and communicated to several of the leaders of the opposite party; in consequence of which the abettors were apprehended and sentenced to death. Waller escaped with life, though principal in the scheme, through the base practices of information, dissimulation, and bribery.

In this critical situation of affairs, a covenant was framed and subscribed by lords, commons, and leaders of the parliamentary army, solemnly declaring that they would never lay down their arms, as long as the papists, who were in open war against them, should be screened from justice. To such a pitch did this faction rise, that they presented the house of lords with an impeachment, in which they accused the queen of high treason. The king, exasperated at this insult, issued a proclamation, forbidding his subjects to obey the orders of the two houses, whom he no longer looked on as a parliament. Many members withdrew themselves from the house, where they could not sit in safety. A great number of citizens went with a petition to parliament for peace, but they were attacked by one Hervey with a troop of horse under his command, and many of them put to death.

To protect the associated counties, and prosecute the opposition to the royalists with vigour, the parliament raised a fresh army, and bestowed the command on the earl of Manchester. They sent a committee to tamper with Essex, who had been greatly offended, and received Waller after the remitment of his sentence, with tokens of general esteem. The king's army had been successful in the west of England, and carried on the siege of Gloucester with vigour, till Essex having obtained a reinforcement fortunately arrived when the garrison was on the point of surrender, and compelled the assailants to raise the siege. Having reinforced the garrison, and added the necessary supplies, he hastened to Cirencester, where he surprized two regiments of the royalists, and seized a great quantity of provision designed for their army; from thence he proceeded to Wiltshire, having marched twenty miles before the king heard that he was in motion.

Divers skirmishes ensued between parties of the troops of Essex, and a detachment of the royalists under the command of prince Rupert, who charged the former with such vigour as to put their rear into confusion, so that next day the king took possession of Newbury with his foot, and Essex was obliged to lay in the field all night without tents or covering. He, however, disposed his army in excellent order, on Bishill, within a mile of the town.

At length a general engagement took place, and was sustained with equal bravery by both armies, which disdained to yield till night closed the doubtful battle. In the morning, however, neither party seemed disposed to renew the combat, for the king recalled his troops from the field; and Essex pursued his march towards Reading, which he reached with his cannon and baggage, after his rear had sustained considerable loss from prince Rupert, who charged it when in disorder, at the head of his horse, and one thousand musqueteers.

The earl of Sunderland and lord Falkland, men of virtue, courage and learning, fell in this action. The latter might be deemed a subject truly constitutional, for as he even opposed prerogative when exerted in violation of the rights of the people, so he likewise maintained prerogative against the

attempts of that republican ſpirit, which would ſap the foundation of a government.

Faction, and conſequently diſunion, now prevailed in the royal councils; the king's party, though ſmall, was divided through a jealouſy between thoſe noblemen that had ſignalized themſelves in the protection of their ſovereign, and the favourites of the queen, who were inceſſantly contending for poſts of honour and profit.

The parliament ſucceeded in their negotiation, through a committee detached by them into Scotland, to treat with the general aſſembly, with whom they entered into amicable terms, and ſigned a covenant for the extinction of epiſcopacy, and a more intimate connection between the parliaments of the reſpective nations. In conſequence of this treaty the Scots levied an army of twenty thouſand men for the ſervice of the parliament, and beſtowed the command of it upon their old general, the earl of Leven; who, without heſitation, accepted the offer, though he had ſolemnly ſworn never to bear arms againſt his majeſty. In the treaty between the two nations, it was ſtipulated, that the committee of the Scots ſhould always ſit with the cloſe committee at Weſtminſter, and that the conſent of both nations ſhould be obtained, before any treaty of peace ſhould be ſet on foot.

From the power now aſſumed, or rather uſurped, by the commons of England, that of royal prerogative ſeems to have been totally aboliſhed. They had prepared a new great ſeal, reſembling that which the lord-keeper Lyttleton had given to the king, and ſix commiſſioners being ſworn keepers of the great ſeal, the parliament publiſhed an ordinance, declaring void and invalid all grants and letters patent which had paſſed ſince the keeper left the houſe.

They alſo took upon them to try two of the king's meſſengers, who were ſent with writs to the judges at Weſtminſter, for adjourning the term to Oxford, one of whom was ſentenced to death, and the other to impriſonment for a term by them appointed. The king, to invalidate the claim which the remnant of Weſtminſter laid to the appellation of the parliament, iſſued a proclamation, ſummoning the members of both houſes to aſſemble at Oxford, on a certain day fixed for that purpoſe. He determined alſo to uſe part of the troops, that ſerved in Ireland for his defence, and the rebels of that kingdom had ſent repeated petitions to the king, beſeeching him to appoint commiſſioners to hear what he could ſay in his own vindication.

In conſequence of this addreſs, the earl of Ormond and ſeveral of the heads of the law were deputed to conclude with a committee appointed with the malecontents, a treaty for the ceſſation of hoſtilities for one year.

It was unanimouſly reſolved by both houſes aſſembled at Oxford, to ſend, with the concurrence of his majeſty, a meſſage to the earl of Eſſex, expreſſing their earneſt deſire, that perſons might be appointed on both ſides to treat for an accommodation. Eſſex ſent back the meſſenger, with a ſhort billet to the king's general, the earl of Brentford, ſignifying, that as the letter was not directed to the two houſes, he could not communicate its contents to the parliament.

The Scottiſh army, having penetrated into England, the marquis of Newcaſtle marched from York northwards, in order to oppoſe them; but colonel Bellaſis being defeated at Selby, by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the marquis was obliged to return and ſecure York, while Fairfax took his route towards Cheſhire. The marquis of Ormond ſent a body of foot from Ireland to Cheſter, where, joining the lord Byron, they reduced ſeveral places, and routed a party of parliamentarians at Middlewich. The fugitives retired to Nantwich, and the victors undertook the ſiege of that place; but Fairfax, in conjunction with Sir William Brereton, marching to the relief of the beſieged, charged them ſuddenly, and the garriſon making a ſally at the ſame time, the beſiegers were totally routed; lord Byron eſcaped with the cavalry to Cheſter; the famous colonel Monk (who afterwards engaged in the ſervice of the parliament) was taken priſoner, and committed to the Tower.

The parliament this year ſuſtained a very important loſs in the death of the famous John Pym, a zealous republican, whoſe counſel, example and influence had long been exerted with unremitting aſſiduity in vindication of the rights of the people, though perhaps he ſometimes ſwerved from that duty and allegiance, which, as a ſubject, he owed to his lawful ſovereign.

A. D. 1644. The rigour of the ſeaſon did not appear to relax the military preparations of either of the two contending parties. As the marquis of Newcaſtle retired, the Scots advanced farther into the kingdom. The town of Newark in Nottingſhire, garriſoned by the king's troops, being beſieged by lord Willoughby, and Sir John Meldrum, at the head of five thouſand men, the king detached prince Rupert with a body of forces to ſuccour the place. On his approach, Meldrum, who commanded in the abſence of lord Willoughby, marſhalled his army, and an action enſued, in which both fought gallantly till night, when Meldrum attempted to retire by a bridge, where he had poſted a ſtrong guard to ſecure his retreat; but being ſurrounded was obliged to capitulate on condition that he ſhould give up his arms, ammunition, and other effects, only that the troops ſhould retire with their horſes, and the infantry with their ſwords.

A party of the parliamentary army had beſieged the houſe of the counteſs of Derby at Latham, in Lancaſhire, in which ſhe had gallantly defended herſelf, till prince Rupert marched to her relief, when the aſſailants abandoned their enterprize; part of them reinforced the garriſon of Bolton, which the prince afterwards took by aſſault. The city of York having been inveſted by the parliamentary forces under the command of the earls of Mancheſter, Leven, and general Fairfax, prince Rupert was ordered by the king to its relief, on whoſe approach the enemy abandoned the ſiege, ſo that the prince entered the place in triumph. Elated with the ſucceſs of this enterprize, the prince, in a conference with the marquis of Newcaſtle, propoſed a general and deciſive engagement with the parliamentary army, and though that experienced commander ſtrongly objected to the meaſure, as highly inexpedient at that juncture, the prince ordered his troops to be in readineſs to engage next day. The marquis, who ſeemed to foreſee the conſequence of a battle, told him he would act as a volunteer only, but in that capacity was ready to obey the orders of the king's nephew.

The commander of the royaliſts perſevering in his reſolution, and the enemy being equally diſpoſed to hazard the fate of a general action, both armies were drawn up in order of battle on the third day of July. The prince commanded the left wing, conſiſting of five thouſand horſe, the

right wing was commanded by Sir Charles Lucas and colonel Urrey, and the main body by general Goring. The right wing of the enemy, conſiſting of all their cavalry, joined by three regiments of Scottiſh horſe, was commanded by Sir Thomas Fairfax, the left by the earl of Mancheſter and lieutenant general Cromwell; lord Fairfax took poſt with a body of reſerve, and the main body was commanded by the earl of Leven. Prince Rupert charged the right wing of the enemy, with ſuch reſolution, that they were totally routed, and the parliament's three generals quitting the field, fled towards Cawood caſtle.

Upon this occaſion Oliver Cromwell, afterwards renowned in hiſtory, for exploits as ſingular as were ever atchieved by man, ſignalized himſelf for the firſt time, in an attack of the right wing of the royaliſts, in which Newcaſtle acted as a volunteer. His valour and military ſkill changed the face of the battle, which however was maintained ſome time with great impetuoſity, but at length the royaliſts were entirely defeated, and when their left wing, which had been victorious, returned from the purſuit of the enemy's cavalry, it was charged by Cromwell with ſuch fury, before it could be reduced to order, that it was entirely broken and diſperſed, the parliamentarians obtaining a complete victory. Mortified by this diſappointment, the prince, having ſuſtained the loſs of ſix thouſand men, together with his whole artillery, ammunition and baggage, retired with the poor remains of his troops into Shropſhire. The marquis diſguſted at the obſtinacy of the prince in purſuing a meaſure ſo contrary to his advice and opinion, declined his command, and retreated to the continent, where he lived in private till the reſtoration of Charles II.

This important victory on Marſton-moor was followed by a ſeries of ſucceſs in that quarter, particularly the ſurrender of the garriſon of York to the parliamentary army, and the ſtorming the town of Newcaſtle, by a reinforcement under the command of a Scottiſh general.

The parliament receiving intelligence of the ſucceſs of prince Maurice in the weſt of England, found it neceſſary to raiſe a conſiderable army to oppoſe him. The king, however, apprized of their deſign, detached lord Hopton againſt them, and at Farnham he was oppoſed by Waller, who, after ſome few ſkirmiſhes, drew his men into the town, and repaired to London, that he might ſollicit of both houſes the neceſſary ſupplies. Accordingly, a thouſand horſe from Eſſex, commanded by Sir William Balfour, and a body of the city militia were ordered to reinforce him; with which aſſiſtance he retook the caſtle of Arundel, that Hopton had reduced in his abſence, who having received a ſupply of men from his majeſty, reſolved to give him battle immediately. On the twenty-ninth day of March, the two armies met near Abresford. The king's horſe were routed by Balfour, and the infantry put into great confuſion; however, the battle was maintained till night, when lord Hopton retired with his artillery and ammunition towards Reading, and left Waller in poſſeſſion of the field; who immediately repairing to Wincheſter, attempted to reduce the caſtle, but not ſucceeding therein, he plundered the city.

From the ſucceſſes which had lately crowned their arms, the parliament reſolved by one grand manœuvre to obtain the ſummit of their deſires. This was the reduction of Oxford, where the king reſided; and for this ſervice the armies of Eſſex and Waller began their march; Eſſex at the head of three thouſand cavalry, and twelve thouſand foot, and Waller with fifteen hundred dragoons and ſeven thouſand infantry. On the enemy's approach, the king's officers abandoned Abington, where he had aſſembled an army of twelve thouſand men to ſtop their progreſs.

Having paſſed the rivers Iſis and Cherwell, they attempted to ſeize the king's perſon, but he eſcaped through favour of the night with a ſmall body of horſe, at the head of which he and the prince of Wales arrived ſafe at Worceſter. The queen had retired ſome time before this to Exeter, where ſhe was delivered of a princeſs called Henrietta. The king, after his arrival at Worceſter, in order to elude the vigilance of Waller, who had followed him with vaſt expedition, made a feigned march towards Shrewſbury, as if he intended to join prince Rupert. Waller, imagining that it had been his real deſign, planted himſelf between the king and Shrewſbury; then the king ſuddenly wheeled, and took the rout to Oxford, where he was joined by the reſt of his army. He then proceeded to Buckinghamſhire, in order to give the enemy battle; Waller advanced with the ſame intention, ſo that in a very ſhort ſpace of time, the two armies appeared on the oppoſite banks of the river Cherwell. The king, therefore, leaving a ſtrong guard at Croperdy-bridge, to diſpute Waller's paſſage, in order to draw him from his advantageous ſituation, made a feint of beginning his march towards Northamptonſhire; and hearing that a large body of the enemy was within a mile of his van, ordered his troops to double their pace, in hopes of intercepting the whole body. Waller, perceiving the diſtance between his van and rear, ordered a large detachment to ford the river, while himſelf with fifteen hundred horſe, a thouſand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, attacked and made himſelf maſter of the bridge, then paſſing with his whole army, attacked the king's rear, but was repulſed by the gallantry of the earl of Cleveland, who routed his horſe took part of his artillery, and forced the enemy to repaſs the river with precipitation.

The king endeavoured to gain poſſeſſion of the bridge, but failed in the attempt; however, having obtained a conſiderable reinforcement, and underſtanding that the earl of Eſſex was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions, he determined, if poſſible, to reduce him, without hazarding a battle; and accordingly raiſed a fort on the bank of the river, by which the army of Eſſex had been ſupplied, and by that means intercepted all his convoys. In this emergency, the earl ordered Balfour to force his paſſage through the king's quarters, at the head of his cavalry, which was accompliſhed through favour of the night, and leaving the infantry under the command of general Skippon, he embarked with other officers in a veſſel at Foy. A council compoſed of officers belonging to both parties being held upon the occaſion, it was agreed that Skippon ſhould deliver up all his artillery, arms, and ammunition, and be conducted to Southampton. The earl of Eſſex, on his return to London, was treated by both houſes with tokens of reſpect, his ſoldiers received new accoutrements, and his forces were recruited.

Animated by theſe tokens of honour, Eſſex marched to join Waller and the earl of Mancheſter at Andover. Their junction was effected at Reading on the twenty-firſt of October, notwithſtanding his majeſty's endeavours to prevent it. He then

then detached the earl of Northampton with three regiments of horſe to relieve Banbury-caſtle, while himſelf marched to Donnington-caſtle, in the neighbourhood of Newbury, which was beſieged by the enemy's forces. Having thrown ſuccours into the place, and conferred the honour of knighthood on the governor, for his gallant defence, he entered Newbury, where he entrenched himſelf, while the enemy from Reading, with ſuperior numbers, continued to advance againſt him.

A very obſtinate engagement enſued on the twenty-ſeventh of October, which was ſuſtained with the greateſt intrepidity on both ſides a conſiderable time, to their mutual loſs; till at length the king retired in the night to Wallingford, leaving his artillery and baggage in the caſtle of Donnington, which was next day ſummoned to ſurrender by the earl of Mancheſter. Though the governor refuſed to capitulate, they made no effort towards the reduction of the place, but remained inactive at Newbury, when the king purſued his rout to Oxford, where he was joined by prince Rupert, with the northern forces, and lord Northampton, who had drafted men from different garriſons; ſo that he found himſelf at the head of eleven thouſand men, with whom he returned to Donnington, and drew up his army in order of battle, between the caſtle and town of Newbury. To defray the expences attending this unnatural and deſtructive war, the parliament levied a tax this year, by iſſuing an order, that each family throughout the kingdom ſhould abridge themſelves of one meal every week, and that the reſpective rates of the ſame ſhould be funded for public ſervice. A tax as extraordinary in its nature, as it muſt have been difficult in collecting.

Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, after a tedious impriſonment was at length brought to trial, and made ſo vigorous a defence, that the commons, foreſeeing he could not be convicted by common evidences, declared him guilty by an act of attainder, which, notwithſtanding many debates, at length paſſed the houſe of lords. He pleaded the king's pardon, which had been ſent him from Oxford, but it was declared null and void by both houſes. Being ſentenced to death as a common felon, he entreated that ſome deference might be paid to his ſacred function and elevated character; to which, with much reluctance, the commons acceded. On the tenth of January, this aged prelate was brought to the ſcaffold, where he addreſſed the ſpectators with great fortitude; he declared he had never been averſe to the inſtitution of parliaments, though he could not approve all their tranſactions; he proteſted his innocence of any deſign tending to ſubvert the laws of the realm, or to introduce the Roman catholic religion; he forgave all his enemies, and ſubmitted his neck to the executioner, who, with one ſtroke, ſevered his head from his body. This prelate, who poſſeſſed great learning and abilities, fell a ſacrifice to the very principles of ambition and deſpotiſm, which influenced him, as well as his royal maſter, to ſuch meaſures as were obnoxious to a free people, and terminated in their deſtruction. At the ſame time, the two Hothams were convicted by a court martial, for having connived at the eſcape of lord Digby, and correſponded with the marquis of Newcaſtle. To effect an innovation in church as well as ſtate, the parliament this year paſſed an ordinance for aboliſhing the book of common prayer, and liturgy, and for eſtabliſhing the directory which had been compoſed by the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly.

Commiſſioners were now appointed on the part of the king and parliament, to meet at Uxbridge, to ſettle a treaty of peace. The king's commiſſioners were the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earls of Southampton, Kingſton, and Chicheſter, and eleven commoners, among whom was Sir Edward Hyde, chancellor of the exchequer, and afterwards earl of Clarendon. The parliament appointed twelve deputies, at the head of whom were the earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Saliſbury, and Denbeigh; lord Loudon, the marquis of Argyle, and others, being commiſſioned on the part of the Scots.

The demands of the two houſes were ſo exorbitant, degrading, and derogatory to the royal dignity, as to preclude all probability of a reconciliation; but the king's commiſſioners, in the courſe of the conference, agreed, that every perſon ſhould enjoy liberty of conſcience; that no biſhop ſhould exerciſe any kind of juriſdiction; that the management of the militia ſhould be veſted in the hands of twenty commiſſioners, half to be appointed by the king, and half by the parliament; but theſe conceſſions, however humiliating they may appear, produced no good effect, and the commiſſioners departed without coming to any treaty of accommodation.

By this time Oliver Cromwell had acquired great popularity and conſequently great influence, and became the leader of a party, diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of independents, whoſe aim was to aboliſh hierarchy, and introduce democracy, while the preſbyterians ſought only to reſtrain their prerogative. They indeed rejected the hierarchy, but the independents renounced all form of church government, condemning the epiſcopal ordination of miniſters, and allowing all perſons without exception, to teach, preach, and expound the ſcriptures. To the independents of this period we owe, in a great meaſure, the numerous ſects which have ſince ariſen in this country.

Theſe ſectaries employed emiſſaries to inflame the minds of the people, by inſinuating the king's miſconduct both in civil and military affairs. Cromwell had accuſed the earl of Mancheſter of miſmanagement at the laſt battle of Newbury. The earl retorted upon Cromwell, by declaring, that in a conference with him, he hinted, that if Mancheſter would adhere to honeſt men, he would ſoon find himſelf at the head of an army, that would give law to both king and parliament.

Alarmed at this aſpiring idea ſuggeſted by Cromwell to the earl, the parliament took into conſideration the expediency of putting him under arreſt, but the point was deferred to another opportunity. In the mean time Oliver and his confederates expedited the plan they had projected for new modelling the army. They propoſed that the troops ſhould be formed into new regiments, and that no offices civil or military ſhould be held by members of parliament.

To carry this propoſal into ſpeedy execution, the commons, having entered into a reſolution of inſpecting the general ſtate of the nation, Cromwell roſe and pointed out the expediency of proſecuting the war with vigour, concluding, with giving it as his opinion, that every member ſhould reſign the poſt he enjoyed, as an evidence of his patriotiſm, and diſintereſted principles. Some of his

his associates seconded the motion, and at length Tate and Vane proposed an ordinance for excluding members from all offices whatsoever. A day of solemn fast was also appointed, to implore the blessing of heaven on their designs.

From the plan now adopted by the commons, Cromwell's ordinance passed them without a negative, but met with some opposition from the upper house; till the earls of Essex, Denbigh, and Manchester, having resigned their places, and the popular torrent running hard in favour of the self-denying ordinance, it passed the next day.

A. D. 1645. The presbyterians, who possessed moderation, and disapproved of the violent religious zeal that seemed to actuate Cromwell, and this independent party, intended to nominate Fairfax as their general; but that officer dissembled his sentiments, and was in reality attached to the interest of Cromwell, so that the parliament's army was new modelled by his plan, and all members of parliament being excluded, and their adherents resigning their commissions, the vacant places were filled up with independents, who acted as chaplains as well as officers.

At the head of this considerable army, Cromwell marched from Windsor, on the twenty-fourth day of April, and in the neighbourhood of Islip cut in pieces four regiments of the king's cavalry. Buckingham was surrendered up to him at the first summons by colonel Windebank, who was condemned by a court martial, and shot for cowardice. The king took the town of Leicester by assault, and continued his march towards Wales, where he expected to be joined by Goring with three thousand cavalry, and by colonel Gerard with two thousand recruits which he had raised in Wales.

Fairfax, having intercepted a letter addressed to the king by general Goring, and pointing out the ease with which the town of Taunton might be put in possession of the royalists, determined to prevent the execution of that design. With this view he followed the royalists, and the king finding he could not reach Leicester without exposing his rear to certain destruction, determined to meet him half way, and marching back, came in sight of the enemy on the fourteenth day of June, who were drawn up in order of battle on a rising ground, near a small village called Naseby. Lord Astley commanded the main body of the royal army, prince Rupert the right wing, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, and his majesty headed a body of reserve. The main body of the opposite army was commanded by Skippon and Fairfax, the right wing by Cromwell, and the left by Ireton.

The prince attacked the left wing of the parliamentary army with great success, so that they were dispersed and pursued as far as the village; but in his return, he misemployed his time in a fruitless attempt to seize the enemy's artillery. Cromwell was in the mean time engaged with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, whose cavalry was broken after a very obstinate dispute. The infantry maintained the battle on both sides for some time with equal fury; but at length the battallions of Fairfax and Skippon giving way, Cromwell returned and charged the king's infantry in flank with such vigour as they could not resist, so that they were immediately routed.

Though victory had declared in favour of prince Rupert at the first onset, his troops, intimidated at the order preserved by the enemy's forces, could not be rallied to make a second attack. The king would have charged them at the head of his reserve, had he not been prevented by the earl of Carnwarth, who riding by his majesty's side, seized the bridle of his horse, and turned him round, saying with a loud oath; "will you rush on cer-" tain death?" Many circumstances concurring to deter the royalists, they precipitately left the field to the enemy, who took in pursuit above five thousand prisoners, and the whole of the king's ammunition and baggage.

His majesty and prince Rupert proceeded after this defeat to Hereford, where it was agreed, that the latter should repair to Bristol, while the former continued his rout towards Wales, in hopes of assembling an army in that country. Fairfax advanced to Leicester, which, surrendered on capitulation. He then marched to the west-ward and reduced Bridgewater, Sherborn, and Bath, and having defeated lord Goring at Lamport, undertook the siege of Bristol, which was well supplied and fortified. It was universally believed by friends and foes, that the garrison under the command of the gallant prince Rupert, would sustain a long and obstinate attack; but to the astonishment of the world, terms of capitulation were proposed, and a surrender made before the place was invested in due form; so that the king disgusted at such humiliating behaviour, cancelled Rupert's commission, and commanded him as soon as possible, to quit the kingdom.

Fairfax having reinforced the garrison of Bristol, marched into the western counties, bearing all before him. Cromwell now reduced the Devizes and several other places. Fairfax likewise made himself master of Tiverton, and blocked up the city of Exeter. Hearing that the prince of Wales had an army in Cornwall, and was on his march to give battle, he advanced to meet him with the greatest expedition, and falling on a part of his cavalry by surprize, obliged his royal highness to retire into Cornwall.

Lord Hopton, who was appointed by the prince of Wales to succeed lord Goring, who had fled into France, was routed by the enemy in his march to relieve Exeter; and the prince perceiving his danger of falling into the hands of Fairfax, retreated to the isle of Scilly. Hopton being surrounded, capitulated on condition that his troops should be dismissed, and allowed either to cross the sea, or return to their own habitations. Their arms and horses were delivered to Fairfax, who granted pass-ports to all those who desired to quit the kingdom, having previously sworn never more to serve against the parliament. This treaty being executed, the lords Hopton and Colepepper retired to the prince of Wales in Scilly. By the month of April, the king's troops in the west were entirely routed, the city of Exeter having submitted to Fairfax.

Notwithstanding the misfortunes and disappointments with which the efforts of the king and his friends had been attended, his majesty still maintained an extraordinary degree of fortitude. He was now indeed reduced to such a dilemma, that he saw no other prospect of retrieving his affairs than that of joining Montrose in Scotland, and this expedient he intended to embrace. Receiving intelligence that a considerable detachment of the enemy's cavalry was posted under the command of Poyntz, between Hereford and Worcester, he determined to pass through Cheshire, Lancashire, and by that means got with safety into Scotland.

The king, on his approach to Cheſter, finding the enemy in poſſeſſion of the outworks and ſuburbs, detached Sir Marmaduke Langdale over Holt-bridge, in order to fall on the back of the beſiegers, while he entered the city. Poyntz, who had followed the king with expedition, appeared next day, and was charged by Sir Marmaduke; who compelled him to retire to a greater diſtance: The aſſailants no ſooner perceived him, than they began to abandon the ſuburbs, in order to join his troops, and thus re-inforced, he attacked and drove the royaliſts to the very gates of the city.

A party of the royaliſts under command of the earl of Litchfield and lord Gerard, behaved ſo gallantly as to force the enemy to a retreat, but their muſqueteers being drawn up among the narrow lanes and hedges, diſcharged ſuch a volley on the king's new raiſed forces, that they were broken, routed, and diſperſed, after many gallant officers had been ſlain in the action. The king retreated with five hundred horſe to Denbigh caſtle, where being joined by prince Maurice, with eight hundred more, and ſome other ſmall re-inforcements, he croſſed the river Dee, gained a march upon the enemy, and arrived at Bridgenorth, where he was informed that the parliament's forces had made themſelves maſters of Berkley-caſtle and the Devizes.

Lord Digby having been raiſed to the chief command, of all his Majeſty's northern troops, was ordered, together with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, to proceed with fifteen hundred horſe to Scotland, to join Montroſe, who had lately been defeated by Leſley. Digby began his expedition without delay, and placed a thouſand foot raiſed for the ſervice of the parliament, in the neighbourhood of Doncaſter; and at Sherborn attacked a body of horſe commanded by colonel Copley; but was routed, and fled to Skippon, and his baggage falling into the hands of the enemy, the parliament publiſhed a copy of ſome papers which they found among his effects. Digby at length having been unable to procure any intelligence of the ſituation of Montroſe, embarked with ſome other Scottiſh lords for Ireland. When his majeſty returned to Newark, prince Rupert addreſſed him, deſiring he might have an oppertunity to juſtify his conduct. The king granted his requeſt, admitted of his apology, and publickly declared himſelf ſatisfied with his conduct and loyalty.

The fate of this unfortunate monarch now ſeemed to draw near to a criſis. Deſerted by his conſort, his eldeſt ſon, and the far greater part of his friends; apprehenſive for the ſafety of the reſt of his offspring; in imminent danger of falling into the hands of implacable enemies, and finding himſelf ſo entangled in a labyrinth of wiles that his eſcape appeared impracticable, it required no ſmall ſhare of reſolution to ſupport ſuch complicated diſtreſs. However, having with great preſence of mind ſent orders to the governor of Oxford, to ſtation, at a fixed time, the horſe of the garriſon between Banbury and Daventry, he left Newark at night, attended by five hundred horſe, and arrived at three in the morning at Belvoir caſtle, where he found Sir Gervas Lucas, the governor, ready with guards, to attend him farther on his way. He was ſo fatigued towards evening, that he found it neceſſary to take ſome repoſe in a village near Northampton. Early next morning he continued his march, and reached Banbury about noon, where he found the horſe, by whom he was ſafely conducted to Oxford, after having, with the utmoſt fortitude, gone through the moſt amazing ſcenes of danger and fatigue.

Having reached his general aſylum in times of danger, he once more had recourſe to conciliatory meaſures. He demanded of parliament a ſafe conduct for the duke of Richmond, the earl of Southampton, and ſome others, whom he deſigned to ſend with propoſals for an accommodation. He offered liberty of conſcience to non conformiſts; he propoſed, upon the diſmiſſion of the armies, to join the two houſes; to take meaſures for ſettling the public debts, and regulating the affairs of the militia to their ſatisfaction.

The treaty he deſired might particularly refer to himſelf, as he wiſhed to vindicate his character from the aſperſions of his enemies, and to diſcover his ardent deſire to put a ſtop to the effuſion of Chriſtian blood. But theſe conceſſions produced no other effect, than to heighten the claims of parliament, and eſtabliſh that democracy to which they arrogantly aſpired.

While Charles was involved in this maze of perplexity the court of France ſent over Montreuil, on pretence of making a peace between the king and parliament, but in reality to effect a ſecret accommodation between his majeſty and the Scottiſh army. The ambaſſador found the Scottiſh commiſſioners at London, inclined to treat with his majeſty; but they inſiſted on the abolition of the epiſcopacy, as an indiſpenſible condition, with which Charles obſtinately refuſed to comply. While the French miniſter made a journey to the Scottiſh army, in hopes of allaying their intemperate zeal, Fairfax advanced to Oxford with his army; ſo that the king was in great danger of being ſurrounded. Lord Aſtley, with about a thouſand men under his command, advanced towards Oxford, in order to join his majeſty; but Fairfax, apprized of his deſign, fell on his troops, greatly fatigued, routed them, and took him priſoner, together with Sir Charles Lucas, and many officers of diſtinction.

Thus deprived of all ſuccour from that quarter, this unfortunate monarch, as his laſt reſource, determined to put himſelf wholly under the protection of his Scottiſh ſubjects, conceiving that their attachment to their own peculiar mode of church government would excite their averſion to the innovations of Cromwell and his independent clan, and diſpoſe them to aſſert the royal cauſe.

A. D. 1646. Accordingly Sir John Aſhburnham and doctor Hudſon, having undertaken to conduct him through bye-ways, he left Oxford on the twenty-ſeventh of April, and as ſoon as his eſcape was known, the parliament iſſued a proclamation, denouncing the penalty of high treaſon againſt thoſe who ſhould ſhelter or protect their ſovereign. On his diſcovery of himſelf to the earl of Leven, the general was aſtoniſhed at his preſence, but received him with due reſpect and veneration.

On receiving information of the king's ſudden arrival in Scotland, the parliament gave orders that Fairfax ſhould abandon his enterprize againſt Oxford, and direct his courſe to Newark; but on the declaration of the Scottiſh commiſſioners, that the king's arrival was entirely unexpected by the general, who would punctually adhere to their orders, this reſolution was deferred. The Scots, hearing that Fairfax was deſtined to the northward, retired with his majeſty to Newcaſtle, where he was excluded from all communication with Montreuil and Aſhburnham, through fear of being apprehended

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

OLIVER CROMWELL

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born 25 April 1599, at Huntingdon. | *Declared Protector 16 Decr. 1653.* | *Died at Whitehall 3 Decr. 1658.*

hended, fled the kingdom. The bigots amongſt the preachers fulminated anathemas againſt him in their public harangues; and the officers treated him with coldneſs and reſerve. To ſo abject a ſtate was the quondam majeſty of this unfortunate prince now reduced, that the parliament had only to impoſe commands for him to obey. All the garriſons were ſurrendered to parliament, who in fact governed by themſelves and deputies, England, Scotland, and Ireland, having totally annulled his majeſty's commiſſions throughout the reſpective kingdoms.

In this ſituation of affairs, a meſſage was ſent to the two houſes, deſiring they would decide the religious controverſy by the arbitration of certain able divines; and the king ſignified, in letters to the city of London, his diſpoſition to ſatisfy them in every particular they required.

The Scots profeſſedly adhering to the covenant, at the general aſſembly of the kirk, wrote to the parliament of England, the city of London, and the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, intreating them to forward the work of reformation according to the tenor of the covenant. The houſes then ſent propoſals to the king, more unreaſonable than thoſe, upon which they had inſiſted at Uxbridge, arrogating to themſelves the whole power of the adminiſtration. The king ingenuouſly replied, that though he could not diveſt himſelf of that which he inherited by birth and the laws of the realm, he would nevertheleſs, regardleſs of his own intereſt, accede to any meaſures tending to promote the public welfare.

The parliament, however, ſeemed to have tampered with the Scottiſh deputies ſo effectually, that on the payment of four hundred thouſand pounds in lieu of their demands in general, they agreed to withdraw their army from England, ſo that their king may be ſaid to have been ſold to his enemies for that conſideration.

The duke of Hamilton having been releaſed by order of parliament, immediately repaired to his majeſty at Newcaſtle, and intreated him to cloſe with the two houſes. The king, ſtill deſirous of putting a ſtop to the ravages of a civil war, propoſed that the hierarchy ſhould be confined to ſome particular dioceſes, and that preſbytery ſhould be eſtabliſhed in all other parts of the kingdom, juſtly concluding that ſuch a conceſſion would induce them to liſten to terms of accommodation.

Conſidering Charles at this time as diveſted of all regal power and authority, the two houſes appointed a committee about the middle of September, to confer with the Scottiſh commiſſioners, about diſpoſing of his perſon. The Scots claimed an equal intereſt in his perſon with the Engliſh, but after many debates, the precedency was given to the Engliſh. Charles ſent repeated meſſages to the parliament, deſiring leave to treat with them in perſon, declaring his readineſs to comply with whatever might tend to the intereſt of his ſubjects; he reminded them that it was their king who ſollicited for that, the denial of which, to the meaneſt of his ſubjects, would brand him with the name of tyrant to all poſterity.

This ſubmiſſive behaviour produced a vote, that his majeſty ſhould reſide at Holmby in Northamptonſhire, and be treated with due reſpect. Commiſſioners were then appointed to receive him from the hands of the Scots, who delivered him up on the thirteenth of January, and that very day their army began its march for Scotland. The king had the mortification in his journey, to be the ſpectator of crowds of his former ſubjects, who lined the avenues through which he paſſed, lamenting his unhappy fate, and offering their prayers to heaven for his deliverance from the hands of his enemies.

A. D. 1647. Since the acceſſion of Cromwell to ſuch great power and influence, the animoſity between the preſbyterian and independent parties began to appear. He principally guided the operations of the independents; gained vaſt influence over general Fairfax, and filled the army with his creatures; ſuch were Rainſborough, Fleetwood, Lambert, and Harriſon.

Cromwell now pretended to approve of the proceedings of the parliament, and declared an opinion in favour of the preſbyterian form of church government, quoted ſcripture phraſes, and perſuaded Fairfax to believe that he was actuated ſolely by religious views and motives.

To further his deſigns alſo he employed his emiſſaries, to excite a ſpirit of mutiny among the troops. The inferior officers had been ſo long accuſtomed to a military life, that they were averſe to the very thought of reſuming their former occupations. The commons voted that the army ſhould be diſbanded, and the ſoldiers receive ſix weeks pay on their diſmiſſion. But the ſoldiers having been long in the ſervice, complained highly of the cruelty of thoſe who propoſed to diſband them ſo ſuddenly.

The parliament deputed Cromwell, and ſeveral of his creatures and dependents to inform the army of the deſign to take their complaint into conſideration. On this occaſion the ſoldiers elected deputies to diſcuſs their affairs, and communicate their reſolutions to a council, compoſed of generals, field officers, and captains. Theſe were choſen from the private ſoldiers, or loweſt claſs of officers, for their reputed ſanctity, and extraordinary gifts of preaching and prayer.

The parliament now began to deliberate on the means by which they ſhould accompliſh their deſign of diſbanding all the troops, except thoſe deſtined for Ireland. The ſoldiers, in a petition to the general, ſet forth the injuſtice of this deſign, and deſired that the army might be aſſembled in one place, where they might conſider of means to redreſs their grievances, intimating that unleſs their petition was attended to, they muſt have recourſe to harſher and more deſperate meaſures.

The neceſſity of purſuing a plan for appeaſing the army, and preventing the dangerous effects of a delay, having been reſolved on in a council of war, the parliament, intimidated by this intelligence, determined, if poſſible, to divide the forces. But no conceſſion, could prevail; till the army by being veſted with extraordinary privileges, became a kind of republic, in which the vote of the common ſoldier was as prevalent as that of the colonel; and every private man aſſumed a right of entering into, and executing projects of his own. A few regiments of horſe determined to ſeize the perſon of the king. For the execution of this deſign they ſelected cornet Joyce, formerly a taylor. This officer, on the third day of June, arrived with a detachment of fifty horſe at Holmby, about break of day, and going up ſtairs attended by three troopers, knocked at the door of the king's apartment; which being opened, Joyce and his attendants approaching him with their hats off and piſtols in their hands, told him

he

he must go to the army. When the king asked by what authority he came on this expedition, the cornet answered, "By this," pointing to his pistol, and insisted on immediate compliance with his orders.

When the committee appointed by the two houses to take care of the king's person demanded of Joyce, if he acted by order of the parliament, he replied in the negative, and held up his pistol. They then told him they would write to the parliament to know their pleasure: he answered they might do so, but the king must go along with him immediately. The king, finding his guard averse to any resistance, resigned himself to the will of Joyce, to be disposed of in such manner as he should think proper.

He lodged at colonel Montague's near Cambridge the first night, and next day arrived at Newmarket, where he was treated with great respect by the officers of the army. The regiments being assembled at this place, presented a petition to the general, complaining of the parliament, and next subscribed a writing which they termed "The engagement," consenting to be disbanded, on condition of obtaining redress of their grievances, as adjudged by a council, consisting of the generals, two officers, and as many soldiers of every regiment; but declared they would consent to no other proposals. The army was now advanced to St. Alban's, when a message to the houses, requesting immediate recompence to the soldiers, was sent by the general.

These hypocritical demagogues had for some time carried every thing before them with impunity. They had levied by the most unprecedented exactions about thirty millions of money in five years; notwithstanding which the public was loaded with enormous debts and incumbrances. They laid taxes on the common necessaries of life, sequestered one half of the lands belonging to the royalists, deprived of their livings, and reduced to beggary more than one half of the clergy, because they would not renounce their civil and religious principles.

To cover such illegal measures with the veil of sanctity, they affected a whining cant in their prayers, and impudently as well as impiously affirmed that they were the peculiar favourites of heaven.

Alarmed at this arrogant assumption of unprecedented authority, the two houses empowered the city of London to raise some cavalry, as if they intended to put themselves in a posture of defence. They likewise ordered ten thousand pounds to be paid to the soldiers, who should quit the army, and engage in the Irish expedition.

Determined to carry measures by dint of arms, the army at length presented a remonstrance to the two houses, demanding that the parliament should be purged of corrupted and unduly elected members; that the public accounts should be equitably settled, and that, after some acts of justice upon delinquents, an act of amnesty should be passed. They then impeached eleven members, who headed the Presbyterian party, and alledging that they had hindered the course of justice, desired they might be removed from the house.

From the event, it appears to have been the evident design of the army, abetted by Cromwell and his adherents, to take away the life of their sovereign, though his friends began to hope, that a rupture between the parliament and army would redound to his majesty's advantage.

The army at length appearing to be satisfied with some marks of submission from parliament, retired to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head quarters at Reading. But they carried the king with them wherever they went. That prince was now in a much better situation than at Holmby, and had obtained some greater degree of liberty, as well as respect from both parties. All his friends were allowed to approach him; his correspondence with the queen was even permitted; his chaplains were restored, and he was indulged in the use of the liturgy; his children were suffered to visit him, and spent a few days at Caversham, where he then resided. Cromwell, Ireton, and others of the independent party amused him with vain hopes, till they had obtained a complete victory over the city and parliament. They then treated him with much arrogance, ordered him to be strictly guarded, would hardly allow any of his domestics to speak with him in private, and employed spies to watch over all his words and actions. Major Huntingdon, who had been trusted with private commissions from Oliver to the king, assured his majesty, that Cromwell if not speedily prevented, would effect his ruin. Charles became too late apprehensive for his personal safety. Resolving, however, to make his escape from Hampton Court, where he was now kept under a strong guard, he retired to his chamber early in the evening, on pretence of being indisposed; and in an hour after midnight went down the back stairs, attended by Ashburnham and Legg, both gentlemen of the bedchamber. Sir John Berkley waited for him at the garden gate with horses, which they instantly mounted, and directed their rout towards Hampshire. He travelled through the forest, and next day proceeded towards Titchfield, a seat of the earl of Southampton, possessed by the countess dowager, a woman of great honour on whose fidelity he could securely rely. But before he reached that place, he had made for the sea coast, and expressed much chagrin that a certain vessel had not arrived; from whence his attendants inferred his resolution of escaping to the continent.

They then advised him for the convenience of contiguity to seek refuge in the Isle of Wight, although Hammond, a creature of Cromwell's, was at that time governor. Hereupon, Ashburnham and Berkley were dispatched to the island, and enjoined to conceal from Hammond the place of the king's residence, till they could obtain a promise that he would not detain his majesty's person. Ashburnham rashly, if not treacherously, brought Hammond to Titchfield; and the king was forced to put himself into his hands, and to accompany him to Carisbroke castle in the Isle of Wight, where he was treated at first with marks of duty and respect. Though Ashburnham's conduct on this occasion carries in it much suspicion of treachery, the king acquitted him of any treasonable intention; however, it certainly argues in it the height of rashness and folly.

Cromwell having now effectually carried his point in the subjection of parliament to his will and pleasure, and the security of the person of the king, privately assembled a council of some of the principal officers at Windsor, to consult about the settlement of the nation, and the future procedures towards his majesty; and there is shrewd cause to surmize that the death of the king was first meditated in this council.

Conscious that a private assassination would brand their

their names with an indelible ſtigma, they reſolved on the expediency of an attempt which would carry the appearance of juſtice, and cover its barbarity by the boldneſs of the enterprize. To give ſanction, therefore, to their proceedings againſt the king, and ſecure the friendſhip of the army, they propoſed to adopt the favourite opinion of the equality of mankind, and thereby render him at once amenable to trial.

In order to gratify the republican principles of the people, which ſo generally prevailed, the king had promiſed, by a meſſage ſent from Cariſbroke caſtle, to relinquiſh, during his own life, the power of the militia, and the appointment of all the officers of ſtate, on condition, that after his death, theſe prerogatives ſhould be reſtored to the crown. But the parliament, wholly influenced by the army and independent party, inſtead of agreeing to theſe terms, drew up four propoſitions, which they ſent him as preliminaries, and to which they demanded his poſitive aſſent, before they would engage in any treaty. Theſe preliminary articles were, for recalling all the declarations iſſued againſt the parliament and their adherents; eſtabliſhing the militia; depriving peers created ſince the troubles, of their right to ſit in parliament; and empowering the two houſes to adjourn at their own pleaſure.

A. D. 1648. The king, having reviſed theſe propoſitions, requeſted of the two houſes, that terms on both ſides might be adjuſted, before any conceſſions on his part were ſpecified. Cromwell, availing himſelf of this reply, inveighed with great acrimony againſt Charles, branded him with odious epithets, and adviſed the parliament to decline all meſſages in future, and regulate the affairs of the kingdom without his concurrence. The parliament were intimidated into compliance, though ninety-one members had ſpirit enough to diſſent. It was, however, voted, that for the future, no addreſſes or meſſages ſhould be ſent to the king, which vote received the aſſent of the houſe of lords.

At this juncture there prevailed in Scotland three diſtinct parties; theſe were the royaliſts, who demanded the re-eſtabliſhment of the king's authority, without any regard to religious ſects, or opinions; and of theſe Montroſe, though abſent, was conſidered as the head. The rigid Preſbyterians, who inſiſted on a perfect uniformity of worſhip, and were reſolved to give no aſſiſtance to his majeſty, unleſs he would ſign the covenant: theſe were directed by Argyle. A third party under the two brothers Hamilton and Laneric, were the moderate Preſbyterians, who wiſely endeavoured to reconcile the intereſts of religion with thoſe of the crown; and hoped by the concurrence of the Preſbyterian party in England, to ſubdue the independent army, and reſtore the parliament as well as the king, to their juſt freedom and authority.

Upon a review of the ſtate of affairs both at home and in Scotland, it was deemed expedient to raiſe an army of forty thouſand men for the defence of the nation. But the duke of Hamilton, who was declared general, was not able to raiſe fourteen thouſand men, and thoſe ill armed, and undiſciplined, and therefore not in a condition to march for England, till the beginning of July.

During theſe tranſactions in Scotland, Langhorne, Poyer, and Powell, three officers who had ſerved in the parliament's army, declared for the king, ſecured the caſtle of Pembroke, and influenced the greateſt part of South Wales to eſpouſe the royal cauſe. Young Hales and the earl of Norwich excited commotions in Kent. Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Liſle, Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne, and colonel Farr, who laſt had been in the parliament's ſervice, aſſembled a body of three thouſand men, and took poſſeſſion of Colcheſter, where they intended to remain, till they could join the Scottiſh army, which they heard were on the march. But Fairfax deprived the inhabitants of all relief, by inveſting and blocking up the town.

A fleet was fitted out by parliament, and the command given to the earl of Warwick with orders to oppoſe the ſeventeen ſhips which had revolted to the prince of Wales. While the forces were at a diſtance, the parliament recovered its former liberty, and began to act with its uſual ſpirit and reſolution. They ſent commiſſioners to the Iſle of Wight to treat with his majeſty, who, on their arrival, were ſhocked at the manifeſt change that appeared in their unhappy ſovereign. Being deprived of ſocial converſe, he had entirely neglected his perſon; his hair was now waxen grey, not only by the hand of time, but the iron rod of affliction; and both his dreſs and viſage indicated adverſity and decay.

His mental faculties, however, had not ſuffered the leaſt impair. The earl of Saliſbury, amazed at his nervous though cool reaſoning, ſaid to Sir Philip Warwick, "The king is extremely improved of late." "No," replied Sir Philip, "he was always ſo, but now you are at laſt convinced of it." Sir Henry Vane obſerved, that as his majeſty's abilities appeared to be great, the ſtricter and more ſevere ought to be the terms of agreement.

The terms as propoſed by parliament, and aſſented to by the king, were to the following effect: that his proclamations, &c. &c. againſt the parliament ſhould be annulled; he gave up to the parliament the whole power of regulating the militia, during the term of twenty years, or for a longer time, if deemed conducive to the public good. With reſpect to religion, he obſerved, that his conſcience would not permit him to conſent to the abolition of epiſcopacy; and as to the ſale of church lands, he deemed it not only ſacrilegious, but expreſsly contrary to his coronation oath, whereby he was bound to maintain the rights of the clergy; yet, to evince his ſincere deſire of pacification, he conſented to their reducing epiſcopacy to its primitive uſe; that archbiſhops, deans, and chapters ſhould be aboliſhed; that the preſbyterian form of government ſhould continue three years, during which, the king and parliament, with the advice of the eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, and other divines nominated by his majeſty, ſhould agree upon ſome ſuitable plan of church government. He indeed made ſuch conceſſions in general, as not only degraded royalty, but would have been wholly inconſiſtent with and ſubverſive of the order of government, had they produced a peace, and been brought into action. Notwithſtanding theſe humiliating conceſſions, the two houſes after deliberating on them, voted them inſufficient and unſatisfactory on account of the articles of epiſcopacy and the ſale of church lands.

Though the duke of Hamilton had brought with him into England a conſiderable body of forces, he was prevented from joining the troops under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, by the Engliſh loyaliſts declining to take the covenant, and the peremptory refuſal of the Scottiſh preſbyterians to act in concert with them upon any

other terms. The two armies were on the march at the ſame time, and in the whole might conſiſt of twenty thouſand men. Cromwell boldly encountered them, with a body not amounting to half that number. He ſurprized Langdale near Preſton in Lancaſhire, and though the royaliſts behaved gallantly, yet not being properly ſupported by their confederates, they were routed with great ſlaughter. Hamilton was next attacked, his troops defeated, and chaſed to Utoxeter, where himſelf was taken priſoner. Cromwell having purſued his victory, proceeded to Scotland, where, being reinforced by Argyle, he ſubdued Laneric and Monro, and returned triumphantly to England.

The garriſon of Colcheſter, after a ſpirited and moſt reſolute defence, through want of a reinforcement of men and ſupply of ſtores and proviſions, was compelled to ſurrender at the pleaſure of the victors; and Fairfax, prompted by the barbarous and blood-thirſty Ireton, ſeized Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Liſle, and determined to ſacrifice them to the fury of the army.

This flagrant inſtance of cruelty met with general execration. Lord Capel, regardleſs of danger, upbraided Ireton with his ſavage barbarity, and challenged him, as they were all embarked in the ſame cauſe, to inflict the ſame puniſhment on them all without exception. Lucas, who was firſt ſhot, gave the word *fire*, with as much courage as if he had been at the head of his regiment. Liſle having embraced the breathleſs body of his friend, deſired the executioners to come nearer. One of them ſaid, "I'll warrant you Sir, we'll hit you": "he anſwered with a ſmile, "Friends, I have "been nearer you, when you have miſſed me." So ſaying, he received their ſhot, and fell lamented by all good men.

This lawleſs and blood-thirſty clan having now removed all oppoſition, a remonſtrance was framed by a general council of officers, and preſented to the parliament. They there condemned the treaty with the king; inſiſted on his puniſhment for the bloodſhed during the war; demanded the diſſolution of the then parliament; and affirmed, that though ſervants, they had a right to repreſent theſe important points to their maſters, who were themſelves no more than the ſervants and miniſters of the people. To compleat their deſign, they removed their army to Windſor, and ordered colonel Ewer to ſeize the king's perſon at Newport, and tranſport him to Hurſt caſtle, where he was committed to cloſe confinement.

Intelligence being received in London of the king's removal and commitment, the commons interpoſed their right, and reſolved, that his majeſty's conceſſions might ſerve as a foundation for peace. Next day, when the commons were to aſſemble, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had ſurrounded the houſe with two regiments, and, aſſiſted by the lord Grey of Groby, arreſted in the paſſage forty-one members, whom they confined in a neighbouring houſe. About an hundred and ſixty members were excluded, and none were ſuffered to enter, but the moſt deſperate of the independents, who hardly amounted to ſixty in number. This flagrant violation of the liberties of parliament was commonly known by the name of Pride's Purge.

The Independent party through the excluſion of the preſbyterians now compoſing the whole of the commons, thanks were voted to Cromwell their head and abettor for his great and important ſervices rendered to the true church as well as the ſtate.

A ſpecial committee, ſelected from this remnant of the commons, was appointed to draw up a charge againſt their ſovereign; colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, and one of the moſt furious fanatics of the army, was ordered to conduct the king to London, under a ſtrong guard. At Windſor, the duke of Hamilton, who was there impriſoned, was admitted into the king's preſence, and falling on his knees, feelingly exclaimed, "My dear maſter!" The unhappy monarch raiſed him up, and embracing him, replied with tears; "I have indeed been a dear maſter to "you." The king was inſtantly hurried away, and the duke, bathed in tears, foretold, that from that time he ſhould ſee his king no more.

Though the king bore his own ills with unexampled fortitude, the misfortunes of his friends and adherents touched him in the tendereſt part. When he arrived at the caſtle of Windſor, an order was iſſued from the council of war, to deprive him of all the enſigns of royalty, and treat him on the level of an ordinary perſon.

All neceſſary preparations were now made for the trial, and the high court of juſtice finally ſettled. It was compoſed of an hundred and thirty three perſons as nominated by the commons, but ſo general was the averſion to theſe violent proceedings, that more than ſeventy never attended. Cromwell, Ireton, Harriſon, and all the chief officers of the army, with ſeveral citizens of London and members of the lower houſe, compoſed a part of this high court of juſtice.

The twelve judges behaved loyally and conſtitutionally upon the occaſion, for having been enrolled in the number of this high court of juſtice, they cauſed their names to be expunged, declaring, that according to the laws of England, the king could not be tried for treaſon, as all impeachments for treaſon muſt be carried on by the royal authority. Bradſhaw, a lawyer, was choſen preſident; Coke acted as ſolicitor-general; Doriſlaus and Aſke attended as aſſiſtants, and the court aſſembled in Weſtminſter-hall.

When the crier of the court, amongſt the names of others who were to compoſe the tribunal, came to call that of lord Fairfax, a female voice was heard from the gallery to exclaim, "He has more "wit than to be here." When the impeachment "was read, "In the name of all the good people "of England," "No (replied the ſame voice) "not the twentieth part of them, Oliver Crom-"well is a rogue, and a traitor." One of the officers ordered a file of muſqueteers to fire at the place whence the voice came, but they ſoon perceived the perſon who ſpoke to be the lady Fairfax, whom with much difficulty they prevailed upon to depart.

The charge on this very ſolemn and awful occaſion was opened, in the name of the commons of England, by the ſolicitor-general, who repreſented, that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and entruſted with a limited power, from a wicked deſign to eſtabliſh an arbitrary and tyrannical government, had traiterouſly and malicioully made war upon the preſent parliament, and the people, whom they repreſented; and was therefore accuſed as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the common-wealth. After the impeachment was finiſhed, the preſident addreſſed

addreſſed himſelf to the king, and informed him, that the court expected his anſwer.

His majeſty with becoming dignity, reſolution, and compoſure, diſclaimed the legality of this ſelf-inſtituted court, and conſequently pronounced their juriſdiction uſurped and invalid. The preſident, in order to defend the majeſty of the people, and aſſert the ſuperiority of the court above the priſoner, ſtill inſiſted, that he muſt not deny the authority of his judges, and that the preſent court owed its authority to that community of which kings themſelves were but the ſervants.

The king having been thrice cited in form, and as often paſſed over the ſummons unnoticed, on the fourth time, after a peremptory denial of their authority, ſentence was pronounced againſt him. He deſired to be heard before the two houſes in the painted chamber; but the court refuſed to grant him his requeſt, which they conſidered merely as a delay of juſtice. In walking through the hall to the place of his confinement, the ſoldiers, prompted by their ſuperiors, exclaimed, "Juſtice and execution." They loaded him with the moſt cruel and bitter reproaches; in a word, they treated him in the moſt undeſerved, arrogant, and inſolent manner, which he bore with aſtoniſhing compoſure, only obſerving to a friend who attended him, "that for a little money they "would treat their commanders in the ſame man-"ner." A ſoldier, moved by ſympathy, implored for the bleſſing of heaven on oppreſſed majeſty; an officer overhearing the petition, ſtruck him to the ground in ſight of the king, who ſaid, "The pu-"niſhment methinks exceeds the offence." On his return to Whitehall, he requeſted to be indulged with a viſit from his children, and that Dr. Juxon, late Biſhop of London, might have free acceſs to his perſon, as ſuperintendant of his preparatory devotional exerciſes. Theſe petitions were accordingly granted.

The potentates of Europe in general could not ſuppreſs their amazement or reſentment at ſo unprecedented an inſtance as that of a mighty monarch being arraigned in the moſt humiliating form, at a tribunal compoſed of his own ſubjects. The French and Dutch miniſtry preferred their manifeſtos againſt it, and the queen and prince addreſſed the parliament to interpoſe their conſtitutional authority, but all without effect, as no conſideration could influence the fanatical demagogues to deſiſt from their blood-thirſty deſigns. As a memento due to genuine loyalty, it is recorded, that four noblemen offered to lay down their lives for their ſovereign. Theſe were the duke of Richmond, and the earls of Hertford, Southampton, and Lindſay.

Purſuant to requeſt, all his family that remained in England were permitted to attend him, during the interval of the three days between his ſentence and execution; and the interview exhibited an affecting ſcene. He wept over his orphan children, and claſped them in his paternal embrace. He beſtowed on his daughter the princeſs Elizabeth prudent advice and pious exhortations, charging her to tell the queen her mother, that during the whole courſe of his life he had never once, even in thought, ſwerved from his fidelity towards her, and that his conjugal affection could only end with his life. He implored heaven to ſhower down bleſſings on thoſe forlorn babes, as well as the reſt of his children; and reſigned himſelf to his fate with the utmoſt compoſure. Doctor Juxon attended his majeſty the night before his execution, and after ſpending great part of it in devotion, he enjoyed four hours of ſound reſt; an inconteſtible proof that his mind could not have been much ruffled by the apprehenſions of his approaching fate.

The ever memorable day appointed for the execution of his ſentence, was the 30th of January, (1649) on which he was conducted, by virtue of a warrant from the high court of judicature, to Whitehall, accompanied by doctor Juxon, and guarded by a regiment of foot ſoldiers, commanded by colonel Tomlinſon. When he came upon the ſcaffold, which was ſo crouded that he could not be heard, he directed his diſcourſe to colonel Tomlinſon, doctor Juxon, and ſome others about him, declaring himſelf innocent of having commenced the war againſt the parliament, but ſuggeſting, at the ſame time, that heaven had retaliated on him his want of candor and charity, in conſenting to the execution of the unfortunate earl of Stafford.

Though he profeſſed to die in perfect love and forgiveneſs even towards the authors of his deſtruction, he conjured the whole nation to reſtore the conſtitution of the kingdom, by paying obedience to their lawful ſovereign, his ſon and ſucceſſor. When he was preparing himſelf for the block, doctor Juxon told him, there was but one ſtage more, which was ſhort though troubleſome, and would convey him to the regions of ineffable joy; "I "go, (replied the king) from a corruptible to an "incorruptible crown, of which I ſhall never be "bereaved." Having uttered theſe laſt words, he ſubmitted to his fate without an apparent token of reluctance, and at one ſtroke his head was ſevered from his body. A man in a maſk, then held up the head ſtreaming with blood, and exclaimed, "This is the head of a traitor."

Mankind have ever been divided in their opinions concerning not only the public character, but the legality of thoſe proceedings which deprived Charles I. king of England, both of his crown and life. It appears from a general view of the conduct of his father James I. as well as that of the ſubſequent race of the Stuart's family, that they had all imbibed principles of deſpotiſm, which added to the influence of popiſh ſuperſtition, to which they were moſt undoubtedly attached, actuated them to ſuch arbitrary meaſures, reſpecting the ſtate as well as the church, as were incompatible with the genuine ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution, and eventually brought on their expulſion from the Engliſh throne. By that party, ſtill diſtinguiſhed under the appellation of tories, the friends to the hierarchy and royal prerogative, he is deemed to have died a martyr to the cauſe they would wiſh to maintain. By the other party called whigs, the aſſertors of the rights of the people in oppoſition to the infringements of the crown, as well as univerſal toleration, he is cenſured as the moſt deſpotic of tyrants, and by ſome, pronounced highly deſerving the fate he met. But men of moderation and candour, of whatever profeſſion they may be, never carry points to the extreme.

That his opponents in their general meaſures exceeded the limits of the laws of the realm, as well as that reverential decorum due to a ſovereign, all thinking, diſpaſſionate perſons muſt allow. And it may be inferred upon the whole, that they ſwerved as much from the conſtitution on the one hand as the king did on the other. We ſhall ſum up his private character in the words of an honourable hiſtorian, leaving the reader to adopt or reject it

at pleaſure: it is by that writer recorded, "that "he was the worthieſt gentleman, the beſt friend, "the beſt maſter, the beſt father, the beſt huſ-"band, and the beſt chriſtian of the age in which "he lived." It is to be feared, from the ſway his conſort bore over his reaſon in ſome inſtances, that he had, at times, been too much the huſband and too little the king. He loſt his life in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-fourth of his reign, if it may be diſtinguiſhed by that title.

He had iſſue by his queen, four ſons and five daughters; viz. Charles James, who died in his infancy, Charles, prince of Wales, by whom he was ſucceeded; James duke of York, afterwards James the ſecond, king of England; Henry, duke of Glouceſter, who died after the reſtoration; Mary, who eſpouſed the prince of Orange; Elizabeth, confined in Cariſbroke-caſtle, where ſhe died of grief; Anna, and Catharine, who died in their infancy; and Henrietta Maria, married to Philip, duke of Anjou and Orleans, brother to Lewis XIV. king of France.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Charles I.

A. D.
1626 The inhabitants of London and Weſtminſter ordered to preſerve their urine for one year, to make ſalt petre.
1633 Saw-mills firſt erected near London.
1634 Sedan-chairs firſt made in London.
1641 Croſſes and idolatrous pictures removed from churches, and croſſes in ſtreets demoliſhed by order of parliament.
Court of Star-chamber aboliſhed.
1643 Scarlet dye firſt uſed at Bow, near Stratford.
Exciſe-office inſtituted.
Exciſe on beer, ale, &c. firſt impoſed by act of parliament.
1648 Wind guns invented.

CHAP. III.

THE COMMONWEALTH.

The parliament diſavow the claim of the Stuarts to the crown. Annul the peerage. A new great ſeal fabricated. Execution of the moſt zealous partizans of the late king. Forlorn condition of the heir-apparent. Commotions in Ireland and Scotland abetted by parties of the royaliſts. The earl of Ormond ſignalizes himſelf on the occaſion. Cromwell appointed lord lieutenant, and ſent to oppoſe the loyaliſts in Ireland. Defeats Ormond. Marquis of Montroſe ſentenced to death at Edinburgh. Cromwell is recalled from Ireland and ſent into Scotland. His various fortunes there. Obtains a deciſive victory over the royaliſts. The king ſojourns in the cottage of a peaſant. Conceals himſelf in an oak-tree, afterwards denominated, the Royal-oak. Cromwell's great popularity and influence. Admiral Blake ſignalizes his valour againſt prince Rupert. Sir George Ayſcough ſent with a fleet to reduce the American colonies. The ſubjection of the parliament. Rupture with the States of Holland. Singular proweſs diſplayed in divers actions by the admirals Blake and Van Trump. Cromwell expells the members and diſſolves the parliament. The gallant Trump falls in the action with the Engliſh off the Texel. Cromwell is veſted with the title of lord Protector of the Commonwealth. The royaliſts form a deſign of reſtoring the king to his crown and dignity. A conſpiracy is framed againſt Cromwell. The Parliament tender him the crown, which he refuſes. Death and character of Oliver Cromwell. Richard Cromwell ſucceeds his father in the protectorſhip, but ſoon reſigns his authority. General Monk effects a coalition, between the army and the city of London. Charles II. *proclaimed king of England. Makes his public entry into London, &c.*

A. D. 1649. THE democratic party having now obviated the main obſtructions to the proſecution of their deſigns, as an effectual barrier to the immediate acceſſion of a king, iſſued a proclamation, forbidding all perſons, on pain of high treaſon, to acknowledge or declare Charles Stuart, commonly called prince of Wales, as ſovereign of England. They likewiſe voted, that they ſhould make no more addreſſes to the houſe of lords, and that that houſe was therefore to be aboliſhed; the peers, however, might be elected as members of the lower houſe. They afterwards paſſed an act, aboliſhing the king's power as uſeleſs, and decreed that the nation ſhould be governed under the form of a republic, by the people's repreſentatives, the houſe of commons.

To enforce this uſurped authority, a new great ſeal was provided, containing the arms of England and Ireland, round which were theſe words, "The "great ſeal of England." The other ſide repreſented the houſe of commons, ſurrounded with this inſcription, "In the firſt year of Freedom by "God's bleſſing reſtored, 1648." It was committed to the charge of a certain number of perſons, intitled, the conſervators of the liberties of England; and all public orders were expedited in their names, under cognizance of parliament.

The officers of government were choſen friends among ſuch as had ſignalized themſelves in the parliamentary intereſt, and their opponents, in redicule, pointed at as objects of their reſentment. Bradſhaw was again choſen preſident of another high court of juſtice, for the trial of the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, the lord Goring, lately created earl of Norwich, lord Capel, and Sir John Owen; all of them accuſed of having carried arms againſt the parliament. After a ſhort trial, they were all convicted and condemned to the block. The duke of Hamilton, on his trial, complained, that as he acted by authority of the parliament of his own country, he could not come under the cognizance of an Engliſh tribunal. The old earl of Holland made little or no defence; Sir John Owen ſeemed pleaſed with having been admitted to the honour of the axe, and his ſubmiſſive reſignation to his ſentence probably ſaved his life. The other three were immediately executed; they died with becoming fortitude profeſſing allegiance to the ſon of the late unfortunate monarch.

The heir-apparent to the crown of England was not only deprived of the retinue due to his perſon and dignity, but had no fixed place of reſidence; wandering from place to place, deſerted and forlorn,

lorn, having nothing to console him, but the hopes of a reversion of fortune.

To revenge the death of his late sovereign, the earl of Ormond went over to Ireland, and levied an army of sixteen thousand men, with which he retook from the parliament the town of Dundalk, Newry, Trim, and Drogheda; and was resolved to undertake the siege of Dublin. To this kingdom, Charles determined to repair, but his design was suspended, on hearing that the parliament of Scotland had issued a proclamation, acknowledging Charles II. as their lawful and hereditary sovereign on the following conditions; that he should give proper satisfaction to the kingdom touching the security of religion, the union between the two nations, and the peace of Scotland, according to the national and solemn league of the covenant. For this purpose, deputies were sent to the Hague, to signify their intentions to the young prince; and in a few days, the marquis of Montrose, and the earls of Lauderdale and Lanerk, paid him a visit. The former of these noblemen was engaged in the service of the emperor, but hearing of the tragical fate of the late king, he hastened to the Hague and received from Charles a renewal of his commission as captain-general of Scotland.

The seeming loyalty of the parliament of Scotland did not encourage the hopes of young Charles; on the contrary, the principles and measures espoused by the presbyterians, both with respect to church and state, under the reign of his father, induced him to doubt the sincerity of their professions; so that instead of subscribing to their conditions, he persisted in his resolution of visiting Ireland, at the same time, ordering Montrose to make a descent upon Scotland. The king's friends in that kingdom, understanding that he was averse to the conditions proposed by the parliament, determined to excite an insurrection, and if they succeeded, to receive him upon his own terms. About this time, Charles sent the lord Collington and chancellor Hyde, his plenipotentiaries to the court of Madrid, to solicit succours from the court of Spain.

If the young king had pursued his designs of visiting Ireland, it would have been attended with imminent danger of his life, as Cromwell had been sent thither as lord lieutenant, at the head of a formidable army raised by the vote of the English parliament, in order to quell any insurrection that might arise from the junction of the Catholics of that kingdom with the royalists. Such indeed was his success against Ormond, their commander in chief, that Charles, despairing of succour from that quarter, was under a necessity of listening to the Scottish treaty. Accordingly, the marquis of Argyle having influenced the parliament and general assembly of the kirk, propositions being prepared, and deputies appointed, Breda was fixed on as the place of conference.

A. D. 1650. When the young monarch and deputies met according to appointment, though he by no means secretly approved the four particular conditions specified in the articles, yet not being in a condition to shew his resentment, he carefully dissembled, offering to confirm the Presbyterian discipline in Scotland by act of parliament, but thought it unreasonable to expect that he would renounce the form of religion, in which he had been educated. He asked them if they had power to relax in any demand, or to treat about the assistance he might expect from the Scots, towards restoring him to the crown of England, but they replied in the negative. As this was the most important point he could possibly propose to carry by a treaty with the Scots, the disappointment must have been attended with the greatest chagrin; however, it was deemed necessary to protract the negotiation, until he should receive some intelligence from Montrose, on whose success all his hopes were founded. That intrepid nobleman, having re-inforced his handful of men with a few recruits, which he had raised in the Orkneys, passed over to Caithness, hoping the general affection to the royal cause, and the fame of his former atchievements, would allure the people to his standard. But the nation was now fatigued with continual wars, many of his former adherents had been apprehended and punished, and no hopes of success remained against so great a force as was now destined to oppose him, Lesley and Holborne being ordered to advance against him with an army of four thousand men. Strachan being sent forward with a body of cavalry to prevent his progress, attacked Montrose suddenly, and totally defeated his army, all of whom where either slain or taken prisoners; and Montrose himself being soon after seized was conducted to Edinburgh, where, notwithstanding the king's commission, he was condemned to death, and bore his sentence with that fortitude of mind, of which he had given such exemplary proofs during the whole course of his life.

Thus bereft of all military assistance, Charles was under the necessity of signing the terms, which the Scottish committee had presented to him. In consequence of this agreement, he immediately set sail for Scotland, and arrived in the frith of Cromarty. Before he was permitted to set foot on shore, he was required to sign the covenant; and with this demand he immediately complied. Hamilton, Lauderdale, and other noblemen attached to the royal cause, were immediately removed from his presence, and obliged to retire to their estates, where they lived without any trust or authority. The young king himself was merely so in name, being divested of prerogative, debarred of all kind of amusement, and though of a volatile disposition, compelled to conform to the gravity and precision of the Scottish manners in common life, as well as in matters of religion.

The reception which Charles met with from the Scots, however, alarmed the English parliament, insomuch that they renewed their military operations, and recalled Cromwell from Ireland, which by this time was almost reduced. That general, having constituted Ireton, his son-in-law, deputy lieutenant, returned to England, according to the summons of the parliament; and was honoured, on taking his seat, with general thanks for the signal services he had rendered to the commonwealth. They then desired to know, whether Fairfax would undertake the command of the troops destined for Scotland; and on his refusal bestowed it on Cromwell, who, without delay put his troops in motion, and entered Scotland with an army of sixteen thousand men. The command of the Scottish army was conferred on Lesley, an able officer, who laid a very proper plan for defence; and removing whatever he thought might help to support the English army, fortified himself in a camp between Edinburgh and Leith.

The English general took every measure to bring the Scots to action, but Lesley, conscious of the superiority of the enemy in discipline and experience, though his army exceeded in numbers, wisely declined a decisive engagement, and kept

within his intrenchments. By ſkirmiſhes and petty rencounters he endeavoured to animate his ſoldiers, and was generally ſucceſsful in theſe enterprizes. His army became every day more numerous, more dexterous, and expert in their exercife. Cromwell made another motion, in hopes of drawing the Scottiſh general from his entrenchments, but all his efforts proved ineffectual; ſo that by this manœuvre of the Scottiſh commander, Cromwell, through want of proviſions, was compelled to retire, after the two armies had remained ſeveral weeks in ſight of each other. He therefore withdrew to Dunbar: Leſley followed him, and encamping on a hill oppoſite the town, aſſured himſelf of putting an end to the war, by the deſtruction of the whole Engliſh army. To ſuch a dilemma was Cromwell reduced, that he had even once entertained the thoughts of embarking all his foot and artillery, and of forcing his way at the head of his cavalry.

But the fanatical zeal which then prevailed equally in Scotland as in England, defeated the military plan of Leſley, and proved eventually ſucceſsful to Cromwell. At the inſtance of ſome Scottiſh miniſters, of whom great numbers attended the camp, Leſley was prevailed upon, through an aſſurance of the peculiar interpoſition of heaven in their favour, contrary to all the rules of art, and every inſtance of former experience, to quit his advantageous poſt, and deſcend into the plain, in order to come to a general action with the enemy.

Oliver, as was his uſual cuſtom, prefaced the fight with a prayer, and further to animate his men, and inſpire them with an enthuſiaſtic ardour, ſolemnly aſſured them, (and with as much authority as the Scotch fanatics had arrogated in order to prevail with their general) that he had received a particular revelation from heaven that his enemies would be delivered into his hands. So indeed, however, it proved, for the Scots unaccuſtomed to, and undiſciplined in war, were altogether unable to ſuſtain the ſhock of ſuch hardy and experienced veterans as the Engliſh. Though double in number to the enemy, they were inſtantly routed with great ſlaughter, and purſued to a conſiderable diſtance. Three thouſand were ſlain on the ſpot, and about nine thouſand taken priſoners. The Engliſh general then took poſſeſſion of Leith and Edinburgh, but the caſtle did not ſurrender till the latter end of December.

This victory proved a favourable circumſtance to Charles, as it induced the Scottiſh parliament to treat him with more than uſual reſpect and indulgence; inſomuch that his friends were ſuffered to approach him, and his coronation was performed with great ſolemnity at Scone. His ſituation, however, though ſomewhat amended, was far from being eaſy or agreeable. Of a gay diſpoſition, he could but ill digeſt the rigid auſterities to which he was confined by the clergy, or the ſtill more ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion in which he was held by Argyle and his party. Diſguſted at theſe and many other circumſtances, he determined to attempt the recovery of his liberty. General Middleton being proſcribed by the covenant, had retired with a party of royaliſts to the Highlands, where he waited for Charles, who, eſcaping from Argyle, fled to join him with all poſſible expedition. Colonel Montgomery, with a troop of horſe, was ſent in purſuit of him. Though the defeat of his expectations in being compelled to return with that officer, might pique the pride of Charles, the conſequences favoured his deſigns; for the committee and Argyle being now alarmed with the apprehenſion that the ſeverity with which they had treated him might force him to join the cavaliers, and ſo involve the nation in a civil war, he was therefore admitted to a little part in the adminiſtration, and, upon the whole, their rigour towards him conſiderably abated.

But the king, conſcious of the importance and influence of Argyle in ſupporting his pretenſions, treated that nobleman with uncommon affability and eſteem, and even hinted a deſire of eſpouſing his daughter. Argyle, well acquainted with his majeſty's principles, kept at a diſtance; but his ſon, the marquis of Lorn, attached himſelf to the king, and faithfully executed his private commiſſions. And ſuch was his popularity, that in a ſhort ſpace of time, an army was raiſed to ſupport his claim to the throne.

A. D. 1651. This formidable body of troops, under the command of the generals Hamilton and Leſley, encamped early in the ſpring at Torwood in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and being animated by the preſence of the king, who had joined them, determined on the moſt vigorous exertions of military proweſs, as they were fortified by the caſtle of Stirling, which lay at their back; ſupplied with proviſion by the northern countries, and their front was ſecured by ſtrong intrenchments. Cromwell without effect had recourſe to divers ſtratagems to bring them to action, ſo that at length, wearied with waiting their motions, he ſent Lambert over the Frith into Fife, in order to intercept the proviſions of the army. He was oppoſed by Holborne and Brown, who commanded a party of the Scots; but theſe were defeated with great ſlaughter.

At length the Engliſh general paſſed over the river with his whole army, and drawing them up in the rear of the king, compelled him to abandon his ſtation. As his laſt and only reſource, Charles determined to march for England, not only as there was no obſtruction to impede his progreſs, but as he hoped that all his friends, and all thoſe who were diſſatisfied with the preſent form of adminiſtration, would flock to his ſtandard. He prevailed on the generals to agree to his propoſals, and with one conſent the army, to the number of fourteen thouſand men, quitted their camp, and proceeded by long marches, towards England.

Alarmed at this ſpirited meaſure of the young king, and fearful of his ſucceſs in England, where his preſence, from the general hatred which prevailed againſt the parliament, was capable of producing ſome great revolution, Cromwell ſent a body of cavalry under the command of Lambert to hang upon the rear of the royal army, and having left Monk with ſeven thouſand men to finiſh the reduction of Scotland, purſued the king with the utmoſt expedition.

To further the efforts of the royaliſts, a conſiderable body of forces were raiſed in Cheſhire and Derbyſhire, by the earl of Derby, but they were ſoon defeated by the parliamentary army, and the king's army being greatly diminiſhed by deſertion and diſeaſe, his majeſty laid aſide his deſign of marching to London, and directed his route to Worceſter, where he met with a kind reception from the magiſtrates, and next day was ſolemnly proclaimed.

The active and intrepid Cromwell purſued him thither, at the head of a formidable army, and attack-

tacking the city with his usual vigour, surprized and threw the royalists into the utmost confusion. A terrible carnage ensued, the streets were covered with the carcases of the slain; Hamilton, a worthy nobleman, was mortally wounded, and the king compelled to fly. By the earl of Derby's advice, he repaired to Boscobel, a lonesome mansion on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Pendarell, a farmer.

The loyal peasant here hospitably entertained his deserted and bewildered sovereign at the hazard of his life, as all persons were forbidden to harbour him on pain of death. At length the farmer having communicated the secret to his three brothers, they furnished the king with a peasant's habit, and led him into a neighbouring wood, put an axe into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting wood.

During his continuance in this abject state of retirement, he chearfully partook of the homely, but best fare his host could furnish. One day, on the approach of a party of soldiers, he climbed up into an oak tree, where he sheltered himself for the space of twenty-four hours. This tree was afterwards called the Royal Oak, and for many years held by the royalists in great veneration. At length, however, after having been exposed to the most imminent danger, encountered many and great difficulties, and assumed a variety of external disguises by way of deception, he landed at Fescamp in Normandy, for which place he had embarked at Shoreham in Sussex.

Cromwell had now acquired such renown among the people, and influence with parliament through his victorious career, that he might be said to govern both the army and the state.

Elated by their late successes, the English parliament passed an act, abolishing the royalty of Scotland, empowering it, however, to send a certain number of representatives to the British senate. All causes in both kingdoms were now determined by a mixture of English and Scottish judges; justice was administered impartially, and peace and order were maintained by the prudent conduct of general Monk, who commanded the forces in Scotland. The people, being secured in their property, applied themselves to the manual arts, and enjoyed, during the inter-regnum, more of peace and plenty than their ancestors had experienced in any equal period of time.

Blake, who had heretofore acted only in a military capacity, now signalized himself as a naval commander, by atchieving such feats in character of admiral of the parliamentary fleet, as raised him to the highest pinnacle of fame. Among other proceedings he had the bravery to pursue prince Rupert, in his flight from Kinsale to Portugal, and could hardly be prevented from attacking him even in sight of Lisbon. The prince, however, having escaped from the intrepid English admiral, through the interposition of his Portuguese majesty, directed his course to the West-Indies, where his brother prince Maurice was shipwrecked in a storm; so that after undergoing many hardships, and finding it impossible to do any effectual service to the royal cause, he returned to France, where he disposed of the few ships which remained, together with all his prizes.

As all the American colonies, New England excepted, professed regal allegiance, Sir George Ayscough was sent with a considerable squadron to exact their submission to the power of parliament. Bermudas, Antigua, and Virginia, made little resistance; Barbadoes, commanded by lord Willoughby of Parham, held out for a considerable time, but was at length obliged to follow the example of the other plantations. Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man, were with equal ease brought under obedience. Nor were the arms of the republic less successful in Ireland and Scotland. Ireton, deputy lieutenant of the former kingdom, persevered with great industry in subduing the revolted Irish, and defeated them in many engagements, which, though in themselves of little importance, entirely ruined their declining cause. The horrid massacres which had been there committed were retaliated on the perpetrators, among whom was Sir Phelim O'Neal, who justly suffered on the gallows for the many barbarities he had committed. After the reduction of Limeric, Ireton, the deputy lieutenant, died in that city of the plague.

A. D. 1652. Having succeeded in their military and naval enterprizes, and obtained despotic power throughout the British dominions, the parliament of England determined to carry their arms to foreign countries. In order to restrict the commerce of the Dutch, they passed an act of navigation, prohibiting all nations to import any merchandize into England, but what was the produce of the country to which the ships belonged. The states general, alarmed at these measures, sent ambassadors to London, to solicit the repeal of the act of navigation; but the parliament, far from complying with their request, demanded satisfaction for the massacre at Amboyna, the murder of Dorislaus, the correspondence which, during the war, the Dutch ambassadors had maintained with the late king; claiming also two millions of money for the losses they had sustained by the Hollanders in the East Indies. The United States, apprehensive that these proceedings would terminate in an open rupture, equipped a powerful armament, but were so impolitic as to menace the court of London with its destination.

In order to secure the Dutch merchantmen from the depredations of the English corsairs, Tromp, a gallant veteran, was sent to cruize off the coast of Holland with a fleet of forty-five sail. When hailed by the English admiral, he omitted paying the usual compliment of striking, and Blake fired a blank shot to remind him of the honour due to the English flag. Tromp taking no notice of these warnings, Blake fired a ball, which was returned by a broadside from the Dutch admiral.

A general engagement ensued which lasted five hours, and was sustained with equal fury and resolution; but the event is partially described by the respective historians of each country. The populace of London were highly incensed, and would have assaulted the Dutch ambassadors, had they not been furnished with a guard for the safety of their persons.

The Dutch admiral then directed his course towards the Downs, in order to engage rear admiral Ayscough, who lay at anchor with part of the English fleet; but on receiving intelligence of Blake's having sailed to the northward with forty ships, to destroy the herring busses on the coast of Shetland, he followed him with a very numerous armament. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Newcastle, but a violent storm arising just as they were ready to engage, scattered the Dutch fleet in such a manner, that not above thirty sail could then reach Holland, though the rest arrived in a few weeks after.

Sir

Sir George Ayſcough was afterwards attacked by a Dutch fleet of thirty-four ſhips, under the command of admiral de Ruyter; when though much inferior in numbers, the Engliſh engaged them valiantly until night put an end to the action. A ſhort time before this engagement, commodore Badily was defeated in the Mediterranean, by Van-Galen, who was ſlain in the action.

Soon after this indeciſive engagement, Blake fell in with the grand fleet of the Dutch, under the command of the admirals Tromp and de Ruyter near the Goodwin ſands. Blake determined to face the enemy, but being greatly inferior in numbers was worſted in the action, being wounded himſelf, and having two of his ſhips taken, two burned, and one ſunk. Blake retired to the Downs, and Tromp, elated with his victory, hoiſted a broom at his main top-maſt head, as a ſignal that he would ſweep the channel clear of the enemy.

A. D. 1653. To retaliate this loſs, the parliament fitted out a fleet of fourſcore ſail, the command of which was given to Blake, aſſiſted by Dean, together with Monk, who had been recalled from Scotland for that purpoſe. While they lay off Portland, they eſpied the Dutch fleet of ſeventy-ſix ſail, having above three hundred merchant-men under their convoy, and bore down immediately to give them battle. The fight was continued three days with the moſt reſolute obſtinacy, and the commanders in chief equally ſignalized their valour and their conduct. The Dutch admiral made an excellent retreat, and ſaved all the merchantmen except thirty. Eleven of his ſhips of war were taken or deſtroyed; two thouſand men were ſlain, and about fifteen hundred made priſoners. The number of ſlain among the Engliſh were nearly equal to that of the enemy. They loſt, however, but one ſhip, which was ſunk, but they had many greatly damaged.

The ſtates of Holland having ſuffered ſo much from the capture of their ſhips and the ſtagnation of their commerce, deputed an embaſſy to apply to the parliament for ſettling a treaty of peace; but this was interrupted by a ſtrange event taking place in England.

Cromwell, who, as before obſerved, might be ſaid to govern, in conſequence of a conſultation with ſome of the officers of the army on whoſe fidelity he could rely, had preſented to the houſe a petition, or rather poſitive demand of the payment of arrears due to the army; and the parliament treating this behaviour with becoming reſentment, Oliver availing himſelf of the opportunity, aſſembled a council of officers, in order to deliberate concerning the ſettlement of the nation; and while they were engaged in debates, colonel Ingoldſby entered, and informed him that the parliament had met, and were come to a reſolution not to diſſolve themſelves, but to ſupply the vacancies by new elections.

To effect his deſign of centering all power civil and military in himſelf, Cromwell haſtened to the houſe with a body of three hundred ſoldiers, which he poſted at the different avenues. He firſt addreſſed himſelf to his friend St. John, and hypocritically told him he was come to do that, which, to his great grief of ſoul, the Lord had impoſed on him After ſitting ſome time to hear the debates, he ſuddenly roſe up, and in the moſt opprobrious terms reviled them for their tyranny, oppreſſion, and robbery of the public. Then ſtamping with his foot, which was the ſignal for the ſoldiers to enter, he ſaid, "Get you gone, give place to honeſt men, you "are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are "no longer a parliament, the Lord has done with "you, he hath choſen other inſtruments for per-"fecting his own work." Sir Harry Vane riſing to remonſtrate againſt this outrage, he exclaimed, "O! Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! the Lord "deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." Taking hold of Martin by the cloak; "Thou art a whore-"maſter," ſaid he. Another he called a drunkard; a third, an adulterer, and a fourth, an extortioner. "It is you," ſaid he to the members, "that have driven me to this. I have prayed the "Lord, night and day, that he would rather ſlay "me, than put me on this work. He then gave orders to the ſoldiers to clear the premiſes, and having himſelf locked the door, and ſecured the key, cooly retired to his apartments at Whitehall. By one reſolute effort, through the aid of that enthuſiaſm, which ſeems to have been the moſt effective principle of the times, did Oliver Cromwell annihilate the legiſlative power of three kingdoms, and arrive to a degree of eminence and dignity hardly to be paralleled in the annals of hiſtory.

This ſingular tranſaction produced addreſſes of congratulation and duty from the officers naval and military, and many religious ſects and ſocieties. Yet there was a formidable clan, whoſe oppoſition might greatly impede the progreſs of Cromwell's deſigns. Theſe were ſuch as were denominated in general republicans, but yet comprehended ſects of very oppoſite tenets. The firſt were the Calviniſts, called alſo fifth monarchy men, who affirmed that dominion being founded in grace, all diſtinction of magiſtracy ought to be aboliſhed, except what aroſe from ſuperior ſanctity; and conſidering themſelves as ſaints, thought they alone had a right to govern. The ſecond were the Deiſts, who aſpired to more liberty than they could expect under any monarch, and wiſhed for unbounded freedom in religion and politics.

As a man of Cromwell's penetrating genius muſt have diſcerned that as enthuſiaſm is the child of folly, the former were the apteſt to aſſiſt him in finiſhing his intended project; in conſequence of which he firmly attached himſelf to the Calviniſts. Though he had already aſſumed the ſupreme authority, he thought proper to amuſe them with the appearance of a commonwealth. He firſt juſtified his conduct in diſſolving the parliament, by a declaration ſubſcribed by all the principal officers of the fleet and army; and then propoſed the eſtabliſhment of a parliament, conſiſting of one hundred and forty members, in whom the ſupreme power ſhould center. Having carried this point, he took care to ſelect men of obſcure birth, and a fanatical enthuſiaſtic turn of mind; aſſured that ſuch would upon every occaſion become his pliant tools. Accordingly this very choice and ſingular legiſlature began to exerciſe their authority, in aboliſhing the clerical function, the tythes, the univerſities, the court of chancery, and the common law, in the room of which they intended to ſubſtitute the Moſaic inſtitution.

While theſe extraordinary meaſures were effecting by Cromwell, ſome of the provinces of the United States were preparing remonſtrances to lay before the Engliſh parliament for their non-attention to the propoſals they had made for a general pacification. Admiral Tromp, with a fleet of an hundred ſail fell in with the Engliſh fleet commanded by Monk, Dean, Penn, and Lawſon. They engaged on the third of June, near the coaſt of Flanders, and fought with equal valour until

OLIVER CROMWELL (*attended by a Party of* SOLDIERS)
DISSOLVING *the* LONG PARLIAMENT, *Anno* 1653.

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night parted them. Admiral Dean was ſlain in the action, notwithſtanding which, the Engliſh renewed the battle next day, and the Dutch were obliged to retire with great loſs; for, towards the cloſe of the battle, the Engliſh were reinforced by Blake, with eighteen ſail of freſh ſhips, and the victors purſued the enemy to the coaſt of Holland.

The gallant Tromp having repaired this loſs, ſoon after weighed anchor, hoiſted ſail, and bore down upon the enemy as they lay in the Texel, though he was greatly inferior in point of numbers. A freſh engagement enſued on the twenty-ninth of July, which, with no material advantage to either party, laſted from morning till night. The next day Tromp, being reinforced with twenty-ſeven ſhips, engaged them again, but was defeated by the Engliſh with ſome conſiderable loſs. A few days after Tromp, ſailed with a fixed reſolution either to repair his late misfortunes or die in the attempt. He fell in with the Engliſh commanded by Monk, and the fight immediately began with the utmoſt fury. Tromp, bravely encouraging his men, was ſhot through the heart with a muſquet ball, in conſequence of which, the Dutch were ſo diſpirited that they began to give way on all ſides, and at length retired into their harbours with the loſs of their beſt ſhips, which were either ſunk or taken.

The United States having now ſuſtained the heavieſt loſſes both in their trade and navigation, very ſolicitouſly applied for a treaty of pacification, to which Cromwell acceded on the following terms. A defenſive league was concluded between the two republics. They engaged each of them to baniſh the enemies of the other; thoſe concerned in the maſſacre of Amboyna were to be ſeverely puniſhed; the honour of the flag was to be yielded to the Engliſh; eighty five thouſand pounds were to be paid by the Dutch Eaſt-India company, as an indemnification for the loſſes which the Engliſh company had ſuffered; and the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt-Indies was to be ceded to the latter.

Cromwell ſoon found the powerful effects of ſelecting the members which compoſed his parliament, as they unanimouſly agreed to reſign their authority to thoſe from whom it had been received, and accordingly repaired to Whitehall, and confeſſing themſelves unequal to the taſk they had undertaken, delivered the inſtrument of government to him.

A. D. 1654. The late ſhadow of legiſlature having delegated their nominal authority to a council of officers, compoſed of the creatures of Cromwell, the power of government was declaratively veſted in him with the title of lord Protector of the Common-wealth, to be occaſionally aſſiſted by a council compoſed of only twenty-one members. His firſt act of ſovereignty was the execution of Mr. Vowel, and colonel Gerard, who were charged with having formed a conſpiracy againſt his life; the former was hanged at Tyburn, and the latter beheaded on Tower-hill. The ſame ſcaffold ſerved for the execution of don Pantaleon Sa, knight of Malta, and brother to the Portugueſe ambaſſador. He had repaired with ſeveral others, to the New-exchange, and in a miſtake killed a man, whom he took to be the before mentioned Gerard, by whom he had been affronted on the preceeding day. Cromwell being informed of this tranſaction ordered the knight to be apprehended; and though he had retired to his brother's houſe, he and his accomplices were delivered up: the latter were hanged at Tyburn, and the knight was beheaded on Tower-hill.

But Cromwell, notwithſtanding the arts he practiſed and the guiſes he aſſumed, to veil his ambitious deſigns, could not elude the diſcernment of the thinking part of mankind. Parliament no ſooner met and choſe Lenthall for their ſpeaker, than they entered on a diſcuſſion of the pretended inſtruments of government, and of that authority, which, under the title of protector, he had uſurped over the nation. Cromwell, incenſed at their refractory diſpoſition, ſummoned them to the Painted-chamber, where he harangued on the abſurdity of arraigning his title, ſince the ſame inſtrument of government, whith conſtituted them a parliament, had entruſted him with the protectorſhip. On their return to the houſe, they found a guard placed at the door, who would not ſuffer any member to enter, until he had ſigned the recognition, by which he engaged faithfully to adhere to the then government, as veſted in a ſingle perſon and a parliament.

Theſe lawleſs and arrogant proceedings induced many of the members, poſſeſſed of power and influence in their reſpective places of reſidence in the country, warmly to engage in a conſpiracy againſt the haughty protector, who, apprized of their deſign, diſſolved the parliament eleven days before the expiration of the term fixed, telling them he knew there was a plot formed againſt the adminiſtration.

A. D. 1655. The royaliſts, availing themſelves of the general murmer which prevailed againſt the meaſures of adminiſtration, formed a deſign for reſtoring the king to his crown and dignities, and the nation to its former mode of government under king, lords, and commons. But Cromwell obtaining immediate intelligence of the ſame, through the vigilance of his ſpies, ſeveral of them were impriſoned.

Though the reſolute behaviour of the protector occaſioned a general panic, Jones, Grove, and other gentlemen of the Weſt, aſſembled about two hundred horſe, with which they entered Saliſbury at the time of the aſſize, took poſſeſſion of the gates and market-place, and proclaimed young Charles king of England; but not being joined by any of their aſſociates, they abandoned the town, and wandered about that country, till their numbers were greatly diminiſhed, ſo that one troop of horſe was at leaſt able to ſuppreſs them. The leaders being taken, were condemned and executed, and the reſt tranſported to the plantations.

The protector, now thinking his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed at home, directed his attention to foreign purſuits, to which he was not a little induced by the puſillanimous behaviour of Charles II. of France, who, notwithſtanding an unjuſtifiable attack of his fleet in their way to the relief of Dunkirk, waved the inſult and ſent ambaſſadors to London to ſue for the friendſhip and alliance of the protector.

During theſe tranſactions admiral Blake had been ſent with a fleet to the Mediterranean, to chaſtiſe the Algerine corſairs, who had annoyed the Engliſh traders. Another fleet was ſent to the Weſt-Indies, under the command of admiral Penn, having on board five thouſand ſoldiers under general Venables. Cromwell delivered to the admiral orders ſealed up, the purport of which he was not to know, until he reached a certain latitude. By theſe he was ordered to make a deſcent upon

the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and attack St. Domingo the capital. On their approach, the Spaniards abandoned their houſes, and fled into the woods; but when they ſaw Venables landing his ſoldiers at a conſiderable diſtance from the place, they recovered their ſpirits, returned to their habitations, and prepared themſelves for a vigorous defence. But the fatigue ariſing from the very intemperate heat of the climate ſo affected the Engliſh, that being wholly debilitated, they were eaſily repulſed by the natives, and driven on board their ſhips with conſiderable loſs. However, if they failed in that enterprize, they ſucceeded in their attack of Jamaica, which ſubmitted to their arms without oppoſition.

Notwithſtanding the capture of the important iſland of Jamaica, the protector ordered the naval and military commanders in chief into confinement immediately on their arrival in England. The king of Spain, incenſed at theſe hoſtilities, iſſued orders for confiſcating all the effects of the Engliſh in his dominions, and the Spaniſh trade was transferred to the Dutch, who ſoon indemnified themſelves for the loſſes which they had ſuffered in the war with England.

A. D. 1656. Hoſtilities being thus openly commenced between the crown of Spain and the Engliſh government, the fleet of the latter under the command of admirals Blake and Montague cruized off Cadiz in order to intercept the Weſt-India trade on their return; but being diſtreſſed for water, were forced to make for Portugal. Captain Stayner who was left on the ſtation, with ſeven ſhips, ſoon deſcried the galleons, and immediately gave chace. The Spaniſh admiral and two of his captains ran their veſſels a-ſhore, but the two ſhips richly laden fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and two were ſet on fire. The treaſure was brought from Portſmouth in waggons, and carried in triumph through the city of London.

The next engagement with the Spaniards, though not ſo profitable, was more honourable to the Engliſh flag, and terminated the naval atchievements of the brave admiral Blake, who on receiving intelligence that a Spaniſh fleet of ſixteen ſhips had taken ſhelter among the Canaries, ſailed thither, and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, drawn up in line of battle. The bay was fortified by a caſtle, and ſeven forts united by a line of communication; and the Spaniſh admiral had moored his ſmaller veſſels cloſe in ſhore, and the larger galleons further out with their broadſides to the ſea. Blake attacked them with ſuch fury, that the enemy quitted their ſhips, which were ſet on fire, and conſumed with all their treaſure. The gallant admiral, after this ſignal victory, dying of a dropſy on his return to his native country, was interred with all the honours due to his ſtation and character; his loſs being ſincerely regretted, not only by the protector, but the nation in general.

About this time an accident happened which greatly endangered the life of Oliver. Having been preſented with ſix fine Frieſland horſes, he attempted, for his amuſement, to drive his own equipage round Hyde Park, attended by Thurloe his ſecretary. The horſes taking fright, ran with ſuch violence, that he could neither manage the reins nor keep his ſeat; but being thrown on the pole, was dragged on the ground for ſome time, and a piſtol which he had in his pocket went off during the time of his being in this dangerous ſituation; however, he happily received no injury either from the fall or exploſion.

Cromwell exerciſed his exalted office without the leaſt interruption or moleſtation; and on the meeting of parliament obtained the neceſſary ſupplies by an unanimous vote. An act was alſo paſſed for the renunciation of all title in Charles Stuart or any of his family to the Engliſh throne; and this was the firſt act of that nature which had the leaſt appearance of a parliamentary ſanction.

A. D. 1657—8. In the beginning of this year, a powerful conſpiracy was formed againſt the life of the protector by one Syndercomb, formerly a trooper, who very narrowly miſſed his aim in attempting to ſhoot him. At his trial, he behaved with undaunted reſolution, declaring that many other perſons were engaged in the ſame deſign, and intimated that he had received undoubted aſſurances of being ſcreened from juſtice. He was convicted of high treaſon, and condemned to death, but on the day appointed for his execution he was found dead in the priſon.

This very obſequious parliament became daily more devoted to the will and pleaſure of the lordly protector; and ſo far did they carry their complaiſance, that on a motion made by colonel Jephſon for tendering him the crown they moſtly ſignified their approbation of the propoſal; and, when the motion was ſeconded by an aldermen of London, it paſſed by a conſiderable majority.

On his being urged by a ſelect committee to comply with the requeſt of the parliament, he ſeems to have acted with the duplicity of the tyrant Richard, and to have uſed all his art and fineſſe, which plainly indicated that ambition prompted him to accept of the glittering gewgaw. But foreſeeing that his compliance would draw on him the reſentment of the army, and the contempt of the world, as he had ever been the avowed foe of kingly government, after deſiring time to deliberate on the important matter, he gave an abſolute denial, and the parliament, to reward his conſummate modeſty, confirmed his title of protector.

Cromwell now removed from their reſpective offices, commiſſions and appointments, all thoſe perſons of whoſe attachment to his intereſt he had the leaſt ground to entertain ſuſpicion. His eldeſt ſon Richard was introduced at court, as the protector's heir apparent. He is repreſented by hiſtorians as a youth of an amiable character, particularly adorned with the virtue of benevolence, and exempt from the ambition and bigotry of his father, as a proof of which is cited, his ſtrenuous interpoſition in behalf of the unfortunate king Charles II.

Having two daughters yet unmarried, Cromwell beſtowed one on the grandſon and heir of the earl of Warwick; the other on lord viſcount Falconbridge, of a very ancient family, formerly attached to the royal party.

A plan was now formed in favour of the king, by Mr. Mordaunt, brother to the earl of Peterborough, Sir Henry Slingſby, a man of great property in Yorkſhire, and doctor Hewet, a clergyman of the church of England.

Elated by this plauſible effort in his favor, Charles made ſome preparations in the Low Countries for obtaining that crown of which he was deprived by the protector. Cromwell receiving intimation that one of the king's commiſſions was accepted by a gentleman of the name of Stapely, ſent for him to court, and prevailed on him to diſcover all he knew of the conſpiracy. He alſo inti-

intimated that the marquis of Ormond had lately reſided in London three weeks. That nobleman came over to learn the particulars of the combination, and finding matters not yet ripe for action, returned to the continent without the knowledge of Cromwell. Mordaunt, Slingſby, and Hewet, with a great number of their confederates, were apprehended, and a court of juſtice was erected to try the conſpirators. Slingſby and Hewet were condemned and executed, but Mordaunt eſcaped, his wife having bribed the evidence to abſent themſelves on the day of trial.

The laſt memorable tranſaction of a military nature during the protectorſhip of Oliver Cromwell, was the victory obtained by the combined forces of France and England over the Spaniſh army at the famous battle of Dunes, where the Spaniards were routed with the loſs of twelve hundred ſlain, and about two thouſand taken priſoners. Dunkirk had been previouſly inveſted, but being by this means deprived of all hopes of aſſiſtance, was obliged to ſurrender, and the government of it was given to Lockhart, a Scotchman, who had married Cromwell's neice, was his ambaſſador at the court of France, and deemed a profound politician.

But amidſt all the power, honour, and renown, which Cromwell had acquired as protector of the realm, he was not exempt from anxiety and diſquietude. The coolneſs of relations and friends on the one hand, and the plots and ſchemes of enemies on the other, greatly affected his repoſe. Fleetwood and others, concluding from the pomp and ſtate he had now aſſumed, that his views had ever been directed by pride and ambition, inſtead of religion and the love of his country, began to form parties againſt him, but the event which touched him moſt nearly was the death of a favorite daughter, whoſe amiable diſpoſition had procured her univerſal eſteem.

In the month of Auguſt he was attacked with a fever, which encreaſing with great violence, he began to apprehend it would terminate in his death. His phyſicians were ſenſible of his perilous ſituation, and began to drop ſome hints on the ſubject; but his chaplains, by their fanatical inſinuations, perſuaded him to believe himſelf out of all danger. But notwithſtanding this deluſive aſſurance, his ſymptoms became more violent, and the council deſiring to know if his ſon Richard ſhould ſucceed him, he anſwered in the affirmative, and then expired on the third of September, (1658) in the 59th year of his age.

Cromwell was robuſt in perſon, and his viſage manly, though not engaging. In no inſtances have the prejudice and partiality of hiſtorians been more glaring than in the deſcription of the character of this very extraordinary man. He is variouſly and emphatically ſtiled, by four different writers, "a fortunate madman; a judicious villain; a brave wicked man; and a tyrant without vices:" to which an appellation of more modern date has been added, "a prince without virtues." How far any or all of theſe epithets are applicable, will beſt appear from a review of his life, which certainly exhibits the moſt palpable effects of wild enthuſiaſm and towering ambition. If he attained not to a degree of excellence in human literature, he appears to have been well acquainted with the human heart, and could ſo adapt his words and actions, as to gain an aſcendancy over moſt perſons whom he deſired to mould to his purpoſe. Verſed in the arts of diſſimulation and inſinuation, he not only concealed his own deſigns, but diſcovered the moſt ſecret intentions of others: as to religion, if its principal characteriſtics are juſtice and benevolence, we muſt offer it as our candid opinion, that, though he might have much of the theory of it in his head, very little of its influence appears in his actions. As mankind may be celebrated, or diſtinguiſhed however, in the annals of time for their vices as well as their virtues, ſo the name of Cromwell will be memorized to the lateſt poſterity, by the extraordinary nature of the tranſactions he effected. Upon the whole, it muſt be acknowledged, that though his mode of evincing his oppoſition to the government, and averſion to the principles of his ſovereign, cannot be juſtified by any law human or divine; yet as good frequently is brought about by apparent evil, he was by his proceedings acceſſary to the ſuppreſſion of arbitrary power, and the reſtoration of the conſtitutional rights of England; ſo that whether he did moſt good or moſt harm to the general intereſts of mankind, is a problem not eaſily to be ſolved.

Oliver Cromwell was interred with great funeral pomp in the chapel of Henry VII. amongſt the kings and princes of England, by command of his ſon Richard, who, immediately on the demiſe of his father, was, by the council, choſen to ſucceed him in the protectorſhip of the realm.

But neither the diſpoſition or genius of Richard was adapted to manage the ſeveral parties with whom he had to engage in his new character, ſo that each one ſeems to have purſued their own particular intereſt: for a parliament for the three kingdoms being convoked in the name of the new protector, they met on the twenty-ſeventh of January, and began to examine the authority of the Scots and Iriſh in ſending members to the houſe. After many debates, it was voted that the other houſe ſhould ſubſiſt, and the Scottiſh and Iriſh members ſit in parliament. They then paſſed an act, confirming Richard's title of protector.

A. D. 1659. The army, zealous of maintaining the power they had acquired under the government of Oliver, preſented a petition to Richard, entreating that Fleetwood might be appointed generaliſſimo, and on their being ſeverally repulſed by the new protector, not only reprobated his character, but uſurped a claim to ſettle the government. On the twenty-ſecond of April, they repaired to him, and inſiſted on the immediate diſſolution of the parliament. Deſborough, a man of a clowniſh diſpoſition, endeavoured to frighten him into compliance; and the protector having neither ſpirit to deny, nor power to reſiſt, the parliament was diſſolved, and the protector generally conſidered as depoſed. In a few days after, indeed, he ſigned his reſignation in form.

The council of officers, in conſequence of this reſolute effort, being reſtored to their former elevated ranks in government, began to conſider what ſort of government ſhould be eſtabliſhed. Many of them were diſpoſed to erect a military government, and to exerciſe the power of the ſword in an open manner; but as it would be difficult to compel the people to the payment of the taxes impoſed by arbitrary will, it was reſolved to retain the appearance of civil authority, and to reſtore the long parliament which had been expelled by Oliver Cromwell, with this proviſo, that they could not be diſſolved but with their own conſent.

The council then applied to Lenthall, late ſpeaker

ſpeaker in the long parliament, and preſented him with a declaration, by which he and the other members were invited to re-aſſemble. Accordingly, on the eighth day of May, two and forty met in the houſe, and the preſbyterian members, who had formerly been excluded, attempted to reſume their ſeats, but the houſe refuſed them admiſſion, and was ſupported in their rejection by the military council, in conſequence of which, and ſeveral acts obnoxious to that party, they reſolved to exert their utmoſt efforts to bring about the reſtoration of the royal family to the crown of England. Mordaunt, who had been concerned in the late conſpiracy, rather encouraged than intimidated by his paſt danger, was become the chief director of all their councils.

To effect this deſireable purpoſe they concerted a plan for riſing in ſeveral counties at once, and ſurprizing at the ſame time, Glouceſter, Lyme, Plymouth, Exeter, and Cheſter. This ſcheme being approved by Charles, he repaired privately to St. Malo, that he might be near at hand, in caſe the enterprize ſhould ſucceed; but the conſpiracy was defeated by the intelligence of Sir Richard Wallis, who now maintained with the parliament the ſame correſpondence which he had formerly carried on with Cromwell. Many of the conſpirators were ſeized and impriſoned, others abanded their houſes; a violent tempeſt raged during the whole time appointed for the inſurrection; inſomuch, that from the utter inability of ſome, and apprehenſive fears of others, the junction of the parties was wholly fruſtrated.

The city of Cheſter, however, was ſurprized through the vigilance and activity of Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton; but Lambert marching againſt them with a ſuperior force, after an obſtinate engagement, they were totally routed. Sir George Booth eſcaped from the field of battle, but was afterwards diſcovered in a diſguiſed habit, and impriſoned in the Tower of London.

The military council, apprehenſive of the deſign of parliament gradually to abridge and finally annul their authority, held frequent conferences in and about London, and at length came to an unanimous reſolution of preſenting a petition to the following effect: that the parliament would immediately comply with the contents of a former addreſs preſented by the council of Wallingford-houſe; that they would eſtabliſh general Fleetwood in his command, which, according to the preſent commiſſion, would in a few months expire; that Lambert ſhould be appointed lieutenant general; Deſborough general of the cavalry; and Monk general of the infantry; that they would proſecute with the utmoſt ſeverity thoſe communities, who had aſſiſted the enemy in the late inſurrections; and that no perſon might be elected chief magiſtrate of any corporation, who had ſhewn by his conduct, that the government of the commonwealth had not met with his approbation.

But while this petition, which was dated at Derby, was left with Fleetwood for his reviſal and amendment, Sir Arthur Haſlerig defeated their whole deſign, by ſending intelligence to the ſpeaker; in conſequence of which, it was reſolved in the houſe, after ſome debate, that a military council was not only uſeleſs, but expenſive as well as dangerous to the ſtate. The officers, incenſed at this peremptory reſolve that ſo particularly militated at their authority, determined on the diſſolution, or at leaſt the ſubjection of parliament, for which purpoſe Lambert approached London with his brigades. Having received aſſurance from Monk, that he would ſupport them, the parliament caſhiered Lambert, Deſborough, and ſome other officers, who had ſigned the petition, revoked Fleetwood's commiſſion, and appointed commiſſioners, for a limited time, to command the army.

For their own ſecurity, two regiments commanded by officers of whoſe fidelity they had no doubt, were ordered to take up their quarters in Weſtminſter, and guard the avenues to the houſe; but Lambert, entering London with four regiments, took poſſeſſion of them all, re-conducted the ſpeaker to his own houſe, and excluded the members.

Having thus paved the way for the accompliſhment of their deſign, the officers nominated a council compoſed of ten members, who ſhould take upon themſelves the regulation of the concerns of the commonwealth. They then appointed a committee of ſafety, in which the power of the adminiſtration was veſted. The chief members were Fleetwood, Deſborough, Lambert, Ludlow, and Sir Henry Vane. The officers, at the ſame time, publiſhed a declaration, annulling the late orders of parliament, declaring they were ſo far from ſetting up a military government, that they had eſtabliſhed a committee of ſafety, which was enjoined to deliberate and propoſe a form of legiſlature, proper to maintain the ſubjects liberties, and the happineſs of the commonwealth, and that conſequently there was no neceſſity for a houſe of peers, a protector, or a king.

In this critical ſituation of affairs, general Monk declared a firm reſolution to eſpouſe the cauſe of the parliament, and contended for their privileges thus violated by the army; though he was ſuppoſed to be actuated to this reſolve not ſo much by an attachment to the king, as a jealouſy wich had long prevailed between him and Lambert, ſo that the reaſon of his thwarting the projects of that ambitious general, whoſe ſucceſs he knew would deſtroy his own authority, was plain and evident.

But as the completion of his deſign required the utmoſt caution and deliberation, Monk, previouſly to his acting in open defiance, aſſembled his troops, diſmiſſed ſome officers whom he knew diſaffected to his purpoſes, impriſoned Cobbet, ſecured the town of Berwick, demanded an extraordinary ſupply from the Scots for this expedition, and having received intelligence that Lambert with his army was marching towards the north, ſent Clobbery and two other commiſſioners to London, to aſſure the committee of his peaceable diſpoſition, and to propoſe terms of accommodation. His chief view was to procure delay, and retard the preparations of his enemies. The committee of ſafety agreed to a treaty, which was at laſt ſigned by the commiſſioners, but Monk refuſed to confirm it, on pretence that his commiſſioners had exceeded their inſtructions. He deſired, however, to renew the negotiation at Newcaſtle.

A. D. 1660. Having adjuſted the neceſſary meaſures for the execution of his deſign, and recruited his forces by a ſupply to a very conſiderable amount from the Scots, general Monk entered England on the ſecond day of January, and was congratulated on his arrival by two deputies commiſſioned by parliament for that purpoſe. The city of London ſaluted him on the ſame occaſion by four of its principal merchants, and aſſured him alſo of the expediency of calling a free parliament, agreeable to the general voice of the people.

Thus encouraged and ſupported, Monk without delay ſent a meſſenger to the parliament, deſiring them

them to remove from London thoſe regiments, who, though they now pretended to return to their allegiance, had ſo lately dared to expel that aſſembly. Though this demand increaſed their ſuſpicions, yet they complied with his directions. He was introduced to the houſe with great ſolemnity, and received, from the mouth of the ſpeaker, the public thanks for the great ſervices which he had done his country. He then made a ſhort ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that the peaceable reſtoration of the parliament was not one of the ſmalleſt bleſſings which God had beſtowed on the nation; he told them, that he had received a great number of addreſſes, expreſſing their deſire of a free parliament, propoſed to reſtore the excluded members without exacting the oaths, and recommended Scotland and Ireland to their particular care and attention.

As an evident token of their diſapprobation of the then mode of adminiſtration, the common council of London refuſed to pay an aſſeſſment till a free and legal parliament was eſtabliſhed. As this refuſal tended to annul their authority, they were reſolved to make at once a full trial of their own ſtrength and the general's fidelity; and therefore ordered Monk to march into the city, to carry off their chains and demoliſh their gates, and commanded him to ſee theſe violent orders carried into immediate execution. Monk obeyed the injunction, entered the city in an hoſtile manner, levelled ſome of the gates and portcullices, and returned in triumph to his quarters in Weſtminſter, leaving the citizens equally aſtoniſhed and incenſed at his proceedings.

Monk had obeyed theſe orders in direct repugnance to his own will, but finding the neceſſity of throwing off the maſk he had aſſumed, and openly avowing the cauſe he determined to maintain in oppoſition to an arbitrary and tyrannical clan, he ſent a a letter to the parliament, in which, after complaining of the odious taſk they had impoſed on him, he upbraided them with the new cabals they were carrying on with Vane and Lambert, and demanded in the name of the citizens, ſoldiers, and whole community, that they ſhould iſſue writs within a week for ſupplying the then vacancies in the houſe, and appoint the time for their own diſſolution, and the ſummoning of a new parliament.

In order to conciliate the affections of the citizens, juſtly incenſed by his late proceedings, he repaired to Sir Thomas Allen, the lord mayor, and deſired him to ſummon a court of common council at Guildhall. He there endeavoured to apologize for the inſults which he had been obliged to offer them, proteſted his firm adherence to the meaſures which he had embraced, begged that a ſtrict union might be effected between the city and army, and repreſented that the national affairs could be no way ſo well ſettled as by their union.

This coalition between the city and army was matter of univerſal joy, and celebrated by all who wiſhed well to their country. Former animoſities between the royaliſts and preſbyterians totally ſubſided, and they unanimouſly concurred in the proſecution of ſuch meaſures as might tend to retrieve a conſtitutional form of government, and prevent the further effuſion of the blood of their countrymen and fellow ſubjects.

To complete his deſign by one bold ſtroke, Monk returned with his army to Weſtminſter, and requeſted the excluded members to repair to the houſe. They went accordingly, and forming a majority, their firſt buſineſs was to annul all the orders by which they had been deprived of their ſeats; they reſtored Sir George Booth and all his party to their liberty and eſtates; renewed and enlarged the general's commiſſion; voted an aſſeſſment for the maintainance of the fleet and army; and having taken theſe ſteps for promoting the peace of the nation, they diſſolved themſelves, and iſſued orders for convoking a new parliament. But while Monk was purſuing theſe ſpecious meaſures for effecting a reformation in government, he awarded, for private reaſons, all intercourſe with the king; profeſſed himſelf a republican in principle, and communicated his intentions but to one confidential friend, Mr. Maurice, a gentleman of Devonſhire.

To enforce the authority of the parliament he was about to eſtabliſh, the general directed ſome particular officers to preſent him with an addreſs; in which they promiſed to obey implicitly the orders of the enſuing parliament. He approved of this engagement, which he ordered to be ſigned by all the different regiments; and this furniſhed him with a pretence for diſmiſſing all the officers, by whom it was rejected. In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, his deſign was near being defeated by Lambert's eſcaping from the Tower; and beginning to aſſemble forces. As it was neceſſary to exert the greateſt activity in ſuppreſſing ſo dangerous an enemy, the general detached colonel Ingoldſby with his own regiment againſt Lambert, who had taken poſſeſſion of Daventry with four troops of horſe; but Lambert himſelf was obliged to ſubmit, as the greateſt part of his troops deſerted to Ingoldſby.

The day following the firſt meeting, (being the twenty-ſixth of April) of the new parliament, the king preſented by Sir John Granville a letter to the houſe, which being immediately read, a committee was nominated to draw up an anſwer; and, in order to propagate the joyful news throughout the kingdom, it was reſolved, that the letter ſhould be publiſhed. The king's declaration contained in it was happily adapted to flatter the people with hopes of public tranquillity. It promiſed a general indemnity to all perſons whatſoever; and, in ſhort, contained every conceſſion that could tend to the happineſs of the king and his ſubjects.

From the reception with which the meaſures of general Monk, and the declaration of his majeſty, met from the public in general, who now became unanimous in the common cauſe, the peers of the realm determined to repoſſeſs themſelves of their ancient authority, and to take their ſhare in the ſettlement of the nation. The doors of their houſe they found open, and all were allowed to enter; even ſuch as had formerly been excluded on account of their pretended delinquency. The lords voted, that the government ought to be jointly in the king, lords, and commons, according to the ancient conſtitution of the kingdom.

The ſpirit of unanimity, and indeed of true patroiſm, univerſally prevailing, the commons concurred in the votes of the upper houſe without a diſſentient voice, and to teſtify their approbation of the king's letter, allotted five hundred pounds to purchaſe a jewel for Sir John Granville the bearer; they preſented fifty thouſand pounds to his majeſty, ten thouſand to the duke of York, and five thouſand to the duke of Glouceſter. Both houſes then cauſed to be erazed from their journals all

ſtatutes and edicts, which had paſſed to the annulling of the royal prerogative.

A lawleſs junto being thus expelled the ſeat of government, Charles II. was proclaimed king of England on the eighth day of May, in Palace-yard, Whitehall, and at Temple-bar, the two houſes attending at the ceremony.

Theſe tokens of duty and loyalty from his ſubjects, naturally procured the king the homage of foreign powers. Spain, France, and the United States, ſent their reſpective deputies with complimentary invitations to him to take ſhipping at any of their ſea-ports; but he gave the preference to the latter.

He was attended by a multitudinous concourſe amidſt general acclamations, in his route from Breda to the Hague, whither on his arrival having received the congratulatory compliments of the States General, he embarked on the twenty-third, and on the twenty-ſixth arrived at Dover, where he was received by general Monk, whom he embraced with the warmeſt affection, calling him father, guardian, and protector; and proceeding to Canterbury, conferred upon him the order of the garter. He entered London on his birth-day, the twenty ninth of May, the anniverſary of which is obſerved by many at the preſent time.

Remarkable Occurrences between the death of Charles I. and the reſtoration of Charles II.

A. D.

1650 Potatoes firſt cultivated in England.

1651 On the third of September there happened a moſt dreadful hurricane in England, which blew down many houſes, and did other conſiderable damage, in various places, but more particularly in London.

1652 The art of roaſting and making coffee brought into England by a Greek ſervant to Mr. Edwards, a Turkey merchant.

Many learned men flouriſhed in England during the reign of Charles I. and the period that took place between his death and the reſtoration of his ſucceſſor Charles II. the moſt remarkable among whom were the following:

Ben Johnſon, poet-laureat to James I. and Charles I. was the greateſt dramatic writer of his age. He was familiarly acquainted with the beſt antient authors, and was the firſt that brought critical learning into repute. Some of his plays are ſtill acted with great applauſe. He died in 1637.

Edmund Waller was particularly diſtinguiſhed for his poetical genius, and poſſeſſed that elegance of expreſſion which will ever make his memory reſpectable. Among others of his compoſitions, he wrote two poems, the one on "divine love," and the other "on the fear of God;" both of which are inimitable. He was greatly reſpected by Oliver Cromwell, whom he celebrated in three excellent poems. When the reſtoration took place he wrote a copy of verſes on the occaſion, which he preſented to Charles II. but the king obſerving that they were not equal in elegance to thoſe written on the uſurper, Mr. Waller anſwered, "We "poets never ſucceed ſo well in truth as in fiction." He retained his mental faculties to the laſt, and died in the year 1687, in the eighty-ſecond year of his age.

The great poet Milton alſo flouriſhed during this period. He is particularly celebrated for his excellent poem, intituled, "Paradiſe Loſt," which exhibits ſuch an amazing force of genius as at once confounds and tranſports the reader; and it is with juſtice conſidered as equal to the firſt epic poem of antiquity. He lived in an eaſy though not affluent manner, till 1674, when he died of a fit of the gout, and was interred in the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate.

Sir Francis Bacon (lord Verulam) was at the head of the geniuſſes who flouriſhed during this period. He diſcovered the emptineſs of the viſionary ſyſtem of philoſophy, which had, for many ages, amuſed mankind, and taught the world that the only method of finding out truth was by experiment. In ſhort, he diſcovered ſuch mines of knowledge as will never be exhauſted.

William Hervey, D. M. acquired immortal honour for his diſcovery of the circulation of the blood. He enjoyed the happineſs, to find the clamours of ignorance, envy, and prejudice againſt his doctrine (which for ſome time prevailed) totally ſilenced, and his diſcovery univerſally eſtabliſhed. He died in 1657.

During the reign of Charles I. the polite arts flouriſhed in England, and more eſpecially painting and ſculpture. Charles was the patron of Rubens, Vandyke, Inigo Jones, and other eminent artiſts, ſo that, had it not been for the civil wars, he would probably have converted his court into a ſecond Athens; and the collections he made of painting and curioſities (conſidering the difficulties under which he laboured) were amazing. His favourite the duke of Buckingham imitated his example, and in the like articles expended the enormous ſum of £400,000.

BOO

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

CHARLES II.

Waledelin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born
May 29. 1630.

Crowned
April 13. 1661.

Died
February 6. 1685.

BOOK XIII.

From the Reſtoration of CHARLES II. to the Revolution.

CHAP. I.

CHARLES II.

Charles II. *aſcends the throne with eclat. Act of indemnity. Trial of the regicides. Parliamentary tranſactions. Dunkirk ſold to France. War with Holland. Naval exploits. Plague and fire of London. Triple alliance. The cabal. Teſt act. Peace with Holland. Popiſh plot. New council. Excluſion bill. Habeas Corpus act. Trial and execution of the earl of Stafford. Parliament of Oxford. The king endeavours to become abſolute. Affairs of Scotland. City of London deprived of its privileges. Rye-houſe plot. The conſpiracy diſcovered. Trial of Ruſſel. Trial of Sydney, &c. Death and character of Charles* II.

A. D. 1660. ON the reſtoration of Charles II. to the throne of his anceſtors, the affairs both of church and ſtate aſſumed a very different aſpect from that which preſented itſelf during the interval of the commonwealth. The firſt, and by far the wiſeſt act of his reign, was the promotion of Sir Edward Hyde whom he had created earl of Clarendon, to the dignity of chancellor. Indeed he was looked upon by the whole nation as his majeſty's chief counſellor, and had he been guided by the advice of that great and good man, his conduct would have more redounded to his own honor, and the happineſs and glory of his ſubjects.

A council was prudently formed between the royaliſts and preſbyterian parties. Of the latter the earl of Mancheſter was appointed lord chamberlain, lord Say, privy ſeal, Anneſley was created earl of Angleſey, Aſhley Cowper, and Denzil Holles were advanced to the dignity of barons. Of the former the admiral Montague was created earl of Sandwich, the dukedom of Albemarle was conferred upon general Monk, and Sir Edward Nicholas, and Sir William Maurice, were appointed to be ſecretaries of ſtate.

Charles during his exile had made a conſiderable progreſs in the ſtudy of hiſtory, and rendered himſelf acquainted with the politics and faſhions of the principal courts of Europe; but mechanics had chiefly engroſſed his attention, inſomuch that he had great knowledge in the art of ſhip-building. But his other qualities were by no means correſpondent. He was a latitudinarian in religion, careleſs, indolent, and immoderately addicted to pleaſure. To the pernicious influence of his example muſt be aſcribed that deluge of luxury and debauchery, which ſoon after over-ran the nation.

To add a due ſanction to the parliament now convened, all judicial proceedings tranſacted in the name of the commonwealth or protector, were confirmed by a ſpecial ſtatute; and both houſes confeſſing the guilt of the former rebellion, embraced his majeſty's pardon and indemnity.

Many of the peers who were particularly attached to the intereſt of the late king, voted that this pardon ſhould not extend to thoſe who had adjudged perſons executed by virtue of ſentences paſſed in high commiſſion courts, and this circumſtance cauſed a general alarm; but his majeſty coming to the houſe of peers, and moſt earneſtly intreating them to make the indemnity general, they promiſed to comply with his requeſt.

Though both houſes at firſt ſeemed to concur with the king, reſpecting the general indemnity, they would not conſent to a clauſe relating to nineteen of thoſe, who had ſat as judges on his father. The eſtates of Oliver Cromwell, Bradſhaw, Pride, Phillips, and Haſlerig, and one and twenty members, deceaſed, were confiſcated, and their families ſubjected to ſuch other penalties, as the king and parliament ſhould think proper to inflict.

Vane and Lambert were exempted from the benefit of the bill of indemnity, though they did not come under cenſure as ſitting in judgment on their late ſovereign. Oliver St. John, and ſeventeen other perſons were deprived of all benefit from this act, if they accepted or executed any office, whether eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military. Commiſſioners were now appointed to proceed upon the trials of the ninety that had been immediately concerned in the murder of the late king. Of theſe, twenty-five were dead, twenty-nine had eſcaped out of the nation, ſeven were deemed proper objects of mercy, twenty-nine received ſentence of death, but nineteen were reprieved during the king's pleaſure, on account of their having ſurrendered themſelves according to the proclamation. The ten who were to be executed were Harriſon, Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scrope, Jones, Hacket, and Axtel; who ſubmitted to their fate with ſuch fortitude and reſolution, as evinced thoſe principles for which they ſuffered.

The parliament, in adjuſting the king's revenues, were equally attentive to the liberties and privileges of the ſubject, and the honour and dignity of the crown. In the time of the commonwealth, wardſhips and liveries had been utterly aboliſhed, and even in the then parliament, before the king's reſtoration, a bill had been introduced, offering him an equivalent for theſe revenues. An hundred thouſand pounds a year was the ſum, which the parliament propoſed, and the king, ſenſible

ſenſible that theſe imports did not yield ſo much profit, readily accepted the offer. Half of the exciſe was granted in perpetuity to the crown, as the fund for producing that revenue; but the making good theſe engagements was left to the parliament's future deliberation, as the produce ariſing from half the exciſe would not amount to more than two thirds of that ſum.

Charles, whoſe volatile mind was not the moſt ſuſceptible of the tender impreſſions of conſanguinity, appeared, however, greatly affected at this time by the loſs of the duke of Glouceſter, who died of the ſmall pox, in the twentieth year of his age.

To pave the way for the introduction of the hierarchy, the king, as ſoon as the parliament was adjourned, publiſhed a proclamation, ordering that a certain number of able divines ſhould be choſen to review and alter the liturgy; at the ſame time directing the biſhops to exerciſe their ſpiritual juriſdiction in the ſame form, as had been formerly uſed in the church of England. Nine of the old biſhops ſtill living were reſtored to their dioceſes, and biſhoprics offered to the moſt eminent preſbyterians, but to the honour of their profeſſion, they all (Reynolds who was made biſhop of Norwich excepted) rejected the offer as inconſiſtent with their religious principles.

In the month of October, the princeſs dowager of Orange arrived in London, and in a ſhort time after his majeſty was viſited by her mother the princeſs Henrietta, and Edward, prince palatine, brother to prince Rupert. The queen mother at this juncture propoſed a match between her daughter Henrietta and the duke of Orleans, to which the king conſented.

The ſubject of diſbanding the army being propoſed for debate in both houſes of parliament, the king who had reviewed a detachment of his veteran troops, was ſo charmed with their expert manœuvres and martial appearance, that he expreſſed an ardent deſire of retaining them in his ſervice. But the chancellor repreſenting to him the inexpediency of ſuch a meaſure, from the conſequences that muſt inevitably enſue, all the forces were immediately diſbanded, except one regiment of infantry, and another of cavalry, maintained as guards for the king's perſon. The two houſes then cauſed the bodies of Cromwell, Bradſhaw, Ireton, and Pride, to be taken out of their graves, and carried upon ſledges to Tyburn, and buried under the gallows, after hanging a whole day.

When his majeſty with the advice of his council diſſolved the parliament at the cloſe of the year, he expreſſed a due ſenſe of that loyalty and affection they had ſhewn him upon every occaſion. The chancellor in his ſpeech recommended the ſettlement of the militia, and alſo hinted the formation of a conſpiracy, for ſurprizing Windſor, Whitehall, and the Tower of London, affirming, that many diſbanded officers and republicans were concerned in this deſign, and that their intention was to raiſe an inſurrection in the weſt, under the command of general Ludlow.

A. D. 1661. An alarm of the moſt ſerious nature marked the commencement of this year, when a number of the fifth monarchy men, under the command of one Venner, a deſperate enthuſiaſt, iſſued forth into the ſtreets of London completely armed. Theſe violent and outrageous fanatics took poſſeſſion of a houſe in the city, which being attacked by the guards, they defended themſelves until the greater part was killed; the few that remained being taken, were tried, condemned, and executed.

Meaſures had been taken in Scotland to ſuppreſs the kirk party, and this year epiſcopacy was reſtored to that kingdom, and the parliament abrogated the ſolemn league and covenant, under pretext of the violence which had been uſed, in extorting the conſent of his late majeſty to theſe ſtatutes.

On the twenty-third of April, being St. George's day, the ceremony of his majeſty's coronation was performed with great pomp in Weſtminſter-abbey, on which occaſion, honours and dignities titular and lucrative, were conferred on his favourites and adherents; and ſoon after the king eſtabliſhed the Royal Society, now ſo well known in moſt parts of the world.

The parliament aſſembled on the 8th of May, and the commons having choſen Sir Edward Turner ſpeaker, immediately proceeded to buſineſs; they paſſed an act for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government, and it was made high treaſon to intend or deviſe his impriſonment or dethronement. To call him a papiſt or heretic, or to endeavour by ſpeech or writing to deprive him of the affections of his ſubjects, was declared puniſhable with excluſion from all offices, eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military. They annulled the act for excluding biſhops from ſitting in parliament; declared that the power of the militia belonged to the king alone, and empowered him to diſpoſe of all the land forces; after which both houſes were adjourned to the 20th of November.

A party who were diſtinguiſhed by the denomination of cavaliers, murmured greatly againſt the king and council for witholding from them all reparation for the loſſes they had ſuſtained during the civil war, while thoſe who had proſecuted them with the utmoſt ſeverity, enjoyed, by the act of indemnity, all the wealth they had unlawfully extorted from the royaliſts, before the reſtoration. On the other hand, the miniſtry ſpread through the whole city rumours of plots and conſpiracies againſt the king and government. This appears to have been a plauſible pretence of the miniſtry, who together with moſt of the members of both houſes, were deſirous of humbling the preſbyterians, under the general term of non-conformiſts; for no ſooner did the act of uniformity paſs both houſes, than the rumour of the conſpiracy immediately ſubſided.

Theſe pretended plots were the foundation of the corporation act, ordaining all officers of all corporations to take the oaths as preſcribed in form according to the ſtatutes in ſuch caſes made and provided.

A. D. 1662. On the ſeventeenth of May his majeſty gave the royal aſſent to an act for eſtabliſhing uniformity in public worſhip, and in the adminiſtration of the ſacrament, and on the twenty-firſt of May, his marriage with Catharine, infanta of Portugal, was celebrated with great magnificence. This princeſs, though virtuous, poſſeſſed no perſonal charms; her chief attraction was a portion amounting to three hundred thouſand pounds, beſides the fortreſs of Tangier in Africa and Bombay in the Eaſt-Indies.

At this time ſeveral criminals were tried and executed, amongſt whom were three regicides who had eſcaped to Holland, where they were ſeized

and brought back in chains to England. But the attention of the public was principally engroſſed by the trials of Vane and Lambert; the former of whom was executed, being the laſt who ſuffered on account of the civil wars. Lambert, from his dutiful and ſubmiſſive behaviour on his trial, was reprieved at the bar. His ſentence was afterwards mitigated to perpetual confinement in the iſle of Guernſey, where he ſurvived his condemnation thirty-ſix years, living in calm repoſe, wholly undiſturbed by the noiſe and tumult of party or faction.

In conſequence of the act of uniformity, about two thouſand miniſters, ſuppoſed to have been chiefly preſbyterians, abandoned their livings in the church for refuſing to conform to the rites and ceremonies as eſtabliſhed by law. During theſe proceedings, admiral Lawſon, who in the beginning of the year ſailed with a ſquadron to the coaſt of Barbary, concluded a peace on the part of England with the Dey of Algiers.

A. D. 1663. The prodigality of this luxurious and diſſipated monarch compelled him to a meaſure which contributes amongſt others not a little to ſully his reign. This was the ſale of Dunkirk with all the ammunition and artillery in the garriſon to the French, for the ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds, and he is ſaid to have done this with the advice of the lord chancellor Clarendon.

On pretence of eaſing the proteſtant diſſenters who complained of being much aggrieved, a plan was formed by the council for a toleration act; and the indulgence granted by it was extended to the Catholics, to whom the king, and particularly the duke of York, was ſuppoſed to be attached.

As the chancellor had oppoſed the plan of toleration, the earl of Briſtol, who in his exile had embraced the Romiſh religion, now employed all his raillery in ridiculing and rendering him obnoxious to his ſovereign. Nor was the earl the only perſon that endeavoured to traduce that faithful miniſter. The ducheſs of Cleveland, the favourite concubine of Charles, becauſe Clarendon diſdained to flatter her vanity, or gratify her ambition, uſed all her influence with the king to effect his ruin. Secretary Nicholas, who was Clarendon's intimate friend, was depoſed, and ſucceeded by Sir Henry Bennet, a reputed papiſt.

Notwithſtanding the loſſes ſuſtained by the royaliſts from their adherence to the cauſe of his father, Charles was in general inattentive to their petitions. He granted indeed a few penſions, to the Penderells, Mrs. Land, and ſome others, who had contributed to his preſervation after the battle of Worceſter. But the greateſt part of the royaliſts were ſtill involved in poverty and diſtreſs, aggravated by the diſappointment of their moſt ſanguine hopes, and the additional mortification of ſeeing all places of power and profit poſſeſſed by their inveterate foes. With regard to the act of indemnity and oblivion, they alledged, that it was an act of indemnity to the king's enemies, and of oblivion to his friends.

Notwithſtanding the chancellor by his oppoſition to the plan of toleration had incurred his majeſty's diſpleaſure, from motives of policy, he continued him in his high and important office, which inflaming the malice and reſentment of the earl of Briſtol, he impeached Clarendon of high treaſon before the houſe of peers. In this inconſiſtent charge, he was accuſed of having endeavoured to fix the imputation of popery upon the king; of promiſing to uſe his influence in aboliſhing the penal laws againſt the papiſts; of having ſcandalized his majeſty; adviſed the ſale of Dunkirk; reviled the parliament; embezzled the public money, and enriched himſelf by ſelling employments. The peers treated this ill-founded impeachment with contempt, and lord Briſtol, aſhamed of his conduct, retired to the continent, and there continued ſome years.

A. D. 1664. The miniſtry from their firſt appointment had been continually alarmed with plots and conſpiracies ſaid to be formed by the republican party, and one was now diſcovered to ſurprize ſeveral towns in the north, and excite a general inſurrection. This was nothing more than an idle ſcheme of ſome inconſiderable fanatics, and diſbanded ſoldiers, thirty of whom were taken and executed; however, it furniſhed the king with a plea, to demand, in his next ſpeech to the two houſes, the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments. With this demand they alſo complied, in conſequence of his affirming, that the kingdom was expoſed to continual troubles from the ſuggeſtions of a ſet of wretches, who arrogated to themſelves a right of meeting for a new election, under pretence that the preſent parliament was already diſſolved by virtue of that act.

About this time a diſpute aroſe between the Engliſh and the Dutch, in relation to commerce, the latter having oppoſed the African company in eſtabliſhing their ſettlements on the coaſt of Guinea. This tranſaction, which could only be conſidered as a prelude to a Dutch war, was by no means diſpleaſing to Charles, whoſe increaſing wants, the natural conſequence of exceſſive prodigality, prompted him to hope that he might convert to his private uſe ſome of the ſupplies granted for the maintenance of the war. He delighted in ſhipbuilding, and was ambitious of equipping a navy, that ſhould maintain the ſuperiority of the ocean; and the duke of York longed for an opportunity of ſignalizing his courage and power, as high admiral, againſt a people whom he deteſted, not only for their republican principles, but as one of the chief bulwarks of the proteſtant cauſe.

A rupture between England and the United States now ſeemed inevitable, and the deſign of proſecuting a war had the hearty concurrence both of the council and the parliament. Downing, the Engliſh reſident in Holland, delivered a memorial to the ſtates, containing a liſt of thoſe depredations of which the Engliſh complained. Mean while, as Charles was fully determined on the war, he had ſecretly diſpatched Sir Robert Holmes, with a fleet of two and twenty ſail to the coaſt of Africa. Holmes not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corſe, to which the Engliſh had ſome plauſible claim, but likewiſe made himſelf maſter of Cape Verde, and the iſle of Goree, together with ſeveral veſſels trading on that coaſt. When the ſtates remonſtrated againſt theſe hoſtilities, the king affected a total ignorance of Holmes's enterprize, and the better to carry on the deception, committed Holmes to the Tower, but reſtored him to liberty in a ſhort time.

Fired with reſentment at the neglect and inattention with which the Engliſh court treated their remonſtrances, the States ſent private orders to De Ruyter, to ſail for the coaſt of Guinea, and make repriſals on the Engliſh. De Ruyter executed his commiſſion with his uſual vigour and ſucceſs. He retook all the conqueſts which the Engliſh had made,

made, except Cape Corſe; expelled them from ſome of their old ſettlements, and ſeized all the Engliſh ſhips that fell into his hands. He then ſteered to the Weſt-Indies, in hopes of making himſelf maſter of Barbadoes, but failed in the attempt.

The naval preparations had for ſome time been carried on with uncommon diligence, and as the parliament had not yet granted the king any ſupplies, the city of London gratified him with a loan of an hundred thouſand pounds; he himſelf viſited the docks, encouraged and rewarded the workmen, and in a ſhort time the Engliſh navy was put in a very formidable condition.

In the month of November the parliament met, and voted his majeſty two million and a half for carrying on the intended war againſt the Dutch, the largeſt ſupply ever before granted to any monarch of England; encouraged by which, he declared war againſt the United States about the middle of March, having prorogued the parliament to the following October.

A. D. 1665. The duke of York, who was appointed admiral of the Engliſh fleet, ſailed on the 18th of May, with one hundred and fourteen ſhips of the line beſides frigates and ketches; having under him prince Rupert, and the gallant earl of Sandwich. Opdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of near equal force, received poſitive orders to give battle to the enemy. In the heat of the action, when engaged in furious combat with the duke of York, Opdam's ſhip blew up, and himſelf periſhed with all his crew. This incident decided the fortune of the day, for the Dutch, diſpirited by the loſs of their admiral, immediately broke the line, and made toward their own coaſt; and Tromp, ſon of the admiral of that name, favoured the retreat of the Dutch by ſuſtaining the fight alone for ſome time.

The Engliſh loſt only four ſhips, but ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were killed, whereas the Dutch had nineteen ſunk or taken. It is confeſſed, that during the whole action, the duke diſcovered equal courage and conduct; he was long engaged in the heat of the battle, and kept his ſtation, when the earl of Falmouth, lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one ball at his ſide, and he was beſmeared with the blood and brains of thoſe three gallant officers. A day of thankſgiving was appointed in England for this victory, and medals were ſtruck on the occaſion in honour of the duke of York.

As the queen was ſuppoſed to be barren, and the duke, therefore, conſidered as preſumptive heir to the crown, it was reſolved in council that he ſhould not be permitted to hazard another engagement; whereupon the command of the navy was given to the earl of Sandwich, of which, however, he was ſoon deprived, for the king having ordered him to ſet ſail for Berghen, where a fleet of Dutch merchantmen lay at anchor, inſtead of obeying the command in perſon, he diſpatched Sir Thomas Tiddeman, with part of the fleet for that ſervice, who attacked them with great impetuoſity, but met with ſo warm a reception that he was obliged to deſiſt from the enterprize with great loſs. Charles, incenſed at the earl for omitting to go thither in perſon, deprived him of the command, and ſent him on an embaſſy to Madrid.

During theſe tranſactions abroad, the city of London was groaning under a moſt dreadful plague, which raged with ſuch violence, that in the ſpace of eleven months it ſwept away above 100,000 perſons in the city and its environs. The king retired to Hampton Court, in order to avoid the contagion, but that being thought too near the capital, he afterwards removed to Saliſbury. Barnard Van Galen, biſhop of Munſter, at the inſtigation of the king of England, took up arms againſt the ſtates general, in conſideration of receiving a large ſubſidy from the Britiſh court. This turbulent prelate aſſembled a body of twenty thouſand men, with whom he invaded the province of Overyſſel, and reduced ſeveral places, but was glad to compromiſe matters, on finding the ſubſidy from England ill paid, and a large reinforcement to the Dutch being ſent by the duke of Lunenburgh and the king of France.

In the month of October the parliament, purſuant to prorogation, aſſembled at Oxford, and voted a ſupply of one million two hundred thouſand pounds for the ſupport of the war, and one hundred and twenty thouſand to the duke of York for the ſignal ſervices he had rendered his country by his late naval victory over the Dutch. The king now iſſued a proclamation, commanding all non-juring miniſters to remove with their families to the diſtance of twenty miles from the places of their uſual reſidence. Theſe perſons would have been much aggrieved by this command, had not the munificence of their friends increaſed in proportion to the ſeverity of the government.

A. D. 1666. By this time Lewis the 14th of France had openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Dutch, ſo that war was declared againſt that kingdom, on the king's return to London, in February. The Dutch fleet, conſiſting of ſeventy ſail, was now at ſea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp. Prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle commanded the Engliſh fleet, which amounted only to forty, notwithſtanding which diſparity, they bore down on the enemy in the morning of the firſt of June. The Dutch prepared for battle by cutting their cables on the approach of the Engliſh veſſels.

This combat, which is one of the moſt famous recorded in hiſtory, began with prodigious fury on both ſides. De Ruyter and Tromp were obliged to ſhift their flags to other ſhips, their own being ſo greatly damaged, that they were momentarily expected to ſink. One of their fleet was blown up by the Engliſh, and admiral Evertzen killed by a cannon ball. Sir William Berkely, who commanded the van of the Engliſh, fell into the thickeſt of the enemy, and after an obſtinate reſiſtance, being over-powered by numbers, his ſhip was taken, and himſelf ſlain. Two Engliſh ſhips were alſo loſt, notwithſtanding the courage and activity of Albemarle, who, though in the decline of life, diſplayed amazing ſpirit and intrepidity till the approach of night obliged them to deſiſt.

At day break the fight was renewed with greater fury than it had been maintained before. Van Tromp, in the utmoſt danger of being taken by the Engliſh, was ſaved by de Ruyter, who came to his aſſiſtance and brought him off. In the courſe of the action the Dutch were reinforced by ſixteen freſh ſhips, ſo that Albemarle found himſelf under a neceſſity of retreating towards the coaſt of England, where he was followed by the victorious enemy. Albemarle, on the third day, having made a previous diſpoſition, ſent the diſabled ſhips a-head, while he remained in the rear with eight and twenty ſail, ſo as to form a line a-ſtern occaſionally, for the reception of the purſuers.

The ſquadrons of Albemarle and prince Rupert having at length effected a junction, it was determined to face the enemy, and accordingly after ſome cannonading the ſhips came along ſide of each other, and the men fought, at cloſe quarters, till a fog put an end to the conteſt, and the Engliſh fleet retired to their own harbours. The Engliſh, by their diſtinguiſhed courage received the chief honour of this engagement, but the Dutch had a manifeſt advantage in point of the capture of ſhips.

Advice being now received in Holland, that the French admiral was ready to enter the channel, De Ruyter took his ſtation at the mouth of the Thames, in order to block up the Engliſh fleet in their own harbour. Albemarle and Rupert obſerving de Ruyter's ſituation, haſtened to the attack, and the fight began with great obſtinacy. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white ſquadron of the Engliſh, fell upon the Dutch van, which he entirely defeated, having killed the three admirals, who conducted it.

Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith, and during the heat of the action, was parted from de Ruyter and the main body, but by what means is uncertain. De Ruyter, with great courage and conduct, continued to ſuſtain the fight againſt the main body of the Engliſh, till night put an end to the combat. Next day, ſeeing the Dutch fleet ſcattered and diſperſed, he was obliged to retreat. For many hours the Engliſh hung upon the rear of the Dutch, who owed their ſafe arrival in their ports, chiefly to the courage and conduct of de Ruyter.

Albemarle, finding himſelf maſter of the ſea by the retreat of the Dutch fleet, detached admiral Holmes with a ſquadron to take and deſtroy all that fell in his way belonging to the enemy. He accordingly burned in the road of Vlye, a great number of merchant ſhips, and two large men of war appointed for their convoy; he then made a deſcent upon the iſland of Schelling, and reduced the town of Brandaris to aſhes. To prevent a junction between the French and Dutch ſquadrons, Holmes, on his return to England, was ſtationed near the Iſle of Wight.

While the Britiſh navy thus rode triumphant on the ocean, a dreadful calamity happened in London, which threw the people into great conſternation. On the ſecond of September, a fire breaking out in a baker's houſe near the bridge, diffuſed itſelf with ſuch rapidity, that no efforts could extinguiſh it, till it reduced a conſiderable part of the city to aſhes. Three days and nights did the fire continue to rage, and it was only by the blowing up of houſes, that it was at laſt extinguiſhed. Four hundred ſtreets, including eighty-nine churches, many hoſpitals and public edifices, and thirteen thouſand two hundred private houſes, were entirely deſtroyed.

The extent of this amazing fire, and which covered four hundred and ſix acres of ground, was from the Tower along the river to the Temple church, and from the north-eaſt gate as far as Holborn-bridge. His majeſty and the duke of York perſonally aſſiſted on horſe-back, from its beginning till it was totally extinguiſhed. The ſtreets of London were extremely narrow, the houſes were built entirely of timber, the ſeaſon was remarkably dry, and a violent eaſt wind happening at that time to blow, are ſuppoſed to be the cauſes of the ſurprizing damage that was done. Various however were the conjectures on the cauſe and authors of this dreadful conflagration. Some imputed it to the reſentment of the republicans, others to the malice of the catholics, though it is not probable that either party could derive any advantage from ſuch a cataſtrophe. However, the latter are fixed with the crime by the inſcription on the monument, which was erazed by order of king James II. but after the revolution replaced. The fire of London, though at that time a great calamity, has eventually proved advantageous both to the city and kingdom. The city was rebuilt in a very ſhort time. The king regulated the plans of the new ſtreets, ſo as to render them more ſpacious and convenient than thoſe which had been burned; and he prohibited the uſe of lath and timber, as the materials for the conſtruction of houſes.

London became much more healthy in conſequence of theſe regulations, and the plague which uſed to break out once or twice every century has not appeared ſince that misfortune. Amongſt the acts paſſed this ſeſſion, was one for rebuilding that part of the city demoliſhed by fire. The commons alſo voted a ſupply of one million, eight hundred thouſand pounds, to be raiſed partly by a poll-bill, and partly by aſſeſſment.

A. D. 1667. The king upon mature reflection, now became ſenſible that all the ends for which the war had been undertaken were likely to prove abortive. The Dutch, unconnected with any other power, had been able to contend with the whole naval force of England, and were daily improving in courage and conduct. So that Charles neither fond of action, nor animated by ambition, gladly ſought for means of reſtoring tranquillity to his ſubjects, already harraſſed with the complicated evils of the peſtilence and the fire.

Conferences were accordingly opened at Breda the enſuing May; when Charles, by his plenipotentiaries, inſiſted on the reſtoration of the two ſhips taken by the Dutch from the Engliſh before the commencement of hoſtilities between the two nations; and they demanded the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt Indies, retaken from the Hollanders ſince the beginning of the war. The king, perſuaded that a peace would be the certain reſult of the negotiation, had cauſed the greater part of his ſhips to be laid up, of which the Hollanders taking the advantage, their admiral De Ruyter ſailed from the Texel with a ſquadron of fifty ſhips, on the tenth of June, entered the mouth of the river Thames, attacked the fort of Sheerneſs, which he took almoſt without oppoſition, and deſtroyed three guard ſhips in the mouth of the Medway, having broke the chain laid acroſs the mouth of that river.

It was now apprehended that the enemy would ſail up the river, and deſtroy all the merchantmen, therefore to prevent ſo injurious an accident, thirteen veſſels were immediately ſunk at Woolwich and four at Blackwall. Platforms of cannon were raiſed on the banks of the river, and every poſſible precaution was taken to prevent an aſſault. But De Ruyter, declining ſo hazardous an enterprize as an attempt to make himſelf maſter of the Thames, ſteered his courſe for Portſmouth, upon which he made an unſucceſsful attempt. He then ſailed to Torbay, whence he carried off ſeveral veſſels; attempted Plymouth, but was repulſed with conſiderable loſs; chaſed a ſquadron commanded by Sir Edward Sprague; once more entered the Thames, and kept all the ſea ports on that

ſide

ſide the iſland, in fear and conſternation. The people, fired with indignation, loudly exclaimed againſt the king, for leaving the kingdom defenceleſs, and laviſhing the money raiſed for the purpoſes of the war in idle and diſſipated purſuits.

An uninterrupted ſcene of profligacy and obſcenity now prevailed at court, and only one individual was left who had virtue enough to oppoſe the licentiouſneſs of the times. This was the great earl of Clarendon, whom the king and his abandoned courtiers therefore determined to remove. His favourite miſtreſs was continually inveighing againſt this faithful miniſter; and the duke of Buckingham, and other courtiers, ridiculed his perſon and character.

At the ſame time the king was ſtimulated in his reſentment by his paſſion for Mrs. Stuart, a lady of great beauty, whoſe virtue he had hitherto found impregnable; but the chancellor, fearful of the conſequences of a diſputed title, perſuaded the duke of Richmond to marry Mrs. Stuart, and by that means defeated the king's project, whereupon the ſeals were given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman; and, in ſhort, Charles was ſo incenſed at this action, that it is ſaid he could never afterwards be reconciled to the earl.

The court minions had now made every preparation for commencing an attack upon Clarendon, and on the meeting of parliament, the commons ſent up an impeachment againſt him to the upper houſe, of which the principal article that could admit of proof, was that of adviſing, or conniving at the ſale of Dunkirk. But the peers, when the charge was preſented, refuſed to commit him to cuſtody, which occaſioned great animoſity between the two houſes.

Clarendon, finding that the popular torrent, added to the king's inveterate hatred, ran powerfully againſt him, retired into Normandy. He was no ſooner withdrawn, than a bill paſſed both houſes for his baniſhment, which immediately received the royal ſanction. The French, who were more diſcerning, if not more humane than his countrymen, received him with open arms, and treated him with every token of reſpect due to ſo exalted a character.

He ſurvived his exile about ſix years, which he ſpent in reducing into order the materials he had collected for compiling the hiſtory of the civil wars, a performance which has done the greateſt honour to his memory. He died at Rouen, leaving behind him an example worthy the imitation of the moſt dignified of human beings. The foundation of the Royal Exchange was laid at the cloſe of this year, and that noble building was finiſhed in a ſhort ſpace of time.

A. D. 1668. Lewis the XIVth was ſo aſſiduous in purſuing the extenſive deſigns of conqueſt he had formed, that all Europe ſeemed to be alarmed, and as the Dutch, from their ſituation were expoſed to his deſigns, they were deſirous of uniting with the Engliſh, as the beſt expedient for their own defence. To retrieve his reputation with his ſubjects, Charles engaged in the confederacy ſo famous under the name of the triple alliance with the ſtates of Holland and the king of Sweden, to ſtop the progreſs of the French king, who propoſed to himſelf the conqueſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands. This grand point was not only effected, but a peace ſoon happily reſtored between Spain and Portugal, through means of Sir William Temple and De Wit the Engliſh and Dutch miniſters, who were eminent throughout Europe as the moſt conſummate ſtateſmen of the age.

The king by entering into this union performed a very meritorious action, and baniſhed for a time that ſpirit of jealouſy and diſcontent which had too long reigned. But the affairs of Scotland were in much confuſion, great incroachments on the liberties of the people having been made by the miniſters to whom the king had committed the care of the government of that kingdom.

The grand object of complaint amongſt the Scots was the rigorous execution of the laws for the introduction of the epiſcopacy. When the ſevere law was made in England againſt conventicles, the Scottiſh parliament followed this violent example, by enacting a law to the ſame purport. Whoever refuſed to comply with the new model of the church government, was ſubjected to military force, and the ſoldiers were allowed to quarter themſelves on thoſe who forſook their churches.

As the ſons of rapine and plunder ever avail themſelves of ſuch opportunities as now preſented, a lawleſs banditti, under the command of Sir James Turner, were conſtantly quartered on thoſe who refuſed to pay a ſevere fine which they demanded of the ſuppoſed delinquents. The inhabitants of the weſtern counties took up arms, and ſurpriſed Dumfries, where Turner was quartered with his freebooters. At Laneric they renewed the covenant, and publiſhed a manifeſto, in which they profeſſed their attachment to his majeſty's perſon and government, requiring only the reſtoration of preſbytery and their former miniſters.

However, ſuch was the ſeverity of thoſe who were entruſted with the execution of this oppreſſive and unpopular meaſure, that, contrary to the expreſs mandate of the king, which enjoined this diſmiſſion of the delinquents in promiſe of future obedience to the laws, forty of the unhappy people ſuffered death.

The conduct of the Engliſh parliament on its reaſſembling after a long adjournment, afforded his majeſty equal ſurprize and diſguſt. They were ſo piqued at his lenity towards the non-conformiſts, that they not only neglected to thank him for the triple alliance, but appointed commiſſioners to examine certain perſons who were ſuppoſed to have miſbehaved in the late war. The king, to obtain their favour, was obliged to iſſue a proclamation againſt conventicles, in conſideration of which they voted him three hundred and ten thouſand pounds, by an impoſition on wine and other liquors, and were then adjourned.

The famous theatre at Oxford, erected by Sheldon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and chancellor of the univerſity, was opened with great magnificence in the month of July.

A. D. 1669. The parliament, according to adjournment, met in October, and voted an addreſs of thanks to the king for his proclamation againſt conventicles; in conſequence of which, he requeſted a ſupply for the diſcharge of his debts, and recommended the union of the kingdom of England and Scotland to their mature deliberations. But the commons waving theſe articles, determined to examine into the manner in which former ſubſidies had been expended; and finding by enquiry, the books, kept by Sir George Carteret, in great confuſion, they expelled him the houſe.

A violent diſpute happened this ſeſſion between the two houſes. Skinner, an opulent merchant of London, having ſuſtained ſome injury from the

East India company, laid his grievance before the upper houſe, which decreed that the company ſhould pay five thouſand pounds to the complainant. The commons, in conſequence of a petition from the company, committed Skinner to priſon for having applied to the upper houſe, in an affair that related to the common law of the kingdom, and the peers inſiſted on the company's petition being a ſcandalous libel. The king, hereupon, to prevent thoſe feuds and animoſities which might reſult from the maintenance of this controverſy, prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth of February.

A. D. 1670. His majeſty having in his ſpeech to both houſes on their opening, demanded a ſupply in the moſt preſſing terms, the commons granted him an additional duty, during eight years, of twelve pounds on each ton of Spaniſh wine, and eight on each ton of French. They alſo paſſed an act, authorizing his majeſty to diſpoſe of his quit-rents and fee-farms, by which expedient his neceſſities were ſupplied; though his exceſſive prodigality ſoon involved him in the greateſt difficulties.

Charles, in the choice of his counſellors, had ſelected ſuch perſons as, either from private intereſt or ſimilarity of principle, were wholly ſubſervient to his will and pleaſure. This infamous council was compoſed of five members, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Aſhley Cowper, afterwards earl of Shaftſbury, and Lauderdale, who from the initial letters of their reſpective names were termed the CABAL.

To gratify their licentious ſovereign, as well as his arbitrary brother, this cabal aſſerted, that even this parliament, ſo remarkably attached to the crown, had already diſcovered ſymptoms of diſcontent; that they had been penurious in their temporal ſupplies, and kept the king's revenue in a very precarious ſituation; that his kinſman, the king of France, if properly applied to, would enter into ſuch engagements with him, as would raiſe him above all fear of a revolt; that a war with Holland, in conjunction with Lewis, would procure him every advantage that he could wiſh to enjoy, and furniſh him with a pretence for equipping a navy, and raiſing forces, with which he might retrieve the loſt power of the crown, and even extend his prerogative to abſolute monarchy. The dutcheſs of Orleans, a lady whoſe influence over the mind of the king her brother was well known, arrived in England about this time, and was ſumptuouſly entertained by him at Dover, for the ſpace of a fortnight.

The intimations of the cabal, which coincided with the diſpoſition of the king, produced the deſired effect, and Charles now ſought an opportunity to break off his treaty with the ſtates, and enter into one of an oppoſite tendency with the French monarch. Lewis, well knowing the prevailing foible of his volatile and diſſipated neighbour, reſolved to ſecure an alliance by adminiſtering to the novelty and variety of his ſenſual enjoyments. For this purpoſe, he ſent over with the dutcheſs of Orleans, Mademoiſelle de Querouailles, whom the king had no ſooner ſeen, than he was captivated with her charms. She accompanied him to London, where ſhe was created dutcheſs of Portſmouth, and maintained her influence over him during the whole courſe of his life.

But the pleaſure which Charles received from this new alliance, was greatly abated by the death of his ſiſter, and more ſo by the circumſtances which attended it. The death of this lady was occaſioned by a malady conſequent on drinking a glaſs of ſuccory water. Her huſband, from the jealouſy of his diſpoſition, was ſuſpected of having cauſed a poiſonous draught to be adminiſtered to her; and her brother for ſome time entertained the ſame opinion, but on the atteſtation of the faculty that the ſuſpicion was groundleſs, he was, or at leaſt pretended to be, ſatisfied. The king took occaſion from this incident, to ſend the duke of Buckingham to Paris to finiſh the ſecret alliance, under pretence of condoling with the duke of Orleans.

During theſe tranſactions, the parliament met at Weſtminſter, where his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a very ſhort ſpeech, and left the buſineſs to be explained by the lord keeper. That miniſter repreſented the preſent exigencencies of the ſtate, and the abſolute neceſſity of an immediate ſupply, the augmentation of the naval power of France, the remarkable decay of the Engliſh navy, and the ſeveral enagements into which the king had entered with the different ſtates of Chriſtendom.

This artifice ſucceeded, for apparently ſatisfied with the late meaſures, the commons voted the king two millions and a half ſterling, ſo that having ſucceeded in his main and principal point, he put an end to the ſeſſion. Sir William Temple, who reſided at the Hague as ambaſſador, was recalled to England, the king and cabal knowing he had too much integrity and love for his country to be a tool to the miniſtry. In the winter the prince of Orange arrived in England, and was received by the king his uncle with the greateſt demonſtration of love and affection.

A. D. 1671. The famous ſtatute called the Coventry act paſſed this ſeſſion of parliament, and aroſe from the following circumſtance. A propoſal having been made in the lower aſſembly, of laying a tax upon the play-houſes, it was oppoſed by the courtiers, one of whom obſerved, that the players were the king's ſervants, and contributed to his diverſion. Sir John Coventry then aſked, whether his majeſty's pleaſure lay among the male or female players? As the king kept two players, Mrs. Davis and Nell Gwin, at this time the ſarcaſm was pointedly perſonal, ſo that in reſentment for this inſult, the duke of Monmouth engaged Sands, Obrien, and ſeveral officers of the guards to ſet upon Coventry, as he ſhould return to his lodgings in the evening. He made a brave and obſtinate reſiſtance, and after wounding ſeveral of the aſſailants, was with great difficulty overpowered. They ſlit his noſe with a knife, in order, as they ſaid, to teach him, for the future, to treat his majeſty with greater reſpect. The commons, exaſperated at the aſſault, immediately enacted a law, making the maiming any perſon a capital offence, and added a clauſe, importing, that thoſe who had attacked Sir John Coventry ſhould not be intitled to a pardon from the crown.

This year the dutcheſs of York, daughter to the great earl of Clarendon, paid the debt of nature, and died in the faith of the church of Rome. She was mother to Mary princeſs of Orange, and Anne, afterwards queens of England. This event put an end to the diſguiſe which the duke had hitherto worn, and he now openly declared his attachment to the Catholic religion.

The cabal had ſome time ſince conceived a deſign of coming to an open rupture with the United States, and at length, as a pretence for commencing hoſtilities, they reſolved that the captain of

the yacht employed in conveying lady Temple from Holland, ſhould demand an obedience to be paid to the Engliſh flag, from the whole Dutch fleet, and on their refuſal to fire upon them. This officer, after he had received lady temple and her children on board his veſſel, ſailed through a ſquadron commanded by Van Ghent, and as they did not ſtrike their top-ſails, diſcharged a broadſide at them without heſitation.

When the Dutch admiral ſent an officer to remonſtrate with the commander of the yatcht on the impropriety of his conduct, he peremptorily replied, he had acted according to orders; on which Van Ghent very juſtly obſerved, that though the ſtates general had by treaty engaged to pay the compliment to the Britiſh flag, he could not expect that a large fleet commanded by an admiral would ſtrike their topſails to a ſingle ſail, which was not even a ſhip of war, but a private veſſel for pleaſure and diſpatch. The cabal, however, to evince at once their malignity and preſumption, impriſoned the Engliſh commander on his return, for not having attempted an act that muſt have produced the moſt deſtructive conſequences.

About this time a private tranſaction happened, through which the king was much cenſured for a capricious lenity. Blood, one of the protector's diſbanded officers, had been concerned in a plot for exciting a rebellion in Ireland, for which he himſelf was attainted, and ſome of his confederates capitally puniſhed. While the duke of Ormond was viceroy of that kingdom, he had undertaken to ſurprize the caſtle of Dublin, but failing in his attempt, determined to attempt the life of the duke. For this purpoſe, he followed him into England, and one night, accompanied by eight of his confederates, he aſſaulted his coach in St. James's-ſtreet, and made himſelf maſter of his perſon.

To glut his reſentment, he determined to hang his grace at Tyburn, and accordingly bound him, and mounted him on horſeback behind one of his companions. They had advanced a conſiderable diſtance, when the duke endeavouring to diſengage himſelf, fell from the horſe together with the ruffian, to whom he had been faſtened, and while they lay ſtruggling on the ground together, Ormond's ſervants came to his aſſiſtance. Blood finding it impoſſible to accompliſh his deſign, ordered his confederates to fire at the duke, in which the villains obeyed him, and then made their eſcape through favour of the night.

This diſappointment, however, did not intimidate the daring ruffian from a more deſperate attempt, even that of carrying off the crown and regalia from the Tower of London. He had actually bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel office, and got out of the Tower with his prey, but was apprehended in the ſtreets, with ſome of his accomplices. One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon the duke of Ormond, and Blood was ſuppoſed to be the ringleader. When queſtioned on the ſubject, he boldly acknowledged the fact, but refuſed to diſcover his confederates, declaring, "That the fear "of death ſhould never induce him either to deny "a crime, or to betray a friend." The king, prompted by curioſity to ſee and converſe with this extraordinary perſon, Blood was introduced to his majeſty, and confeſſed his having once entertained a deſign on his life, on account of his ſeverity towards the godly; but that his reſolution failed, and he altered his intention on ſight of his majeſty. He further aſſured the king, that though life had long been indifferent to him, the conſequences of his execution might prove fatal, as his aſſociates had bound themſelves by the ſtricteſt oaths, to revenge the death of any of the confederacy; ſo that whether through fear, or ſurprize and aſtoniſhment, the king not only granted him a free pardon, but indulged him with an eſtate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland, and permitted him to attend his perſon at court.

A. D. 1672. The total deſtruction of the Dutch republic was now meditated, and every effort that ambition or policy could ſuggeſt was propoſed by the French monarch. It was concerted, that while the combined fleets of England ſhould attack the ſhipping, and interrupt the commerce of the ſtates general, the French king, the elector of Cologne, and the biſhop of Munſter, ſhould attack their territories by land. However, it was reſolved by agreement between the councils of both nations, to ſeduce the prince of Orange. The ſovereignty of the provinces of Holland, and the protection of England and France, were offered him againſt the invaſions of foreign enemies, as well as in the inſurrections of his own ſubjects. But the prince nobly ſpurned their propoſal, declaring, "as the only way not to "be a ſpectator of the final ruin of his country, "he would die in a ditch." And ſo vigorous were his efforts, that Lewis gave over his project, and Charles was diſpoſed, for the preſent, to lay aſide his intentions.

The king of England being reduced by his extravagance to his uſual neceſſity, gave his miniſters to underſtand, that it would be impoſſible to begin the war without a further ſupply of five hundred thouſand pounds; but as he could not think of obtaining it from parliament, propoſed to confer the office of treaſurer on him who ſhould deviſe the means of furniſhing the preſent demand. Shafteſbury dropped a hint to Clifford, which the latter immediately communicated to the king, who beſtowed on him the promiſed reward, together with a peerage. This modeſt device was nothing leſs than keeping the money which ſhould be paid into the exchequer and ſhutting it up.

This ruinous meaſure was attended with the moſt alarming conſequences, particularly to the mercantile part of the nation. The bankers ſtopped payment; the merchants could anſwer no bills; diffidence and jealouſy every where prevailed, ſo that men were univerſally exaſperated at thoſe myſterious councils from which the parliament and all men of honour were excluded, and which began with the deſtruction of public credit, and the violation of the moſt ſacred engagements both foreign and domeſtic.

As a prelude to theſe arbitrary proceedings on which the king and the cabal ſeemed reſolutely bent, a proclamation was publiſhed, ſuſpending the penal laws, which had been made againſt nonconformiſts, and granting to proteſtant diſſenters the public exerciſe of their religion; and to Catholics, the exerciſe of it in their own houſes. About the ſame time, the act of navigation was ſuſpended, and a proclamation iſſued for impreſſing ſailors, puniſhing all thoſe who ſhould dare to arraign his majeſty's meaſures; martial law was now eſtabliſhed for the regulation of the army. The earl of Shafteſbury, another member of the cabal, was made lord keeper in the room of Bridgeman, who was turned out for refuſing to affix the ſeals to the declaration for ſuſpending the penal laws.

Nor were foreign tranſactions conducted with more credit or ability, for previous to the declaration of war, a perfidious attempt was made upon the Dutch Smyrna fleet. The deſign however was rendered abortive by the bravery of the Dutch admiral, after an engagement of three days. The ſtates enveighed againſt this piratical attempt with great virulence: even Charles was aſhamed of having given his aſſent to an outrage ſo diſhonourable to his crown and dignity, as well as repugnant to the true intereſts of his ſubjects; however, being no longer able to conceal his real intentions, he declared war againſt the republic on the ſeventeenth of March.

The declaration of war by the Engliſh was ſoon followed by another on the part of France, the ſovereign of which was at the head of an army conſiſting of one hundred and eighty thouſand men, commanded by the ableſt officers in Europe. His ſubjects were enriched by commerce, and his finances managed with the greateſt œconomy, while the Dutch were diſtracted between two powerful factions. Filled with a general conſternation, the ſtates made the moſt humiliating conceſſions to the combined powers, but as they were wholly diſregarded, or rather contemptuouſly treated, De Wit, their able ſtateſman, who preſided in the council, made the neceſſary preparations for the threatened invaſion, and now reſolved to make a powerful effort by ſea, while the levying of troops, and improving the diſcipline of the army, was committed to the care of the prince of Orange.

De Ruyter ſtood out for ſea with a formidable fleet, conſiſting of an hundred ſail, ſtore and fire ſhips included; Cornelius de Wit acting on board the admiral as deputy from the ſtates. The combined fleets now rode in Solebay harbour, to the number of one hundred and thirty ſhips of the line. The duke of York commanded in chief, and the earl of Sandwich acted as admiral of the blue; mareſchal d'Etrées commanded the French ſquadron.

Sandwich had given the duke warning of the danger, but it was then ſuppoſed (though without foundation) that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehenſions, for it ſoon appeared that the noble earl was deficient in neither. On the approach of the enemy, every one flew to his poſt with the utmoſt precipitation, and many ſhips were obliged to cut their cables in order to prepare for the action. Sandwich commanded in the van, and though reſolved to conquer or die, he yet behaved with ſo much prudence, that to him the ſafety of the whole fleet was viſibly owing. He hurried out of the bay, and by this wiſe meaſure afforded time to the duke of York, who conducted the main body, and to mareſchal d'Etrées, admiral of the rear, to get out to open ſea. The earl ſuſtained a moſt furious attack from the enemy; he repulſed the ſhip of Van Ghent, after that admiral had been killed in the engagement; he ſunk another ſhip which attempted to board him, together with three fire ſhips which came full againſt him, and continued to ply his artillery, until the fourth fireſhip grappled him on the quarter, when that brave commander and his whole crew, amounting to one thouſand men, by an exploſion, periſhed in an inſtant. Thus fell as gallant an officer as ever graced the annals of England; probably ſtimulated to a raſh conduct from the reflection of a young admiral, who though ſuperior by birth, was inferior in point of naval ſkill.

De Ruyter, having attacked the duke of York, they fought with incredible fury for above two hours, in which time the Duke's ſhip was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to ſhift his flag to another, and his own diviſion was in danger of being overpowered, when Sir Joſeph Jordan, who ſucceeded Sandwich, came to his aſſiſtance. The battle continued till night, when the Dutch ſheered off, but were not purſued by the enemy. As d'Etrees took no part in the action, it was generally imagined he had received private orders to avoid fighting, that the Engliſh and Dutch might mutually deſtroy each other.

In the interim, Lewis had ſubjected all the territories of the ſtates-general on the ſide of Germany, and committed ſeveral depredations without oppoſition. In theſe circumſtances, the magiſtrates of Amſterdam obliged the burgeſſes to keep watch and ward; the other towns followed their example, and having opened all the ſluices, the whole province of Holland was laid under water; whereby a ſtop being put the conqueſts of Lewis, he left the command of the army to the duke of Luxemburg at Utrecht, and marched into Flanders, from whence he went to Paris, which he entered amidſt the acclamations of the populace. The paſſage of the Rhine, which he effected with much eaſe and expedition, was celebrated by the bards of France, as an exploit equal to that of Alexander in paſſing the Granicus, and the ſurname of "Great" beſtowed on him by his flattering ſubjects.

But while his ſubjects were thus perpetuating his conqueſts, ſchemes were forming in the different courts of Europe, for wreſting them out of his hands. The emperor, and ſeveral of the German princes, conſidering the reduction of Holland as a prelude to their own ſubjection, determined to lend aſſiſtance to the United States.

A. D. 1673. On the meeting of parliament, Charles in his ſpeech addreſſed them with the appearances of cordiality and confidence. Having enlarged on the expences inevitably incurred by the war, he proceeded to demonſtrate the neceſſity of engaging therein, obſerving at the ſame time, that his indulgence to non-conformiſts had been productive of the peace of the kingdom, and concluded with aſſuring them, that he doubted not of their proportioning the ſupplies to the preſent exigency. Shafteſbury, as lord chancellor, expatiated on the ſame topics, aſſerting, moreover, that the ſtates being the inveterate enemies of England, the parliament had laid it down as an invariable maxim, that this hoſtile government muſt by all means be deſtroyed.

The houſe, diſſatisfied with his majeſty's conduct, paid little regard to the ſpeech of Charles or his chancellor: they diſapproved of the war, and determined to inſiſt on the immediate redreſs of the nation's grievances. They then preſented an addreſs againſt the king's declaration for liberty of conſcience, beſeeching that his majeſty, by annulling the ſame, would remove the doubts and fears of his ſubjects, and to convince him of their affection towards his perſon and government, voted a tax of ſeventy thouſand pounds per month, for eighteen months to anſwer the king's urgent occaſions.

The king wanting reſolution to ſupport his favourite meaſure, at length gave it up, aſſuring his parliament, he was ready to concur in any motion that might tend to advance the national intereſt. He then publiſhed a proclamation for the redreſs

redreſs of their grievances, but the commons were not ſatisfied with this, being determined to prepare a bill which ſhould effectually prevent the evil of which they complained; and likewiſe to defer paſſing the bill for the ſupplies, until the declaration for liberty of conſcience ſhould be recalled.

The duke of York and major part of the cabal, adviſed the king to perſiſt in the purſuit of theſe arbitrary meaſures he had adopted; while others propoſed more lenient proceedings; but the French monarch recommended ſuch a conduct as might conciliate his ſubjects, on whoſe aſſiſtance he totally depended for the carrying on of the Dutch war.

Shafteſbury finding his majeſty greatly perplexed, as well as irreſolute and undetermined, artfully ſecured his own perſon by eſpouſing the intereſt of that party which was likely to gain the aſcendancy. The country party received him with open arms, and afterwards uſed him as their agent in the accompliſhment of their moſt important deſigns.

Apprehenſive of the conſequences of delaying any longer to comply with the requiſition of parliament, Charles repaired to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the declaration, broke the ſeal with his own hand, aſſuring them at the ſame time, that he would grant his aſſent to every bill conſtructed to redreſs their grievances. But the recall of the indulgence was not ſufficient to ſatisfy the commons, nor remove thoſe ſuſpicions which they had conceived of the arbitrary deſigns of the court. They were determined to ſecure their religion by another act. They paſſed a law for impoſing a teſt on all thoſe who ſhould enjoy any public employment. This act, uſually called the Teſt Act, requires that the real preſence in the Euchariſt be renounced, and the ſacrament received in the eſtabliſhed church, beſides taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy.

In conſequence of the teſt act many of the popiſh officers reſigned their places, and among the reſt the duke of York his poſt of lord high admiral, and Shaftſbury, whoſe revolt from the cabal was now univerſally known, being deprived of the office of chancellor, Sir Henry Finch was made keeper of the great ſeal. A bill paſſed the lower houſe for the benefit of the proteſtant nonconformiſts, but met with ſome oppoſition in the houſe of peers. The vote for a ſupply was carried into a law, as a reward to the king for his ready compliance. A bill of indemnity likewiſe paſſed, which ſecured the miniſters from all farther ſcrutiny.

In the mean time Charles proſecuted the war againſt the Dutch with the utmoſt vigour. He appointed prince Rupert commander of the fleet in the room of the duke of York. Sir Edward Sprague, and the earl of Oſſory, ſerved under the prince, and being joined by the French fleet under the command of d'Etrées, they ſteered for the coaſt of Holland, where they found the enemy riding at anchor within the ſands of Schonvelt.

An engagement accordingly began on the 28th of March, which proved very obſtinate and bloody; but not being deciſive, both ſides claimed the victory. Another action was maintained on the fourth of June, but whether the combined fleets, or the Dutch retired firſt cannot be affirmed with preciſion.

The third engagement at the mouth of the Texel proved more deciſive. The Dutch fleet was commanded by De Ruyter and Van Tromp, a ſon worthy of the gallant father from whom he ſprung. De Ruyter was oppoſed to prince Rupert, Tromp to Sprague, and Brankert, their rear-admiral, to d'Etrées. The Engliſh and Dutch evinced in this battle the moſt ardent emulation, but the French kept at a diſtance, leaving the Engliſh to ſuſtain all the fury of the enemy. The Dutch rear-admiral Brankert, inſtead of preſſing on the French, ſhot a-head to the aſſiſtance of De Ruyter, who was warmly engaged with prince Rupert.

Never did that prince acquire more deſerved honour, his conduct and courage ſhining with equal luſtre. Having diſengaged himſelf from the numerous enemies with which he was encompaſſed, and joined his rear-admiral Sir John Chicheley, he bore down to the aſſiſtance of Sprague, who was almoſt overpowered by Tromp and his ſquadron. The Royal Prince, in which Sprague firſt engaged, was ſo ſhattered, that he was obliged to hoiſt his flag on board the St. George, while Van Tromp did the ſame from the Golden Lion to the Comet, and the action was renewed with redoubled ardor, until the St. George was likewiſe diſabled. The admiral was drowned to the great regret of Tromp himſelf, who beſtowed on his valour its merited applauſe. Prince Rupert obſerving the whole diviſion in great conſternation, ſent three fire ſhips into the midſt of the Dutch fleet, making at the ſame time a ſignal to the French to bear down, which if they had done, they would probably have obtained a compleat victory. But the French neglecting to obey his ſignal, Rupert was obliged to leave the victory undecided, by prudently ſteering for the coaſt of England, and thereby preſerving his diſabled ſhips. The victory in this as well as moſt other engagements fought during the war was of little advantage.

At length, through the interpoſition of the king of Sweden, a negotiation for peace took place at Cologne; but the kings of England and France inſiſted nearly on the terms which they had already impoſed, and the ſtates finding their affairs to be in a better poſture than formerly, relaxed daily in their offers, and there was little probability of the parties coming to any agreement.

The duke of York, determining on a ſecond marriage, had made choice of Mary, ſiſter to the duke of Medina, a princeſs educated in the principles of the church of Rome. This alliance was warmly oppoſed by the parliament, who, in an addreſs to the king, expreſſed their diſapprobation in the ſtrongeſt terms. Charles, however, told them, that their oppoſition came too late, and that the marriage was not only concluded, but ſolemnized by proxy. The commons perſiſted in their remonſtrance, and proceeding to the ſcrutiny of ſome other parts of the government, voted the ſtanding army a grievance, and declared, that unleſs it appeared that the Dutch rejected all reaſonable terms of peace, they would grant no farther ſupplies.

To prevent the further diſcuſſion of theſe ſubjects ſo diſagreeable to his majeſty, he prorogued the parliament to the ſeventh of January, having in a pathetic ſpeech, earneſtly beſought them to maintain that unanimity which was eſſentially neceſſary to their acting with vigour and ſucceſs againſt their enemies.

The princeſs of Modena arriving in England, with

with her mother, about this time, her marriage with the duke of York was celebrated at Dover on the twenty-first of November.

A. D. 1674. Finding it impoſſible to continue a war ſo diſagreeable to the nation, as well as defeated in his expectations of parliamentary aid, Charles began to liſten to the propoſals which the States-general had made for a ſeparate peace. They wrote a ſubmiſſive letter, empowering the marquis de Freſno, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at London, to conclude a treaty with king Charles in their name, on certain conditions which were ſpecified therein.

Accordingly, with the conſent of parliament, conferences were opened with the marquis de Freſno, and in fifteen days the treaty was concluded. It was a renewal of the peace of Breda, with theſe additions, that the Dutch ſhould yield the honour of the flag to the Engliſh in the moſt extenſive terms, and pay about three hundred thouſand pounds to the king, towards defraying the expences of the war.

A. D. 1675. It was natural to imagine that Lewis would be highly incenſed at the manner in which his ally, the king of England, had abandoned him; but, on the contrary, he ſhewed no ſigns of reſentment, and even readily accepted his mediation.

Soon after the peace, Sir William Temple was ſent ambaſſador to the Hague, to induce the ſtates to come to terms of accommodation with France. But the prince of Orange, inſpired with ambitious views, and the deſire of military glory, ſhunned the Engliſh miniſter, and told him afterwards, that until the power of France could be farther weakened, they had nothing to expect from a negotiation.

The moſt rancorous animoſity now broke out among the courtiers and placemen. The duke of Buckingham loſt the dignity of chancellor of the univerſity of Cambridge, and was ſucceeded by the duke of Monmouth, who had ſignalized himſelf in France, and was become the idol of the people. The duke of Lauderdale kept his poſts, but being intimidated at a vote paſſed againſt him in the houſe of commons, he openly renounced the meaſures of the cabal, profeſſed uncommon zeal for the proteſtant religion, and even adviſed his majeſty to put the laws in execution againſt the Roman Catholics.

Theſe acts, however, could not effectually obviate the diſpleaſure of parliament. The commons, at their firſt meeting, preſented a ſecond addreſs againſt the duke of Lauderdale, and on the king's returning an evaſive anſwer, ſeemed reſolved to inſiſt on his removal, and for that purpoſe drew up a remonſtrance couched in the moſt expreſſive terms. Finding nothing was to be expected from addreſſes, the commons framed a bill, declaring it treaſon to levy money without the authority of parliament; another for vacating the ſeats of thoſe members who had accepted of poſts or employments; and a third for ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject, and preventing their being tranſported to diſtant iſlands.

Alarmed at the proceedings of the two houſes, Charles, as the only method of preſerving the peace of the kingdom, prorogued the parliament to the thirteenth day of October. On the opening the ſeſſion, according to the time of adjournment, the king demanded a ſupply, as well for the building of ſhips, as for diſcharging his debts. The commons abſolutely refuſed to pay his debts, but granted three hundred thouſand pounds for repairing and augmenting the navy. They then turned their attention to the redreſs of public grievances; but their deliberations were interrupted, by the inſolent behaviour of father St. Germain, a French jeſuit, who entered the houſe of one Luzancy, a convert to the proteſtant religion; and by threatening him with death, extorted a writing by which he renounced his recantation. Luzancy's complaint made ſo much diſturbance in the houſe of commons, that Charles was obliged to offer two hundred pounds reward for the apprehenſion of St. Germain, who had, however, fled the kingdom previous to the offer.

The diſſipation, levity and prodigality of the king now became a bye word with the people, inſomuch that, exaſperated at the liberties taken with his perſon and adminiſtration, he ſuppreſſed all the coffee houſes, and iſſued a proclamation, promiſing a reward to thoſe who ſhould diſcover the authors of libels and pamphlets written againſt the government.

A. D. 1676. Though the ſucceſſes of the allies had been conſiderable during the laſt campaign, yet the Spaniards and Imperialiſts well knew that Lewis was not ſufficiently humbled, and therefore were not willing to ſubmit to the terms propoſed by his plenipotentiaries, ſo that no progreſs was made in the conferences appointed at Nimeguen.

A. D. 1677. To raiſe money for preſent exigencies, the king on the meeting of the parliament in February declared that he was willing to grant every ſecurity in his power towards the maintenance of the proteſtant religion, as exerciſed in the eſtabliſhed church of England, together with the liberties and properties of his loving ſubjects; he laid before them his wants, and deſired a ſupply that would enable him to make a conſiderable addition to his navy. This was readily complied with, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe a good underſtanding between the king and the parliament.

But this tranquillity was ſoon interrupted by the intelligence received from abroad. The French monarch ſtill ſupported the ſuperiority of his arms. He had taken the field very early in the ſpring, inveſted and taken Valenciennes by ſtorm, whilſt his general the duke of Luxemburgh had defeated the prince of Orange before St. Omer's, and reduced that place together with Cambray. The parliament addreſſed the king, repreſenting the danger which threatened the kingdom, from the exorbitant power of Lewis, and deſiring that he would concert meaſures for the ſecurity of his own dominions and the Spaniſh Netherlands, and thereby remove the fears of his people. Charles in his anſwer, complained of their violating his prerogative, by inſiſting on his engaging in alliance with any power they propoſed, and then adjourned the parliament to the tenth of July.

Deſirous, however, of ſatisfying the wiſhes of the people without forfeiting the friendſhip of Lewis, the king formed a deſign of marrying the young prince of Orange to the princeſs Mary, daughter to his brother the duke of York. The prince coming over and finding the lady entirely agreeable to him, the marriage was ſolemnized ſoon after with ſuitable magnificence, and the prince embarked with his royal conſort for Holland.

Previous to his departure the king had entered into conferences with him on the ſubject of a general peace, at which were preſent the earl of Danby, and Sir William Danby. After ſome

debate, it was agreed, that Lewis ſhould reſtore all he had taken from the emperor and the duke of Lorraine; that there ſhould be mutual reſtitution between France and Holland, and that Spain ſhould recover poſſeſſion of the Netherlands belonging to that crown. The prince engaged to uſe his endeavours in perſuading the ſtates to agree to theſe conditions, and Charles undertook to procure the conſent of the French monarch, declaring at the ſame time, that he would never depart from this plan.

Monſieur de Duras, a Frenchman by birth, was pitched on by Charles to notify this event to Lewis, who affected to receive it with great complacency. He ſaid, indeed, that the king of England might always command a peace, but he deemed it hard to reſign ſome of thoſe towns in Flanders, on the fortifications of which he had expended large ſums; he hoped his brother would not break with him for a few towns, and would commiſſion his ambaſſador at London to treat of the matter.

A. D. 1678. Piqued at the inſincerity of the French court, Charles determined to convince Lewis that he was not to be inſulted with impunity. The parliament, which ſtood prorogued to May, was ſummoned for the 15th of January, a circumſtance that greatly alarmed the French monarch. His majeſty informed them on their meeting, that he had concluded an alliance with Holland, and obſerved at the ſame time, that in the preſent ſituation of affairs, the nation could not be ſecure, unleſs ninety ſhips of war were kept in commiſſion, beſides an army of thirty thouſand men. He communicated the marriage of his neice with the prince of Orange, and deſired a ſupply adequate to the neceſſities of the kingdom.

The commons having attended to his ſpeech, entreated his majeſty that he would not engage in any treaty with France, until ſhe ſhould be reduced to the ſame ſtate in which ſhe was at the peace of the Pyrenees, and gave him to underſtand, that when he ſhould communicate to them the nature of his alliances, they would enable him to proſecute the war with vigour; or to make an honourable and advantageous peace. In the mean time, Lewis reduced Ghent, and Ypres, which ſo alarmed the Dutch, that they came to a reſolution of making a ſeparate peace. The king of France availing himſelf of the advantage he had gained over Charles, inſiſted on terms very different from thoſe which he and the prince of Orange had agreed to.

As ſoon as intelligence of theſe events reached England, the chancellor was ordered to notify them in form to both houſes, and requeſt their advice in this critical juncture. The commons exhorted the king to declare war immediately againſt France, and voted the Dutch alliance inſufficient for the ſecurity of the nation, deſiring in another addreſs, that he would pay more regard to their addreſſes, and remove from his councils the duke of Lauderdale. The king affected aſtoniſhment at this requeſt, and would not at that time return the anſwer they deſired. The levies were carried on with ſuch ſurprizing diligence and ſucceſs that in ſix weeks an army of thirty thouſand men was completed. The duke of Monmouth was ſent over at the head of three thouſand men to garriſon Oſtend. A fleet was equipped with great expedition, and the court breathed nothing but defiance againſt the French monarch. The ſtates general by their ambaſſador declared, that if the king of England would immediately denounce war againſt Lewis, they would break off their negotiations with France, and act vigorouſly in conjunction with their allies. The king replied, that as the ſtates were ready to accept of the conditions preſcribed by France, and Lewis had offered to purchaſe peace with a ſum of money, he thought himſelf juſtifiable in accepting his propoſal.

Sir William Temple declining all concerns in this ſcandalous negotiation, Charles found others, who undertook the office without reluctance, and the bargain was ſtruck for the ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds. The French miniſter then gave him to underſtand, that unleſs he would, by a ſecret article, engage never to keep an army exceeding eight thouſand men in his three kingdoms, the money would not even then be paid.

Incenſed at this humiliating intimation, the king exclaimed, "Cod's fiſh! "does my brother of "France think to ſerve me thus? are all his pro- "miſes to make me abſolute maſter of my people "come to this? or, does he think it a thing to "be done with eight thouſand men?" But always wavering and irreſolute, ſometimes wrought on by the promiſes of Lewis, and ſometimes by the allurements of pleaſure, Charles neither anſwered the expectations of the Engliſh, nor the confederate powers.

The parliament re-aſſembled in the month of May, when his majeſty aſſured them that a peace between France, Spain, and Holland was on the point of concluſion, from whence he inferred the neceſſity of keeping a good fleet at ſea, as the Spaniards had declared, they could not ſupport the expence of maintaining garriſons in Flanders, which muſt be left expoſed, unleſs England would ſupply the fortified places with men and proviſions; and recommended the ſafety of Oſtend to their ſerious regard, in which place, if neglected, the French might keep a fleet of forty ſhips of war. He deſired they would add three hundred thouſand pounds to his revenue, in which caſe they might appropriate, yearly, fifty thouſand pounds towards the maintenance of the fleet and artillery; and the prince of Orange having demanded the firſt moiety of his wife's fortune of forty thouſand pounds, which was already due, he begged them to conſider that his honour was engaged for the payment.

The commons indeed voted his majeſty thanks for the gracious expreſſions in his ſpeech, but refuſed to grant him any additional revenue. They voted him, however, ſix thouſand pounds for the payment of the army, and enacted a ſtatute, decreeing, that for the future the dead ſhould be buried in flannel, for the benefit of the woollen manufactory, after which the king prorogued the parliament to the 1ſt of Auguſt.

The States-general, againſt the inclination of the prince of Orange, concluded a peace with France and Spain, and the empire accepted the conditions preſcribed to them, and the treaty being filled up at Nimeguen, placed the French king on the pinnacle of glory.

This year was remarkable for the diſcovery of a famous conſpiracy in England, known by the name of the popiſh plot, which, for ſome time, engroſſed the public attention. One Kirby, at the inſtigation of doctor Iſrael Tongue, a clergyman of London, on the twelfth of Auguſt, approaching his majeſty in St. James's Park, ſaid to him: "Sir, keep within the company, your enemies "have a deſign upon your life." The king deſired

fired Kirby to bring Tongue to him at eight o'clock that evening. He was accordingly introduced to his majesty, with a bundle of papers relating to this conspiracy, and referred to the lord treasurer Danby. He said that the papers were thrust under his door without his knowledge; but imagined it was done by a certain person, who had often entertained him with subjects of the like nature. The improbability of the story induced his majesty to look upon the whole as a fiction, and he requested it might be kept a secret, for fear of the consequences it might produce among his subjects.

One Titus Oates seems to have been the chief discoverer of this conspiracy. He had been a clergyman of the established church, but afterwards embraced the tenets of the Romish faith, at least he pretended to be a convert to that religion, and was become a member of the society of English seminaries at St. Omer's. He also went into Spain, and was admitted into the councils of the jesuits. By these means he is said to have been acquainted with all the secret designs that were carrying on in order to establish popery in England.

At length the affair becoming public, it was resolved to bring it before the council, when Oates gave evidence to the following effect: that he had been employed by several jesuits to carry letters to father Shee, an Irish jesuit at Madrid; that in the course of his journey thither, he had broke open letters, and discovered a design of exciting a rebellion in Scotland; that he saw several English students at Valadolid, who were obliged by the jesuits of the college to renounce their allegiance to the king of Great Britain; that one of them in a sermon to the students, presumed to affirm, that Charles Stuart was not a lawful king, nor the son of Charles the first, but of a black Scotchman; that upon his return to England, where he made farther discoveries, he was sent to St. Omer's with other letters to the same purport as the former; that in April 1668, he came over from St. Omer's with several jesuits, to assist at the grand council which was held by about fifty jesuits at the White-horse tavern in the Strand, where they signed an agreement to kill the king; that in June following he became privy to the treaty with Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison, and Grove and Pickering to shoot his majesty; that he heard a jesuit assert in a sermon, that protestant and other heretical princes, were *ipso facto* deposed, and that it was as lawful to destroy them, as Oliver Cromwell, or any other usurper.

In consequence of this deposition of Oates, corroborated by information given respecting divers particulars, through means of Tongue, both of whom had been frequently examined at the council, several persons were taken into custody, among whom were Wakeman, physician to the queen, Edward Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, and eight priests and jesuits.

In Coleman's house were found letters that seemed to confirm what Oates had advanced, which, added to an incident that occurred a few days after, fixed the public in the belief of the plot. This was the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who had taken Oates's deposition, and who, after having been missing for several days, was found dead in a ditch near Primrose-hill. The coroners inquest were of opinion that his death was occasioned by strangling and suffocation, and brought in their verdict, "wilful murder by persons unknown." Five hundred pounds and an assurance of protection were immediately offered by the king, for the discovery of Godfrey's murderers.

This affair at length gained ground so fast, that it came under the cognizance of parliament, by whom it was unanimously resolved in both houses after examination of Oates upon the subject, "that "there hath been, and still is a damnable and "hellish plot, contrived and carried on by popish "recusants, for assassinating and murdering the "king, for subverting the government, and for "rooting out and destroying the protestant reli-"gion." One Bedloe also made his appearance as an evidence for the plot, and was strictly examined by the lords. In the mean time several persons whom Oates had impeached were apprehended, and among the rest the following noblemen, all of them avowed papists. The earl of Powis, the viscount Stafford, the lords Arundel of Wardour, Petre, and Bellasis, who were all committed to the Tower.

The depositions of Oates and Bedloe being published, excited such a ferment in the nation, that the king was obliged to issue a proclamation, commanding all popish recusants under the severest penalties to repair to their own houses, and not to venture from thence, without a particular licence, to a greater distance than five miles. At the same time another proclamation was published, offering a reward to any one who should discover or apprehend a Romish priest or jesuit; and the royal assent was given to a bill for disqualifying papists from sitting in parliament.

Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, was tried for being engaged in the pretended conspiracy, and being found guilty was executed pursuant to his sentence. On the seventeenth of December were arraigned and tried at the Old Bailey, Ireland and Pickering, both priests, Grove, a lay brother, Whitebread, provincial of the jesuits, and Fenwick, a member of the same society. But, as in the course of the evidence, there appeared no sufficient proof against the two last, the trial was confined to the three first, who, after a long examination, were found guilty, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered.

A. D. 1679. Much information was obtained as to this infernal conspiracy from the following incident. One Prance having been apprehended on suspicion of being concerned in the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and being brought before the committee of the upper house, denied the charge with the deepest imprecations; but Bedloe affirming that he was one of the men he saw in Somerset-gardens with the dead body, he was immediately conveyed to Newgate, and confined in the condemned hole. Being carried before the earl of Shaftesbury, he discovered some particulars, and promised to make a fuller confession if he could be assured of obtaining a free pardon. This being granted, he was examined before the king and council at Whitehall, where he confessed that Godfrey was murdered in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerald and Kelly, two Irish priests, Robert Green, cushion keeper to the queen's chapel, and several others.

In fact, Prance deposed upon oath, that himself, in company with Green, Berry, Hill, and some others, determining to take off Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, who had been remarkably active against the papists followed the justice for some time, till he went into the court of Somerset-house, where they

they ſtrangled him with his handkerchief; that they then conveyed the body to the houſe of doctor Godden, where it lay two nights, and was then removed and thrown into a ditch, near Primroſe-hill, after they had thruſt his own ſword through it, that he might be ſuppoſed to have murdered himſelf. Green, Berry, and Hill, were executed for the murder, but perſevered in denying the fact to the laſt.

It appears from the joint teſtimony of cotemporary writers, that the king diſcovered ſome unwillingneſs for the parliament to take cognizance of the fact. Indeed, there are ſome grounds for ſuch an opinion, to be gathered from his obſerving in his ſpeech to parliament, that he would forbear offering his ſentiments on the matter, leſt he ſhould ſay too much or too little, and that he would leave the diſcuſſion of it entirely to the legiſlature. At leaſt ſuch were the jealouſies generally entertained of the meaſures of the court, and the deſigns of the catholics, that Charles, in order to avert part of the ſtorm that threatened him, removed the duke of York from his preſence, who retired with his wife and daughter to Bruſſels, in obedience to a written order from the king.

But notwithſtanding this popular tranſaction, the nation in general, and the parliament in particular, were greatly diſguſted at the conduct of the king, againſt whom they entertained the moſt inſurmountable prejudices from this additional circumſtance. Montague the Engliſh ambaſſador in France, having aſpired to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, was greatly incenſed againſt Danby for introducing a rival to ſupplant him, and having papers in his poſſeſſion ſufficient to ruin the earl, communicated the moſt ſtriking to ſome leading members of the lower houſe, who, exaſperated at this diſcovery, began to prepare new articles of impeachment againſt him. Tongue, Oates, Bedloe, and one Everard, a new witneſs, were ſummoned to the bar of the houſe to be examined concerning the plot. They likewiſe voted that a horrible conſpiracy had been contrived and carried on for aſſaſſinating the king, deſtroying the proteſtant religion, and ſubverting the government; the peers concurred with them in this vote, and a day of faſting and humiliation was petitioned for by both houſes.

Charles earneſtly interceded with the the lords for the earl of Danby, who, he ſaid, had voted in obedience to the orders he had received, but that for their ſatisfaction he would deprive him of his employments, and remove him from his preſence. But theſe conceſſions, inſtead of ſoothing, rather encouraged them to new exertions of their power. The commons choſe Edward Seymour for their ſpeaker, a man whom they knew to be averſe to the earl of Danby. The king refuſed his approbation, upon which a prorogation took place, but meeting again in a few days, they choſe Mr. Gregory ſerjeant at law, of whom the king approved, and thus ended the diſpute. This affair being ſettled, they brought in a bill, obliging Danby to ſurrender himſelf into the hands of juſtice by a certain day, on pain of being proceeded againſt by an act of attainder. This bill was ſent down from the lords with ſome amendments; when a diſpute aroſe, and conferences were held upon the ſubject. At length the peers acquieſced and the bill paſſed, and the earl, chuſing to appear rather than ſubmit to ſo rigorous a penalty, was committed to the Tower.

Alarmed at the reſolute meaſures of the parliament, the king, by the advice of Sir William Temple, propoſed to form a council, into which thoſe who poſſeſſed the confidence of the people might be admitted. Charles hoped that this alteration would have brought the commons into a more compliant humour, but he found himſelf miſtaken. Shafteſbury though made preſident of the council, finding that he had loſt the king's confidence, adhered to the oppoſition, and ſo biaſſed the opinion and judgment of the majority, that they proceeded to vote, that the duke of York, being a Roman catholic and the preſumptive heir to the crown, was the chief encouragement to the deſigns and plots of the papiſts againſt the king, and the proteſtant religion. It was even ſuppoſed, that a bill would be ſoon introduced for excluding him from the throne. In order to prevent this meaſure, the king concerted ſome limitations, which he imparted to the parliament, the particulars of which were, that the death of a king, if his ſucceſſor was a catholic, ſhould not diſſolve the parliament; that during the whole courſe of his reign he ſhould not be allowed to confer eccleſiaſtical benefices or ſpiritual offices upon any but pious and learned proteſtants; that no member of the privy council, or judges, ſhould be appointed or diſplaced but by the authority of parliament; that all juſtices of the peace ſhould be proteſtants, and that with regard to the militia, no lieutenant of a county ſhould be deprived of his office, but by order of parliament.

Theſe limitations, though very conſiderable, were not ſufficient to ſatisfy the commons, ſo that reſolving to free themſelves effectually from all their fears by ſuch a ſtep, as they were perſuaded could alone ſecure the religious and civil liberties of the kingdom. A bill was brought into the lower houſe for the total excluſion of James duke of York and Albany, and earl of Ulſter, from ſucceeding to the crown of England and Ireland. It was further declared, that upon the death or reſignation of the king, the ſovereignty of theſe kingdoms ſhould devolve to the perſon next in ſucceſſion to the duke; that all acts of royalty exerciſed by him ſhould be not only void, but deemed treaſonable, that if he entered any of theſe dominions, he ſhould be accounted guilty of high treaſon, and that all who ſupported his title ſhould be puniſhed as rebels and traitors. This important bill, which implied baniſhment as well as excluſion, paſſed the lower houſe by a majority of ſeventy-nine voices. They then proceeded to ſet on foot a ſevere enquiry againſt thoſe members who received penſions from court; and eighteen were diſcovered. The ſtanding army and the guards were deemed illegal, and they brought in the bill of Habeas Corpus, that great bulwark of Engliſh freedom, obliging the judge, under ſevere penalties, to grant a writ at the requeſt of every priſoner, directing the jailor to produce him in court, and certify the cauſe of his commitment.

Theſe bills ſo ſalutary to the ſubject, if not pleaſing to the ſovereign, having paſſed by a great majority, the king went to the houſe of peers, and ſending for the commons, prorogued the parliament from the twenty-ſeventh of May to the fourteenth of Auguſt; and this parliament was afterwards diſſolved without the advice of council, and writs iſſued for new elections. From this period, Charles, finding all his attempts to oppoſe deſpotiſm ineffectual, became penſive and ſullen, and diſcovered a viſible change of temper throughout his conduct.

Five jeſuits and Langhorne, an eminent lawyer who managed the affairs of their order, were executed on account of the popiſh plot. Langhorne objected to the credit of the informers, Oates and his accomplices, but without effect, as they all died proteſting their innocence with their lateſt breath. Such were the unconquerable prejudice and unrelenting obduracy of the times.

Sir George Wakeman the queen's phyſician was tried. Oates prevaricated greatly in his evidence, alledging on his firſt examination that he could adduce no circumſtance but by report, and afterwards ſwearing to matters frivolous and inconſiſtent. Wakeman refuted, by his council and evidence, the aſſertions of Oates and others, and was therefore acquitted, as were three benedictine monks who were tried at the ſame time.

The king, about the latter end of Auguſt, was ſeized with ſo violent a fever, that his phyſicians apprehended his life to be in imminent danger. Alarmed at this indication, Charles with the advice of his council, ſent a meſſenger for the duke of York, but fortunately recovered before his arrival. James, fearful that the duke of Monmouth, who was favoured by the king, and much eſteemed by the people, might rival him in the ſucceſſion, would not return to the continent, till Monmouth was deprived of his commiſſion, and ordered to quit the kingdom. Having gained this point, he returned again to Bruſſels, but ſoon obtained leave to reſide in Scotland, that he might have an opportunity of conciliating the affections of thoſe people, and be at hand in caſe of the demiſe of the king his brother; inſtead of which he made himſelf many enemies without gaining ſcarce a ſingle friend.

The nation was now ſo addicted to credulity, that every neceſſitous villain was encouraged to alarm them by pretended and fictitious plots. One Dangerfield a notorious miſcreant, was author of a new plot or incident, called, "the Meal-tub plot," from the place in which ſome papers regarding it were found. It is both difficult and immaterial to trace the ſource of this affair. It appears, however, that under pretence of betraying the conſpiracies of the preſbyterians, he had been countenanced by ſome catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the preſence of the king and the duke: and that under pretence of revealing new plots, he had obtained acceſs to Shafteſbury and ſome of the popular leaders. Though no weight could be laid on the teſtimony of a man of ſo infamous a character, a great clamour was raiſed, as if the court had, by way of retaliation, intended to load the preſbyterians with the guilt of a falſe conſpiracy.

The obſtinacy of Charles in refuſing to aſſemble the parliament loſt him the ſupport of his moſt able and honeſt counſellors. Eſſex reſigned his treaſurer's ſtaff, which was beſtowed upon Laurence Hyde; Lord Ruſſel, a nobleman of approved integrity, quitted the council board; Sir William Temple retired into the country, and the earl of Radnor took the place of Shafteſbury, who was diſmiſſed the council for an inſult offered to the king in his abſence.

The duke of Monmouth at the inſtigation of Shafteſbury came over to England without the king's permiſſion, and made a triumphant progreſs through many parts of the kingdom, extremely careſſed by the people, inſomuch that a rebellion was apprehended.

The king's late indiſpoſition had occaſioned an univerſal alarm, and his reaſon as much as the fear of ſeeing his brother aſcend the throne, made the public regard his death (to adapt the phraſe of Sir William Temple) "as the end of the world." The male-contents demanded that a parliament ſhould be called, the court party oppoſed to their petitions, addreſſes full of duty, ſubmiſſion, and profeſſions of loyalty. The Whigs and Tories were extremely animated againſt each other, and diſplayed the moſt unrelenting fury, malice and reſentment.

A. D. 1680. Shafteſbury, at the head of the oppoſition to the court meaſures, was reſolved, if poſſible, to ruin the duke of York, in oppoſition to whom he ſet up the duke of Monmouth. He not only conducted him in the road to popularity, but propagated a report that the king had actually been married to Mrs. Walters, the duke's mother. The king declared in council againſt this rumour, and ordered the author of ſuch a malicious ſlander to be minutely ſought after. At length he iſſued a declaration, that he was never married or contracted to Mrs. Walters, the duke of Monmouth's mother, nor to any other perſon whatſoever but queen Catharine.

His majeſty at length ſummoned a parliament, and in his ſpeech, among other conſiderations, repreſented to them the neceſſity of a farther inveſtigation of the Popiſh-plot, and the condign puniſhment of criminals as neceſſary to the ſafety of the kingdom.

He informed them that he had concluded ſuch an alliance with Spain, as he did not doubt would be agreeable to them, aſſured them he would be ready to concur in all reaſonable meaſures for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, and concluded with ſignifying his earneſt deſire that they would cordially unite in proſecuting thoſe ſalutary purpoſes.

But theſe conciliatory expreſſions had no weight with the commons, who upbraided the court with miſapplication of the ſupplies granted from time to time, inveighed againſt the prodigality of the king, and at length preſented him an addreſs that he would remove from all public employment, Sir George Jefferies, recorder of London, and firſt judge of Cheſter. They then recommended Dr. Tongue to the king, for the firſt good benefice in the gift of the crown that ſhould become vacant. The lords Ruſſel and Capel enumerated the grievances of the nation, and were ſeconded by a great number of members; ſome of whom were very ſevere againſt the duke of York, and the lord Ruſſel, in direct terms, moved for excluding him from the ſucceſſion.

The bill now moved for occaſioned warm and virulent altercations in the houſe of commons. The ſpeakers in favour of it were lord Ruſſel, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Henry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hampden, and Montague. It was oppoſed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, ſecretary of ſtate; Sir John Erneley, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir William Temple, Hyde, and Seymour. The former party aſſerted, that the king, lords, and commons of England, had a right to alter any part of the conſtitution: that the lineal ſucceſſion to the crown of England had been often ſet aſide; that ſuch an expedient was indiſpenſably requiſite at a juncture, when the duke's zeal for the Romiſh faith, his conections with catholic princes, and his arbitrary diſpoſition, threatened the revival of popery, the perſecution of proteſtants, together with

a dreadful train of miſeries inevitably reſulting therefrom. The latter party argued, that abſolute tyranny, or ſucceſsful uſurpation alone, had ever ſet aſide the right of ſucceſſion; that it could never be diſpenſed with without introducing the moſt violent convulſions, unleſs the whole nation concurred in the change; that a legiſlature, which deviates from a fundamental point of the conſtitution, ſubverts that very principle of authority on which itſelf is founded; and that the conſequence of driving the king to extremity ought to be well conſidered, as it was well known his majeſty would never give up the right of ſucceſſion.

Theſe arguments, however, had no force, and the bill was carried by a great majority. After a long debate, however, in the upper houſe, where Shafteſbury's eloquence was eclipſed by that of his nephew Hallifax, a zealous partizan of the court, the peers declared againſt the bill, and it was accordingly thrown out by a majority of thirty-three.

The loſs of their favourite bill highly incenſed the commons, inſomuch that they addreſſed the king to remove lord Hallifax, and other peers who had voted againſt it, from his preſence and councils for ever; revived the impeachment of the five catholic lords in the Tower, and determined to make the poor old viſcount Stafford the firſt victim. Accordingly he was brought from the Tower to his trial on the thirteenth of November, and notwithſtanding the ſtrength of his defence, the ſimplicity of his deportment, and his pathetic proteſtations of innocence, he was convicted of treaſon upon the evidence of Dugdale, Oates, and Tuberville, who ſeem to have been the hireling informers of a party. He, however, received the fatal verdict with firmneſs and reſolution, nor was the malice of his greateſt enemies able to ſhake the ſteady purpoſe of his ſoul. He diſavowed on the ſcaffold the principles for which he was ſentenced to death, when the populace exclaimed, "We believe you, my lord." The very executioner was ſtruck with ſympathy, and could not perform his office without heſitation, and when he held up the head according to cuſtom, exclaiming, "this is the head of a traitor," no clamours of aſſent were uttered, pity, remorſe, and aſtoniſhment had taken poſſeſſion of every heart, and was viſible in every countenance. No more blood was ſhed on account of this real or ſuppoſed conſpiracy, the circumſtances of which afford the moſt ſtriking proofs of the power of prejudice and bigotry, even over the moſt enlightened and liberal minds.

Not content with theſe marks of ſeverity, the commons voted that a bill ſhould be brought in for baniſhing the moſt conſiderable papiſts from the kingdom, alledging, that while the catholics retained any hopes of ſeeing the duke of York aſcend the throne, the proteſtant religion, and the lives and liberties of the people, would be in imminent danger.

A. D. 1681. The flexible character of Charles and his continual exigencies ariſing from an unreſtrained prodigality, having inſtigated the parliament to ſuch violent meaſures as he could not but conſider as a direct attack upon his dignity and prerogative, he determined to put a ſpeedy end to their ſeſſion. But the commons being apprized of this reſolution, met early in the day, on which it was expected that his majeſty would come to the houſe in order to prorogue the parliament, and paſſed a vote, that whoever adviſed his majeſty to prorogue the parliament to any other purpoſe than in order to the paſſing a bill to exclude the duke of York from the ſucceſſion, was a traitor to his king and country, a promoter of the French intereſt, and a penſioner of France. To this they added another vote, importing, that whoever ſhould advance any money on thoſe branches of the king's revenue ariſing from cuſtoms, exciſe, or hearth money, ſhould be deemed an enemy to the parliament, and be amenable to the bar of that houſe.

Theſe motions were no ſooner carried, than their attendance was required in the houſe of peers, where the king immediately prorogued the parliament, and at the ſame time ordered writs to be iſſued, for calling another to meet at Oxford on the twenty-firſt of March.

The meeting of this parliament had more the reſemblance of former times than the peaceable appearance of mere aſſemblies. Each party came armed and attended by their friends and adherents, as if confident of an immediate rupture. The members for London were ſurrounded by a numerous band of horſemen, diſtinguiſhed by knots and ribbons, inſcribed "No popery, no ſlavery." The king complained of the intolerable proceedings of the laſt houſe of commons, and plainly told them, that as he never intended to exerciſe arbitrary power over others, ſo he would not ſuffer it to be exerciſed over himſelf. He hoped the bad conſequences of former animoſities would diſpoſe them to more moderation, and induce them cooly to deliberate on meaſures neceſſary to be purſued in the preſent ſituation of affairs. He expreſſed an anxious deſire of obviating all reaſonable fears ariſing from the poſſibility of a popiſh ſucceſſor; and added, that he was willing to agree to any ſcheme for placing the power of governing in proteſtant hands, during the life of any king profeſſing popery.

But neither the menaces, nor ſoothing of the king, had the leaſt effect on the commons, who elected the ſame ſpeaker, and adopted the ſame meaſures. Being determined to enquire further into the popiſh plot and the bill of excluſion, one of his majeſty's miniſters propoſed that the duke of York ſhould be baniſhed, during life, to the diſtance of five hundred miles from any part of the Britiſh dominions; that the government ſhould be veſted in a regent; that this office ſhould be conferred upon the princeſs of Orange, and in caſe of her death, devolve to her ſiſter Anne; that ſhould the duke of York have a ſon, educated in the proteſtant religion, the ſaid regent ſhould act during his minority; that though the kingdom ſhould be governed in the name of James II. that no man ſhould take arms for him, or by virtue of his commiſſion, on pain of capital puniſhment, and that thoſe ſhould incur the ſame penalty, who ſhould affirm, that the ſimple title of king takes away all defects mentioned in this act, or in any degree eludes the obligation of it; that all officers, civil and military, ſhould bind themſelves by oath to the obſervance of this ſtatute; that acts of the ſame nature ſhould paſs in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland; that if the duke of York ſhould enter either of the three kingdoms, he ſhould be excluded, "*ipſo facto*," and the ſovereignty devolve to the regent; that all papiſts of any conſideration ſhould be baniſhed by name, and their children educated in the proteſtant religion.

But even theſe expedients, which were almoſt equal to an excluſion, did not appear to the commons

mons as a ſufficient barrier againſt the introduction of popery as the eſtabliſhed religion of the realm; ſo that they reſumed the conſideration of their favourite bill, and had actually ordered it to be read a ſecond time, when Charles, ſeizing the opportunity, diſſolved the parliament before they were apprized of his deſign. He forthwith retired to Windſor, whence he next day repaired to London, where he publiſhed a declaration, containing his reaſons for diſſolving the two laſt parliaments. The king had no ſooner taken this expedient, than addreſſes were brought him from all parts of the kingdom, containing the warmeſt expreſſions of loyalty, applauding the king's conduct in diſſolving the parliament, and inveighing againſt the commons for encouraging ſedition.

In this inſtance the conduct of the king admits of vindication, though he did not uſe this ſucceſs with prudence and moderation; for, not properly diſtinguiſhing between the lawleſs attempts of a diſcontented faction, and the noble efforts of a patriotic ſpirit to withſtand the encroachments of the crown, and aſſert the privileges of the ſubject, he determined to govern in future without the aſſiſtance of parliament, and became not only deſpotic, but even cruel. He immediately gratified with places or penſions all thoſe who had occaſionally appeared in, or acted for the intereſt of the court, and in order to convince the world of the ſuperiority he had acquired, committed Shafteſbury to the Tower, and impriſoned, at the ſame time, ſeveral perſons of inferior rank, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves as leaders in that party. But the chief object of his reſentment was the earl of Shafteſbury, to proſecute whom no ſums were ſpared, nor no expedient left untried.

His trial was accordingly fixed, but he fortunately eſcaped by the grand jury's not finding the bill againſt him. Writers are far from agreeing with regard to the validity of the charges exhibited againſt the earl, which were nothing leſs than a deſign to ſeize the king at Oxford, and compel him to ſubmit to the demands of parliament. The event, however, was celebrated with every demonſtration of joy.

In Scotland the exerciſe of arbitrary power cauſed real evils, capable almoſt of driving the nation into rebellion. The parliament, being entirely at the devotion of the duke York, paſſed an act, acknnowledging that the crown of Scotland had, by an inherent right, by the nature of the monarchy, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, always deſcended to the heir of blood, and that the ſucceſſion could not be altered by any law or conſideration whatſoever. They alſo paſſed an act for impoſing on perſons in office a teſt oath, acknowledging the king's ſupremacy, renouncing the covenant, and eſpouſing the doctrine of paſſive obedience. The form of this ſtatute was ſo ill conceived and ſo ill digeſted, that the earl of Argyle, a nobleman of unſullied honour, refuſed to take the oath without an explanation, for which he was ſentenced to loſe his head; but he eluded the puniſhment by eſcaping out of Edinburgh caſtle, and retiring to Holland. The king having thus conquered all oppoſition, the duke repaired to London, and acquired ſuch an influence over his brother, that he was, in effect, king of England, Scotland and Ireland.

A. D. 1682. The mutual animoſity which had long ſubſiſted between the two parties was inflamed into rage and rancour, and the king, who ought to have conducted himſelf as the common parent of his people, openly eſpouſed a faction. The city of London had hitherto preſerved its independence, and the whig intereſt ſtill preponderated there. But the king found means to attach to his intereſt Sir John Moor, then lord mayor, and he named two perſons for ſheriffs, whom he knew would be dupes to the miniſtry; a perſon devoted to the king's will was alſo ſecured to ſucceed Moor as lord mayor.

Theſe ſeveral circumſtances ſo alarmed the earl of Shafteſbury, that he conſulted his ſafety by flying into Holland, though he had before urged in parliament the ruin of that country in thoſe remarkable words, "Delenda eſt Carthago." But he died in a ſhort time after his arrival in that country.

A. D. 1683. The authority of the crown now encreaſed moſt rapidly. The king violated the privileges of the city of London, and gave a ſtab to the conſtitution, by iſſuing a writ of quo warranto," that is, an enquiry into the validity of its charter, which it was pretended the corporation had forfeited in two inſtances. The firſt was, their impoſing a toll in order to defray the expences of rebuilding their markets; the other, the preſenting an addreſs to the king, containing a ſcandalous reflection upon his majeſty and his adminiſtration. The cauſe was tried in the court of king's bench, and the council for the city proved, that all corporations had a power to make bye laws; that ſubjects had a right to petition the king; that the reflection in the addreſs was not levelled at the king, but his evil counſellors who had adviſed him to prorogue the parliament; and inſiſted, that if the magiſtrates had committed any fault they were puniſhable as individuals; but their conduct could be no reaſon for annihilating the body corporate.

But notwithſtanding theſe concluſive arguments, the court gave judgment againſt the city, whoſe liberties were declared to be forfeited, and their charter at the king's diſpoſal. The citizens were amazed and diſmayed at this tranſaction, and a common council being aſſembled, the majority agreed to a tame ſubmiſſion, before the ſentence ſhould be recorded. A petition was accordingly preſented to that effect, and the king offered to reſtore the charter on the following conditions: that no mayor or officer of the commonalty ſhould exerciſe his authority, until his election ſhould be confirmed under the king's ſign manual; that if his majeſty ſhould diſapprove of their choice of a mayor and ſheriffs, they ſhould proceed to a new election, and provided the ſecond ſhould be diſagreeable to the king, he ſhould appoint perſons of his own nomination; that the mayor and court of aldermen ſhould be empowered to diveſt any alderman of his office, by the king's permiſſion; that ſhould any alderman, after his election, be deemed incapable by the court of aldermen, the ward ſhould be obliged to chuſe another; and ſhould he be diſapproved by the court, a third ſhould be elected by the court itſelf; and that the juſtices of the peace in London ſhould act only by virtue of the king's commiſſion. To theſe rigorous terms the common council ſubmitted, by a majority of eighteen voices. The fate of the city of London alarmed many other corporations, who, delivering up their charters to the king, were obliged to pay large ſums for the redemption of them.

This was truly the triumph of deſpotiſm. The Engliſh could not now be ſaid to be thoſe bold and reſolute people, who had ſo often made an arbitrary monarch

monarch tremble on the throne, in defence of their ancient rights and privileges. They ſeem to have dwindled into daſtardly ſlaves, who bowed the neck to the yoke of oppreſſion, and offered the incenſe of adulation to thoſe who trampled on their deareſt rights.

Shafteſbury had before formed the ſcheme for an inſurrection; but in order to conduct the deſign with more prudence and ſecrecy, a council of ſix perſons was eſtabliſhed, conſiſting of the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Eſſex, the lords Ruſſel and Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandſon to the famous patriot who oppoſed the tax of ſhip money in the reign of Charles I. Theſe correſponded with Argyle and the malecontents of Scotland, and ſtill determined to proſecute the ſcheme of inſurrection, though they were influenced by very different motives. Sidney was a republican; Howard ſought the gratification of his own ambition; Eſſex inclined to the principles of Sidney; Ruſſel and Hampden, attached to the conſtitution, were for excluding the duke of York and remedying all grievances, while Monmouth aſpired to the crown.

During theſe tranſactions, an inferior order of conſpirators abetted by colonels Rumſey and Walcot, entered into a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate the king in his way from Newmarket. Rumbald, one of their number, poſſeſſed a farm on that road, called the Rye-houſe, whence the conſpiracy was denominated the Rye-houſe plot. They agreed to ſtop the king's coach, by overturning a cart in the highway at this place, and to ſhoot him from the hedges. It was likewiſe determined, that his guards ſhould be engaged by forty horſe under Walcot, While Rumſey ſhould perpetrate the aſſaſſination. In the midſt of their deliberations, the palace in which the king reſided at Newmarket taking fire, he quitted the place ſooner than he intended, ſo that their intentions of deſtroying him on his return to London were fruſtrated.

The plot was at length revealed by one Keeling, in order to ſecure a pardon for himſelf. Rumſey, and Weſt, a lawyer, no ſooner underſtood that this man had informed againſt them, than they agreed to ſave their lives by turning king's evidences, and ſurrendered themſelves accordingly. Warrants were now iſſued againſt the chiefs of the conſpiracy. Monmouth concealed himſelf, the lords Ruſſel, Grey and Howard were arreſted. The laſt, a man diveſted of every principle of honour, purchaſed his pardon by betraying his accomplices. On his depoſition, they ſeized the earl of Eſſex, the famous Algernon Sidney, together with Hampden, a name revered for the ſacred ſtamp of liberty. Three criminals of lower rank were firſt executed. It appeared difficult to bring the charge home to the lords, as, according to the ſtatute of Mary, the two principal kinds of treaſon compaſſing and intending the king's death, and the actual levying war againſt him muſt be proved by the concurring teſtimony of two witneſſes, to ſome overt act tending to thoſe purpoſes. However, through the refinement of the lawyers, Ruſſel, the idol of the people, was condemned. Too honeſt a man to deny that he was engaged in the ſcheme of an inſurrection, he only inſiſted that he had entertained no deſign againſt the life of the king. Several applications were made for his pardon. His father, the old earl of Bedford, offered to purchaſe his pardon of the dutcheſs of Portſmouth, with the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds; Ruſſel's lady, daughter of the earl of Southampton, threw herſelf at the king's feet, in a flood of tears, and pleaded the merit of her father in behalf of her huſband. But Charles was inexorable; he dreaded the principles and popularity of lord Ruſſel, who had denied that the king had authority to remit the barbarous part of the ſentence againſt lord Stafford, and oppoſed him in ſuch a manner in the late parliaments, as to incur the king's moſt inveterate hatred.

Lord Cavendiſh, the intimate friend of Ruſſel, offered to effect his eſcape by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a priſoner in his room, the duke of Monmouth ſent a meſſage to him, importing, that he would ſurrender himſelf, if he thought that ſtep would contribute to his ſafety. But Ruſſel nobly declined theſe generous offers, and reſigned himſelf to his fate with admirable fortitude. His lady, that he might not be ſhocked in his laſt moments, ſummoned aſtoniſhing reſolution, and parted from him without ſhedding a tear. "Now, ſaid he, the bitterneſs of death is paſt," and afterwards behaved with the utmoſt ſerenity. Immediately before he was conveyed to the ſcaffold, which was erected in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, he wound up his watch, ſaying with a ſmile. "Now "I have done with time, and muſt henceforth "think of eternity," and died without betraying the leaſt weakneſs.

Algernon Sidney, ſon to the earl of Leiceſter, was next brought to trial. His great genius, undaunted courage, and ardent paſſion for liberty, had occaſioned his acting a diſtinguiſhed part among the republicans. He had oppoſed the reſtoration of the monarchy with as much warmth as the uſurpation of Cromwell. The only witneſs who depoſed againſt him was the treacherous Howard, but as the law required two witneſſes, the council had recourſe to a ſtrange expedient to ſupply this defect. This produced ſome diſcourſes upon government found among his papers, and affirmed, that theſe were equivalent to another evidence. They were written in defence of liberty, maintaining the original contract upon which government was founded, and from which all power was derived; the lawfulneſs of reſiſting tyrannical and oppreſſive meaſures, and the maxim of preferring a republic to the government of an individual. There was no proof that the papers were his hand writing, or that he had ever ſhewn them to any perſon, nor did they contain any thing treaſonable; and in his defence he inſiſted, that the law ſtrictly required two living witneſſes to ſupport a charge of treaſon. All the arguments, though urged by the priſoner with great force of reaſoning, had no influence; the violent and inhuman Jefferies was now chief juſtice, and by his direction, a partial jury was prevailed on to give a verdict againſt Sidney, who was convicted, and being condemned, gloried in dying for the cauſe in which he had been engaged from his earlieſt youth.

Several more of the conſpirators were executed and others heavily fined. Hampden, againſt whom Howard was the ſole evidence, was indicted for a miſdemeanor, and caſt for forty thouſand pounds. Sir Thomas Armſtrong had been outlawed for the conſpiracy, and fled to Holland, where he was betrayed into the hands of Chudleigh, the Engliſh miniſter, who ſent him over to England. He demanded a fair trial, to which he was entitled by the ſtatute, as the time preſcribed for his ſurrendering himſelf was not yet elapſed. Jefferies declared he was not entitled to the benefit of

of the ſtatute, becauſe he did not ſurrender voluntarily; he inſulted him from the bench, and condemned him to die the death of a traitor, which he bore with the reſolution and ſpirit of a man.

The earl of Eſſex was found dead in priſon, with his throat cut. A report had been ſpread that he had been murdered by order of the king and his brother: it appeared, however, certain, that he had been guilty of ſuicide. We are told indeed by Dr. Burnet, the earl had occaſionally vindicated that criminal practice.

On the firſt diſcovery of the conſpiracy, Monmouth had abſconded, nor could the court gain any intelligence of him. He correſponded with the earl of Argyle, through whoſe means he hoped to be joined by the covenanters in Scotland, who were ſo enſlaved by the government, that any hazard was preferable to that ſervility under which they groaned. Argyle, who then reſided in Holland, undertook to ſupply the covenanters with arms, if the duke of Monmouth would remit eight thouſand pounds for that purpoſe. Bailie of Jerviſwood, a man of talents and integrity, conducted this affair, and was apprehended among the perſons concerned in the conſpiracy. As the miniſtry could find no evidence againſt him, they inſiſted upon his purging himſelf by oath, of all ſuſpicion of having been concerned in the Rye-houſe plot, otherwiſe they would hold him guilty. To this he objected as inhuman and tyrannical, and refuſed to anſwer their queſtions upon oath, whereon he was committed to priſon, and amerſed in the ſum of ſix thouſand pounds.

But ſuch was the rancour of their minds, that, at the inſtigation of the duke of York, they employed the moſt unjuſt and ſcandalous means to gratify their revenge. At length the earl of Tarras, who had likewiſe been impriſoned on account of the conſpiracy, and Murray of Philliphaugh, were induced, by threats, to ſwear that Bailie had tampered with them to raiſe a rebellion, by which this unhappy man was convicted of treaſon; and as he was already reduced to the brink of the grave, by hard uſage and diſtemper, the judge, fearing that death would diſappoint the duke's inhuman deſires, ordered him to be executed immediately after condemnation; and he bore his inhuman ſentence with all the fortitude of conſcious virtue.

Charles, having acquired ſome popularity, was deſirous of encreaſing it; and, conſcious that the dread of popery was the moſt predominant paſſion in the minds of the people, he judged it proper to marry his neice the lady Anne to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark, and a proteſtant. In order to leſſen the power of the duke of York, which was now become exorbitant, the earl of Halifax, having diſcovered the place of Monmouth's retreat, prevailed upon him to ſend two ſubmiſſive letters to the king, which awakened the paternal affection of Charles, who permitted him to appear at court, endeavoured to reconcile him to the duke of York, and ſummoned an extraordinary council, to acquaint the members of Monmouth's ſincere penitence.

But the duke in a few days repented of the ſtep he had taken, and finding that he was intirely diſgraced with his party, as his confeſſion was now made public, he reſolved at all events to retrieve his character, and entreated the king to return him the paper. Charles, provoked at this duplicity of behaviour, baniſhed him from his preſence, and afterwards ordered him to quit the kingdom. He withdrew into Holland, where he was cordially received by the prince of Orange, and afterwards correſponded with his father; but the duke of York was never acquainted with the ſecrets of the correſpondence.

A. D. 1684. But the king, amidſt the pleaſing hopes and expectations which were now preſented to his view, was in reality neither happy nor ſatisfied. Perhaps the violent and imprudent councils of his brother were the principal ſource of his diſquietude, as indeed may be gathered from this ſtriking addreſs to him, on his urging the purſuit of vehement meaſures, "Brother, I am too old to "go again on my travels, you may, if you pleaſe."

A. D. 1685. It is ſuppoſed he was deliberating on ſending him away, and rendering his government more conformable to the genius and conſtitution of the nation. But whatever may have been his deſigns they were prevented by his death, which happened on the ſixth day of February, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign, and was occaſioned by a kind of apoplectic fit, after which he languiſhed only a few days.

Previous to his diſſolution he received the euchariſt, and paſſed through the other ceremonies according to the rites of the Romiſh church, though, if a judgment may be formed from his life, he ſeems to have been both in principle and conduct an abſolute deiſt.

As exhaulted characters are held up to public view in the moſt eminent light, their vices as well as virtues are conſequently rendered thereby more conſpicuous and glaring. In deſcribing the character of king Charles II. moſt writers have been guided by their reſpective religions and political principles, and have therefore as a man repreſented him accordingly. Indolence and the love of pleaſure ſeem to have been his ruling paſſions, and diverted his mind from nobler and more worthy purſuits. He was not deſtitute of knowledge in ſpeculation, though he evinced very little in practice; hence aroſe that pointed cenſure, "that he "never ſaid a fooliſh thing, nor ever did a wiſe "one." That he poſſeſſed that prejudice in favour of deſpotiſm, which ſeemed to have been congenial with his race, is evident from his general ſyſtem of government, though the dread of popular reſentment frequently cauſed him to relax in his efforts to eſtabliſh arbitrary power.

In private life he was affable, witty, and convivial, and admirably adapted to enjoy the hours as they paſſed. But as in the choice and purſuit of his pleaſures, he was neither governed by reaſon nor confined by moderation, he became enſlaved by his paſſions, and frequently derogated from the man as well as the prince.

Remarkable Occurrences during the reign of Charles II.

A. D.

1660 General poſt-office in London firſt opened for all parts of the world.
Perukes firſt worn in England.

1662 A tax of two pence per annum on every fire-place or hearth throughout England.

1663 Fire-engines to raiſe water invented.
News papers firſt printed in England.

1665 The royal Gazette firſt publiſhed at Oxford (the court being then kept in that city) on November 7. On the removal of the court to London the title was changed to the London Gazette, which has ever ſince been publiſhed twice a week, namely, Tueſdays and Saturdays.
Signals at ſea firſt uſed by the Engliſh.

1666 Tea firſt brought into England by lord Oſſory from Holland, and being admired by perſons of rank, it was imported from thence, and generally ſold for ſixty ſhillings a pound, till our Eaſt India Company took up the trade.
1670 Muſlins from India firſt worn in England.
1676 Callico-printing invented and firſt practiſed in England.
1680 Votes of the houſe of commons firſt publiſhed.
Buckles firſt invented and worn in England.
1683 Penny-poſt office inſtituted.

The reign of Charles II. is celebrated for the flouriſhing ſtate of the Belles letters in general, and many eminent philoſophers, poets, ſtateſmen, and divines, amongſt whom were Newton, Boyle, Butler, Dryden, Otway, Stillingfleet, Lloyd, and Tillotſon, names which will be perpetuated to the lateſt poſterity.

CHAP. II.

JAMES II.

Acceſſion of James II. Proclamation for all people in office to hold their reſpective poſts. Parliament devoted to the king. Puniſhment of Oates. Rebellion and death of the duke of Monmouth. Indiſcreet zeal for the popiſh religion. Cruelties of Kirk and his clan. The teſt act diſpenſed with. Trial of the biſhops. Policy of the prince of Orange. His ſecret preparations. James rejects the offer of the French king. The prince of Orange ſails from Helvoet-ſluice with a powerful armament. Arrives in Torbay. Avows his intentions. Multitudes flock to his ſtandard. Forlorn ſituation of the king. His abdication of the throne and retirement to France.

THE love of novelty is a very prevalent paſſion with mankind in general, and perhaps it is the moſt cogent reaſon that can poſſibly be ſuggeſted, for that almoſt univerſal approbation with which potentates aſcend the thrones of their progenitors. This, if we may rely on the record of hiſtorians, was the caſe reſpecting the acceſſion of James II. though the torrent of popular odium ran ſo ſtrongly againſt him during the greater part of the late reign, and at the demiſe of the late king his brother. No ſooner had Charles paid the debt of nature than James was proclaimed, amidſt the univerſal acclamations of the people.

A proclamation was immediately publiſhed, by which all thoſe who held offices under the late king were continued in their reſpective poſts; the popularity of which ſtep in a new ſovereign needs no comment. Rocheſter was lord high treaſurer, his brother Clarendon keeper of the privy ſeal, and Hallifax preſident of the council. James and his queen were crowned on the twenty-third day of April, when the populace obſerved, that the royal diadem was too large for his head, and ſhook from ſide to ſide, a circumſtance from which they deduced a bad omen.

A little before the meeting of the parliament, Oates was tried in the court of king's bench, upon two indictments of perjury, and convicted on the evidence of above twenty witneſſes. He was ſentenced to pay a fine of two thouſand marks, to be publickly wipped twice in three days, to ſtand in the pillory once every year, and be impriſoned for life. He bore his fate with great reſolution, proteſting his innocence in the moſt ſolemn manner: he was cheriſhed and ſupported by a numerous party, and in the following reign was rewarded with a penſion of four hundred pounds, and his liberty.

The duke of Monmouth, ever dear to the people, undertook to dethrone his uncle, at the very time when his throne appeared the moſt firmly eſtabliſhed. Intelligence, however, being received of the deſign, the parliament preſented an addreſs to the king, aſſuring him of their zeal and aſſiſtance in quelling this rebellion, granted him a ſubſidy of four hundred thouſand pounds, and then adjourned.

Monmouth, it is ſaid, would willingly have delayed making any attempts for the preſent, but ſuch was the impatience of his followers, and ſuch the ardour of the duke of Argyle, who ſet out from Scotland a few days before him, that all his objections were over-ruled, and this unfortunate nobleman was precipitated into deſtruction.

On his firſt landing he publiſhed a kind of manifeſto, accuſing the duke of York as the author of the fire of London, the French alliance, the two Dutch wars, the murder of Godfrey, the aſſaſſination of Eſſex, the diſſolution of parliaments, the ſubordination of juries, and the moſt flagrant acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, and invited the people to join him in his endeavours to redreſs the grievances of the nation.

But theſe declarations produced very little effect in his favour, ſo that his army conſiſted chiefly of a rude undiſciplined rabble. With theſe he marched from Lyme to Taunton, where his army through conſiderable reinforcements amounting to about ſix thouſand men, he aſſumed the title of king and was proclaimed in form. He then marched to Bridgewater, where he was likewiſe well received, and from thence advanced to the neighbourhood of Briſtol, the inhabitants of which were deterred from joining him by the preſence of the duke of Beaufort, their governor, or they would probably have declared in his favour.

In conſequence of theſe proceedings of the duke of Monmouth, James ordered ſix regiments of Britiſh troops to be called over from Holland, the army was greatly augmented, and regular troops to the amount of three thouſand men were diſpatched under the command of Feverſham and Churchill, in order to check the progreſs of the rebels. Monmouth, ſenſible of the temerity of his project, and that he muſt either conquer or periſh, ſet forward to meet the king's forces hoping to meet them unprepared for an attack.

But the royaliſts being drawn up in excellent order at Sedgley-moor, near Bridgewater, the battle began at day break, and after a conteſt of three hours,

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

JAMES II.

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born
October 15. 1633.

Crowned
April 23. 1685.

Died
August 6. 1701.

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hours, the rebels fled, and were purſued with great ſlaughter. Monmouth retired from the field of battle with about fifty horſe; but theſe being ſoon diſperſed, he rode towards Dorſetſhire, until his horſe could carry him no farther. He then alighted, and exchanging dreſs with a ſhepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being quite ſpent with hunger and fatigue, they laid down in a ditch, and covered themſelves with fern. The ſhepherd being found in his cloaths, was brought to lord Lumley, who diſcovered the duke in his hiding place, from whence he was conducted to London and lodged in the Tower.

On his arrival he wrote to the king humbly imploring his pardon, and James finding ſuch impreſſions of deſpondency on the unhappy priſoner, ordered him into his preſence, in hopes of drawing from him a diſcovery of his confederates; but Monmouth, however deſirous of life, would not condeſcend to purchaſe it by an action attended with ſo much infamy. Finding all his intreaties vain, he aſſumed courage from deſpair, and prepaired for death, with a ſpirit becoming his rank and character. This favourite of the people was conducted to the ſcaffold amidſt the tears and lamentations of the ſpectators. When he laid his head on the block, and made the ſignal, the executioner ſtruck three times ineffectually, and then threw down the ax; but the ſheriff compelled him to reſume the work, which, with three other ſtrokes, he finiſhed.

Thus fell James duke of Monmouth, whoſe character in many reſpects was truly amiable. He was brave, generous, and ſincere, but too open to flattery and too warmly addicted to pleaſure. At length his ambition prompted him to meaſures, which in the end coſt him his life.

But the victory obtained by the royaliſts on this occaſion was ſullied by the cruelty of their officers. The earl of Feverſham ordered twenty of the rebels to be hanged immediately after the action. Nineteen were put to death in the ſame manner at Bridgewater, by colonel Kirke, an inhuman wretch, who had ſerved at Tangier. He continued to execute others occaſionally for his diverſion, with ſuch circumſtances of wanton barbarity, as are ſhocking to human nature: indeed, he carried his cruelty to ſuch a ſavage exceſs, as to make a ſport of the executions of his victims. One execution was attended with ſuch circumſtances of perfidy, as well as barbarity, that its equal cannot, perhaps, be found in the hiſtory of any other country. A young maid, frantic with grief, repaired to the colonel, to implore pardon for her brother. She threw herſelf at his feet, armed with all the charms that beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could poſſibly beſtow. Fired with luſt, rather than ſoftened by love and clemency, he promiſed to grant her requeſt, provided ſhe, on her part, would condeſcend to ſatisfy his deſires. The ſtruggle was ſevere between virtue and her affection for her brother. The latter at laſt prevailed, and ſhe ſubmitted to the conditions; but after paſſing the night with this inhuman ruffian, he ſhewed her next morning, from the window of the apartment, the darling object for whom ſhe had ſacrificed her virtue, hanging on the ſign-poſt of an inn, which was oppoſite to the houſe where he reſided. The ſhock was too great for human nature: rage, deſpair, and indignation, took at once poſſeſſion of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her ſenſes.

Jefferies, the chief juſtice, ſtill more inhuman, becauſe his profeſſion ought to have rendered him more merciful, now proceeded to ſcenes of deſtruction with more than brutal ſatisfaction. At Dorcheſter he ordered no leſs than eighty perſons to be executed immediately after conviction. He proſecuted the ſame work of carnage at Exeter and Taunton. Two hundred and fifty perſons are ſaid to have been ſacrificed, in this circuit, under colour of juſtice. Jefferies himſelf made it his boaſt, that he had hanged more men than all the judges in England, ſince the time of William the conqueror. He no ſooner returned from his circuit, which the king was wont to term his campaign, than he was created a peer, and in a ſhort time advanced to the dignity of chancellor; a circumſtance that gives us a ſufficient idea of the diſpoſition of James, and accounts, in ſome meaſure, for the ſhortneſs of his reign.

The bigotted attachment of James to the popiſh religion appeared in the moſt glaring colours, and ſuch were the inſtances of his cruelties and deſpotiſm, that the Spaniſh ambaſſador Ronquillo, conſidering the tranquillity of England as very neceſſary for the ſupport of Spain, took the liberty to remonſtrate on the ſubject, and adviſed the king not to follow too implicitly, the dangerous councils of his prieſts. "What! ſaid James, "is not the king of Spain wont to conſult with "his confeſſors?" "Yes, replied the ambaſſador, "and that is the very reaſon why our affairs are ſo "unproſperous." However, at all events, James reſolved to proceed in his enterprize, previous to which he thought it neceſſary to render himſelf abſolute, and then he ſhould be able to employ the moſt effectual means to obtain the much deſired end.

To carry the point in Ireland, the duke of Ormond was turned out of his poſt of lord-lieutenant, and though the primate and lord Garnard, proteſtants, ſtill enjoyed the office of juſtices, the whole power was veſted in the hands of Talbot the general, (ſoon after advanced to the earldom of Tyrconnel) a man who, from the bigotry of his prejudices, was actuated with the moſt furious zeal for the catholic cauſe, which he ſoon evinced, by placing catholics in the ſeveral offices, in the room of proteſtants whom he turned out.

Clarendon, who was appointed to ſucceed the duke of Ormond in the viceroyſhip, ſoon perceived the declenſion of his influence, as he was too honeſt a man to conciliate the favour of his ſovereign by changing his religion; in fact, he poſſeſſed at length but the ſhadow of authority, of which he was ſoon deprived, on the appointment of Tyrconnel, a fit tool for the accompliſhment of his maſter's deſigns.

Partiality for the catholics appeared in every department of church and ſtate. Tyranny and oppreſſion were exerciſed in every quarter of that kingdom, inſomuch that a renewal of the ancient maſſacre was dreaded, and many, alarmed at the imminent dangers to which they were expoſed, abandoned the kingdom. The more candid and ſenſible part of the catholics themſelves were diſſatisfied with theſe violent meaſures, and could eaſily foreſee the conſequences. Influenced by the advice of the queen and his confeſſor, Peters, a jeſuit, (whom he made a privy councellor) James paid no regard to the opinions of his ſubjects.

A. D. 1686. The arbitrary meaſures of the king ſtruck the whole nation with terror, and the proteſtants were alarmed more than ever with the apprehenſions of the eſtabliſhment of popery. To add

add to their fears, James erected a new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion court, compoſed of ſeven members, ſecular as well as clerical; among the former were lord chancellor Jefferies, and the earls of Rocheſter and Sunderland. He alſo ſent a circular letter to the biſhops, ordering them to prohibit their inferior clergy from preaching upon points of controverſy. But the injunction was very little regarded by the proteſtant divines, who expoſed the abſurdities and cruelties of the catholic communion with ſuch learning, energy, and candour, as operated powerfully on the conviction of the public, and redounded to their immortal honour. On this occaſion Tillotſon, Stillingfleet, Teniſon, Patrick and Sherlock, greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

Notwithſtanding the univerſal horror that had been ſpread throughout the kingdom, and the complaints of an aggrieved people, James ordered an army of fifteen thouſand men to be encamped on Hounſlow-heath in the time of profound peace. James became daily more ambitious of making converts. Sunderland ſacrificed his religion to his intereſt, though he would not make a public abjuration. The earl of Rocheſter conſented to a conference with ſome popiſh prieſts, but declaring himſelf diſſatisfied with their arguments, and refuſing to change, he was deprived of the office of treaſurer, but gratified with a conſiderable penſion. The king alſo deprived the earl of Clarendon of the privy ſeal, which was given to lord Arundel.

A. D. 1687. To veil, for a time, his reſolution of aboliſhing the proteſtant religion, James gave repeated promiſes of maintaining it, a circumſtance which afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction to the diſſenters in general, though the moſt diſcerning part of them ſaw through the artful diſguiſe. Nor was it long before the maſk was thrown off; for the king diſpatched the earl of Caſtlemain ambaſſador extraordinary to Rome, in order to make his ſubmiſſion to the pope, and to reconcile his three kingdoms to the holy ſee, from which (he ſaid) they had unhappily fallen by hereſy. Never did any man ſent on ſo important an errand meet with ſo many affronts as Caſtlemain. Pope Innocent, who was at variance with the French king, looked upon James as the partizan. Though he granted audience to the ambaſſador, he always pretended to be ſeized with a fit of coughing, which interrupted the earl's ſpeech, and obliged him to retire. At length he complained loudly of this contemptuous treatment, and threatened to return. The pope, with his uſual indifference, adviſed him to travel in the cool of the morning, and to repoſe himſelf during the heat of the day, otherwiſe the climate of Italy might prove dangerous to his health.

Nothing now ſeemed wanting to the completion of the king's deſigns, but the admiſſion of the catholics into the univerſities. Accordingly, father Francis, a Benedictine monk, was recommended by the royal mandate to the univerſity of Cambridge, for the degree of Maſter of Arts. They all perceived the dangerous conſequences of ſuch an admiſſion, and preſented a petition to the king, beſeeching him to recall his mandate. Their petition was diſregarded, and the deputies were ſummoned before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion to anſwer for this act of diſobedience. The king ſuſpended the vice chancellor, but it had no effect, as a man of ſpirit was choſen by the univerſity to ſucceed to that office.

A ſecond attempt was made at Oxford, and proſecuted with more inflexible obſtinacy. The place of preſident of Magdalen College being vacant, the king ſent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, whoſe character lay under imputation. The fellows of the college petitioned the king to revoke his mandate, but before they received an anſwer, the day arrived on which, by their ſtatutes, they were bound to proceed to an election. They choſe Dr. Hough a man of learning, integrity, and reſolution. The king was incenſed at their diſobedience, and the vice-preſident and fellows were ſummoned before the eccleſiaſtical court, where they proved Farmer in every ſhape unqualified for the office.

A new mandate was therefore iſſued in favour of Parker, lately created biſhop of Oxford; but as he was as diſſolute a character as the former, the fellows refuſed to comply with this injunction, in conſequence of which, the preſident, and all the fellows, (except two who aſſented,) were expelled the college. Parker was put in poſſeſſion of the office, and the places of the deprived fellows were filled by papiſts. This outrage was of itſelf ſufficient to convince the nation of the king's arbitrary deſigns; nor can any thing be imagined more illegal and unjuſt than theſe proceedings.

James, ſenſible of the popularity acquired by the prince of Orange in England, and that the princeſs his conſort was deemed preſumptive heireſs to the crown, was very deſirous of knowing their opinions concerning the penal laws, perſuaded if he could obtain their concurrence to a repeal it would have great weight with the nation. To effect this deſign, he employed one Stuart, who was acquainted with Fagel the penſionary, to aſſure this counſellor in a letter, that the intereſt of England, as well as that of the prince, required the abolition of the teſt and penal laws. Fagel, by direction of the prince, wrote an anſwer, importing, that the prince and princeſs would willingly agree to indulge the catholics with liberty of conſcience, and ardently wiſhed, that the proteſtant diſſenters were allowed the free exerciſe of their religion; but they could never conſent to the abolition of the teſt and penal laws, which were enacted to defend the proteſtant religion, by excluding the catholics from parliament, and from public employments. The publication of this letter produced very different effects on the king and the nation: to the former it gave the ſevereſt mortification, but to the latter it afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction.

A ſhort time after this, a proclamation was publiſhed, declaring the pregnancy of the queen, and ordaining a day of thankſgiving on the occaſion. Addreſſes of congratulation were immediately wafted to the king from all corners of the iſland, as if the whole nation had thought the birth of a prince would be a public bleſſing; but theſe addreſſes were procured by the emiſſaries of the miniſtry. All the proteſtants in the kingdom were alarmed, as at the eve of a terrible calamity. A great number fondly believed that the queen's pregnancy was counterfeit, as ſhe of late years had been in an ill ſtate of health, and the belief that the whole was an impoſture ſpread almoſt univerſally among the proteſtants.

James, however, deſirous of confirming his deſpotic power, and inflamed by frantic zeal, ſeemed determined no longer to keep any meaſures with his ſubjects; and in order to ſhew his contempt for the malecontents, publiſhed a ſecond declaration of indulgence, granting liberty of conſcience, and aboliſhing the penal laws. To this he ſubjoined

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BRITISH MUSEUM
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The BISHOPS *of* St ASAPH-CHESTER-BATH & WELLS-ELY, *and* PETERBOROUGH, *presenting their Petition to* KING JAMES II, *before their commitment to the Tower by Judge Jefferies.*

an order, commanding the biſhops to cauſe it to be read in all the churches of their reſpective dioceſes. The prelates no ſooner received theſe orders, than they repaired to Lambeth, in order to conſult with the primate. Having deliberated on the ſubject, they unanimouſly agreed, that they could not obey the king's command, without betraying their conſciences, and their duty to God and their country. They then drew up and ſigned a petition to the king, repreſenting, that, though they were extremely deſirous in any lawful way of complying with his majeſty's royal will and pleaſure, yet, as the declaration of indulgence was founded on an authority formerly declared illegal by parliament, they could not in prudence, honour, or conſcience, conſent to be acceſſary to diſtributing it through the kingdom, and therefore beſought his majeſty to free them from the neceſſity of reading the declaration in public. Determined on the moſt rigorous proceedings againſt the biſhops, James commanded that they ſhould be brought before the council, where, being aſked if they owned the petition, the archbiſhop acknowledged it was written by his own hand, and the reſt declared that they had ſigned it. The chancellor then demanded, if they would give bail to appear in the court of king's bench, and anſwer the charge which ſhould be exhibited againſt them; but they refuſed to comply, alledging their privilege in quality of peers, which they were bound to maintain, as well as the intereſts of the church, according to the oath they had taken to oppoſe all innovations in church and ſtate.

Jeffries, enraged at this anſwer, told them that unleſs they inſtantly retracted their aſſertions, and withdrew their petition, he would ſend them to the Tower, upon which they ſaid, that "having acted agreeable to the laws of their country, the dictates of their conſciences, and the ſacred office with which they were inveſted, they depended on the protection of the king of kings." An order was then drawn for their commitment to the Tower, and directions were given to the crown lawyers to proſecute them for a ſeditious libel.

An alarm being ſpread that the biſhops were to be conveyed by water to the Tower, the ſhore was lined with innumerable ſpectators deploring the fate of thoſe reverend prelates, and earneſtly craving their bleſſings. The biſhops increaſed the general favour by an humble and ſubmiſſive deportment; and conjured the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. The reſpect even of the ſoldiers who conducted them to priſon, furniſhed a ſtriking proof of the ſentiments of the public.

A. D. 1688. During the confinement of the biſhops, the queen was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of James. The catholics rejoiced at the event, but the people in general were poſſeſſed with a notion, that the child was altogether ſuppoſitious in order to cut off the princeſs of Orange from the ſucceſſion. In ſhort, the birth of this child, which ſhould have proved the bond of union between the king and his ſubjects, had the very contrary effect, both parties, proteſtants and catholics, labouring under ſuch violent prejudices at this time; it is not to be wondered, if the latter ſtrenuouſly aſſerted the legitimacy of the child, and the former inſiſted that the whole tranſaction was an impoſture.

On the 29th of June came on the trial of the biſhops in Weſtminſter-hall, which was filled with an infinite concourſe of people, amongſt whom were many peers, and numbers of the firſt perſonages in the kingdom. The council for the biſhops defended their cauſe with as much ſucceſs as freedom; and the jury, by pronouncing them "Not guilty," excited an univerſal tranſport. The news of the acquittal of the biſhops no ſooner reached Hounſlow, than the ſoldiers expreſſed their joy by the loudeſt acclamations. James, who was then at dinner with lord Feverſham in his tent, ſent out an officer to enquire into the cauſe of this exultation, and when the officer returned and told him, it was nothing but the rejoicing of the ſoldiers at the acquittal of the biſhops, "Call you that nothing! (ſaid the "king) but ſo much the worſe for them." Having fixed his chief dependance on the army, he determined to put their attachment to an infallible teſt, and with that view ordered lord Litchfield's regiment to be drawn up in his preſence, and commanded all ſuch officers and ſoldiers as would not contribute to the repeal of the teſt and penal laws to lay down their muſquets; when he was equally ſurprized, and incenſed, to ſee the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers and a very few ſoldiers. After ſome pauſe, he commanded them to take up their arms, telling them with a ſullen air, "that for the future he would not do "them the honour to aſk their advice."

From a variety of concurring circumſtances, the nation was fully convinced that the king was determined to ſubvert the conſtitution both in church and ſtate, ſo that many perſons of eminence and intereſt entered into a ſtrict union for the ſecurity of the kingdom, and inviting over the prince of Orange to head the country party againſt him. Admiral Hubert, who was beloved by the ſeamen, reſigned his commiſſion, and retired to the Hague, where he aſſured the prince of a general diſaffection in the navy. This aſſurance was confirmed by admiral Ruſſel, who paſſed frequently between England and Holland, and ſerved to keep up a conſtant correſpondence between the prince and the Engliſh proteſtants. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernon, went over to the Hague, under pretext of going to the Spa for his health, and had frequent conferences with the Stadtholder. Zuyleſtein, who had been ſent over to congratulate the king on the birth of his ſon, brought back to the prince a formal invitation from moſt of the great men in England. The biſhop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the marquis of Halliſax, the earls of Dorſet, Devonſhire, Nottingham, and Danby; the lords Lovelace, Delamere, Paulet, and Eland, many gentlemen of intereſt, and a great number of ſubſtantial citizens, joined in the application to the prince, engaging with their lives and fortunes to ſupport him in his endeavours to recover their civil and religious liberties.

The prince of Orange conducted the neceſſary preparations with wonderful prudence and policy, and concealed their intention under ſuch pretexts, as eluded for a time the ſuſpicion of the Engliſh court. But the deſtination of a powerful armament could not long remain ſecret. The French ambaſſador acquainted his maſter therewith, who tranſmitted the information to James, and at the ſame time made him a moſt important offer; which the latter, vainly relying on the nature of his own authority, could not be perſuaded to accept. Mean while he ordered his ambaſſador in Holland to preſent a memorial to the ſtates, deſiring to know the deſtination of their extraordinary armament.

He received for anſwer, that they only imitated the king of England, who had lately equipped a powerful fleet, and aſſembled a numerous army without explaining his intentions; and they in their turn deſired to know the nature of his alliance with the king of France

Alarmed at this extraordinary reply, James directed his fleet to be manned and prepared for ſea, ſet on foot new levies, and ſent for ſome regiments from Ireland; appointed the earl of Feverſham general of the land forces, and conferred the command of the navy on the earl of Dartmouth. Whilſt the king was diſtracted with fears and apprehenſions, intelligence arrived from the ambaſſador, that the Hague was filled with Engliſh ſubjects, waiting to embark in the prince's expedition. In this emergency, James aſſembled the biſhops of Wincheſter, Chicheſter, Rocheſter, Peterborough, Ely, Bath, and Wells. The prelates having laid the caſe before the primate, and held ſuch conſultation together as ſo weighty a matter required, attended his majeſty at Whitehall with the reſult of their deliberations. They counſelled the king to put the government of the different counties into the hands of perſons diſtinguiſhed by their birth, and qualified by the laws of the land, to aboliſh the eccleſiaſtical court, to recall all the diſpenſations, by virtue of which, diſqualified perſons had been admitted into civil and eccleſiaſtical employments; to revoke all the licences, by which catholics were permitted to open public ſchools; to deſiſt from all pretenſions to a diſpenſing power, or refer it entirely to the deciſion of parliament; to forbid the four apoſtolic vicars to continue invading the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which belonged to the Engliſh church; to fill up the vacant biſhoprics with men of learning and piety; to reſtore the charters which had been taken from corporations; to aſſemble a free parliament; and conſent that the biſhops ſhould offer ſuch reaſons as might reconcile his majeſty to the church of England.

By theſe very popular meaſures, James, at this alarming criſis, endeavoured, though in vain, to regain the good-will and affections of his ſubjects.

During theſe tranſactions, the prince of Orange applied himſelf with the greateſt aſſiduity to compleat his armament; which finiſhed, he publiſhed a manifeſto, explaining the motives of his expedition. At the ſame time, the ſtates-general publiſhed the reaſons, which had induced them to lend their ſhips and men to the prince of Orange; namely, the invitation which that prince had received from the nobility, gentry, and clergy of England; and the apprehenſion that king James, after he ſhould have enſlaved his own kingdom, would join the French monarch to root out the proteſtant religion, and conquer the United Provinces.

The prince's meaſures were ſo well concerted, that in three days above four hundred tranſports were engaged; the forces quickly embarked and fell down the rivers and canals from Nimeguen; the artillery, arms, ſtores, and horſes, were put on board, and on the twenty-firſt of October, the prince ſet ſail from Helvoetſluice, with a fleet of near five hundred veſſels, and an army of above fourteen thouſand men. Admiral Hubert led the van, the rear was conducted by Evertzen, and the prince commanded in the center, with a flag diſplaying his own arms, circumſcribed, "The proteſtant religion, and the liberties of England. "Underneath, *Je maintien drai*, i. e. "I will "maintain;" the device that diſtinguiſhed the houſe of Naſſau. The fleet had ſailed but a few leagues when the wind ſuddenly ſhifted to the weſt, and blew a hurricane which laſted two whole days, and ſcattered the ſhips in ſuch a manner, that a whole week elapſed before they could re-aſſemble at their rendezvous. They had ſuſtained very little damage; but, with a view to lull James in ſecurity, orders were given to fill the Dutch gazettes with exaggerated accounts of their loſs, and declarations that the expedition muſt be poſtponed till the enſuing ſpring.

But this loſs being ſoon repaired, the fleet put to ſea again, and ſtood away with a fair wind towards the weſt of England. The prince, after a very proſperous voyage, landed his army ſafely in Torbay on the fifth of November, the anniverſary of the gunpowder treaſon. The Dutch army then advanced to Exeter, where the prince's declaration was inſtantly publiſhed. For ſeveral days not a ſingle perſon joined the prince, deterred from ſo doing by the remembrance of the numerous executions that ſucceeded Monmouth's rebellion. In proceſs of time, however, a croud of Engliſh noblemen and officers haſtened to join him, and there appeared daily inconteſtible proofs of his ſubjects averſion to the principles which had governed the unfortunate James II. as well as his immediate predeceſſors.

Diſtracted and perplexed at theſe alarming events, the king determined to command his army in perſon, and after recommending the city of London to the care of the lord mayor, he ſet out for Saliſbury, where he arrived on the nineteenth of November, and was complimented by his officers, who expreſſed their attachment to him in the warmeſt terms, and their indignation at the deſertion of lord Cornbury, who had revolted to the prince of Orange, with the greateſt part of four regiments. Notwithſtanding theſe aſſurances, he was expoſed to the moſt uneaſy reflections; he ſaw all his ſchemes blaſted, his friends falling off, and his family in danger of immediate ruin. He was even abandoned by his own daughter, Anne, princeſs of Denmark, who eſcaped privately from Whitehall, accompanied by the biſhop of London to Nottingham, from whence ſhe repaired to Oxford, where ſhe was joined by her huſband. When the king found himſelf deſerted by a virtuous child, he burſt into a flood of tears at the unexpected event, and pathetically exclaimed, "God "help me, in the extremity of my grief, my own "children have forſaken me."

Every thing now ſeemed to threaten the moſt fatal conſequences to James. The town of Newcaſtle admitted lord Lumley, and declared for the prince of Orange, and a free parliament. The duke of Norfolk eſpouſed the ſame cauſe. The prince's declaration was read in Oxford by the duke of Ormond, and heartily approved by that univerſity, who likewiſe complimented the prince with an offer of their plate. A very violent declaration was diſperſed in the prince's name, but not with his conſent, in which every one was commanded to apprehend and puniſh all papiſts, who, contrary to law, preſumed either to carry arms, or exert any civil authority.

Thus diſtreſſed on every ſide, without either friend or counſellor, James propoſed to call a free parliament, and the lord chancellor was accordingly directed to iſſue writs for that purpoſe. It was alſo agreed to ſend commiſſioners to treat with the prince of Orange, in conſequence of which the king appointed

ed deputies, who delivered to the prince their maſters propoſals in writing. Theſe were, that the ſettlement of the nation ſhould be left to the deciſion of a free parliament, which had been convoked; and that, in the mean time, the two armies ſhould be kept at an equal diſtance from London. The prince, on the other hand, propoſed, that all papiſts ſhould be diſarmed, and diſpoſſeſſed of the employments they enjoyed; that all proclamations againſt himſelf ſhould be re-called; and if any perſons had been impriſoned, on account of their attachment to him, they ſhould be inſtantly ſet at liberty; that for the greater ſecurity of the city, the government of the Tower ſhould be committed to the lord mayor; that if the king ſhould think proper to reſide in London during the ſeſſion of parliament, the prince ſhould likewiſe reſide in the ſame place with an equal number of guards, or that he and the king ſhould reſide at an equal diſtance from London; that the two armies ſhould be removed thirty miles from the city; that no other forces ſhould be brought into the kingdom; that Tilbury fort ſhould be put into the hands of the city magiſtrates; that in order to prevent an invaſion from abroad, the fortreſs of Portſmouth ſhould be intruſted to the charge of ſome perſon equally agreeable to the king and prince; and that his ſerene highneſs's army ſhould be ſupported out of the public revenue till the meeting of the parliament.

The critical ſituation of James induced him to admit of theſe propoſals as moderate and candid, repugnant as they muſt have been to his real principles and diſpoſition. At length he aſſembled the noblemen who were in London, in order to deliberate on the then ſtate of affairs, and addreſſing himſelf to the earl of Bedford, (whoſe ſon the lord Ruſſel he had cauſed to be beheaded in the late reign) "My "lord, (ſaid he) you are honeſt men, have great in"fluence, and can do me ſignal ſervice." Alas!" replied the earl, "I am a feeble old man, incapa"ble of performing any conſiderable ſervices; but "I had a ſon (he added with a ſigh) who, if now "alive, could ſerve your majeſty in a more effec"tual manner." James was ſo ſtruck with this anſwer, that he remained for ſome time ſpeechleſs.

Alarmed every moment with freſh proofs of general diſaffection, agitated by indignation and deſpair, and impelled by fear for his own ſafety, as well as that of his adherents, James precipitately embraced, at the inſtance of ſome attendants about his perſon, a reſolution of withdrawing to France, and accordingly ſent off before hand the queen and infant prince, under the conduct of count Lazun an old favourite of the French monarch. James diſappeared in the night, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, and privately haſtened to a ſhip which waited for him near the mouth of the river.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the conſternation of the citizens, the court, and, indeed, the whole nation, at the king's flight; and the more to increaſe the confuſion, James had not named any perſon who ſhould direct the helm of government during his abſence. He threw the great ſeal into the river Thames, but it was ſoon after found by a fiſherman, who, carrying it to the lord-chancellor, was handſomely rewarded him for his trouble.

In conſequence of this confuſed ſtate of public affairs, the populace of London aſſembled and pulled down the maſs-houſes, nor did the houſes of the foreign ambaſſadors eſcape their fury, from a notion that many opulent catholics had depoſited in them their moſt valuable effects. Jefferies the chancellor, who had diſguiſed himſelf in the character of a ſailor, in order to facilitate his eſcape, was diſcovered, ſeized by the mob, and treated with ſuch ſeverity, that he died in a ſhort time after.

Amidſt this ſcene of riot and confuſion, news ſuddenly arrived that his majeſty had been apprehended by the populace at Feverſham, while he was making his eſcape in diſguiſe; that he had been very ill treated, till he was known; but the gentry had then interpoſed and ſecured him from inſult, though they would by no means conſent to his leaving the kingdom. This intelligence threw all parties into confuſion. The prince ſent orders to the king, commanding him to approach no nearer than Rocheſter; but the meſſage arrived too late. He had already returned to London, attended by a detachment of the guards, and ſome noblemen ſent down by the peers to eſcort him.

Little attention, however, was paid the king during his reſidence at Whitehall by any perſon of diſtinction; it was therefore evident that his authority was ceaſed, and as he had exerciſed his power while poſſeſſed of it with deſpotic ſway, he relinquiſhed it with puſillanimous deſpair. Having ſent lord Feverſham on a meſſage to the prince, deſiring a conference for ſettling the affairs of the nation, that nobleman was arreſted under pretext of his wanting a paſſport; the Dutch guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, where the king then reſided, and to turn out the Engliſh; and Hallifax, Shrewſbury and Dalamere were ſent by the prince at midnight, to acquaint the king, that it would be proper for him to retire to Hamhouſe, near Richmond. He begged permiſſion, which he eaſily obtained, to withdraw to Rocheſter, which circumſtance plainly proved that the king, terrified by this harſh treatment, had renewed his former reſolution of leaving the kingdom.

Though he did not intend to return to Whitehall, he continued ſome days at Rocheſter under the protection of a Dutch guard, as if hoping he might yet receive an invitation to take poſſeſſion of the throne; but obſerving that the clergy, the nobility, the gentry, and indeed the whole nation concurred in forſaking him, he yielded to his melancholy fate; and being preſſed by frequent letters from his queen, privately embarked in a frigate he had beſpoke, and arrived at Ambleteuſe in Picardy, from whence he repaired to St. Germains. Lewis gave him an hoſpitable reception; a conduct, which does ſome honour to his generoſity, though a very inadequate return for thoſe ſignal ſervices, which himſelf had received from that family, who, for a number of years, had been gradually ſacrificing their own intereſt and happineſs to their attachment to the French nation.

This was the laſt act of a prince whoſe reign might have been happy and proſperous, had not his bigotry, added to arbitrary principles, hurried him into meaſures obnoxious to his ſubjects, and precipitated him into diſgrace and perpetual exile. Indeed the fate of the Stuart family lives upon record, as a warning to all ſucceeding ſovereigns of theſe realms.

INTER-

INTER-REGNUM.

Peers addreſs the prince of Orange. Proclamation in favour of the Proteſtants. Commotions in Ireland. Debates in the convention. William and Mary proclaimed king and queen of England.

A. D. 1688. JAMES the ſecond had no ſooner abdicated the throne and retired to the continent, than the peers, as poſſeſſed of the hereditary juriſdiction of the kingdom, came to a reſolution of acting as guardians of the public, and immediately preſented an addreſs to the prince of Orange, requeſting him to take the adminiſtration of government into his hands, that he would manage the revenue, and regulate the affairs of Ireland, till the ſtates of the kingdom could be convened; and in a ſecond addreſs, they begged him to ſend orders to thoſe places which had a right of electing members, to chuſe, within ten days, repreſentatives who might act as a parliament in ſettling the public affairs. But this meaſure being deſtructive of all the principles of liberty, was prudently rejected by the prince, who, depending on the favourable diſpoſitions of a people that regarded him as their deliverer, was deſirous that the laws ſhould diſpoſe of the government. Accordingly having ſummoned all the members who had ſerved in any of the parliaments during the reign of Charles II. together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, they aſſembled at the appointed time, and adjourned to the houſe of commons, where, after ſome debates upon the authority by which they had been convened, they drew up and preſented an addreſs to the prince, deſiring he would ſummon the convention to meet on the twenty-ſecond of January, and in the mean time take charge of the government.

Thus inveſted with regal power, William commanded Barillon, the French ambaſſador, to leave the kingdom. He likewiſe iſſued a proclamation, authorizing all proteſtants, who had public employments to continue in the exerciſe of them till the meeting of the convention, diſmiſſed all the catholic officers from the army, and at the deſire of the queen dowager, releaſed the earl of Feverſham.

A. D. 1689. The abdication of James produced many changes in the affairs of Scotland as well as England; for no ſooner did the news of that event reach Edinburgh, than the chancellor of the kingdom reſigned the great ſeal and abandoned that metropolis. The populace grew outrageous, and inſulted not only the catholics, but the favourers of epiſcopacy. They demoliſhed chapels, and plundered houſes, ſo that the biſhops were obliged to have recourſe to flight, while many noblemen and others repaired to London, to obſerve the progreſs of the prince, and conform themſelves to the conduct of the Engliſh nation.

With regard to Scotland the prince purſued the moſt moderate and prudent conduct. He ſummoned an aſſembly at St. James's, compoſed of about thirty noblemen and eighty gentlemen of that kingdom, whoſe advice he requeſted in the then ſtate of affairs. From thence they repaired to Whitehall, where they deliberated on the anſwer they ſhould make to the prince of Orange; at length, it was unanimouſly agreed, that the prince ſhould aſſume the reins of government in Scotland, and convoke the ſtates of that kingdom for the fourteenth day of March, and this reſolution was received by the prince with the ſame modeſty and candour, as that preſented to him by the Engliſh convention.

In the mean time commotions were raiſed in Ireland, abetted by the earl of Tyrconnel, who commanded an army compoſed of papiſts, ſo that the prince wrote a letter to that nobleman, requiring him to ſubmit to the regulations that ſhould be made in England. Colonel Hamilton undertook to deliver this letter, and enforce it in ſuch a manner, that the earl ſhould be induced to ſubmit; but inſtead of performing his promiſe, he encouraged him to ſet the prince at defiance.

When the convention met according to ſummons, and each houſe had choſen their reſpective ſpeaker, the prince cauſed a letter to be preſented to the following effect: that he had complied with their deſires in re-eſtabliſhing the peace and public ſafety of the kingdom, and now it was their buſineſs to ſecure their religion, laws, and liberties upon a certain foundation. He obſerved, that the ſituation of the proteſtants in Ireland required their immediate notice; that as a delay would be fatal to their foreign connections, he perſuaded himſelf, that beſides the obligation of treaties, they would be ready to aſſiſt the Dutch as proteſtants and friends, who had expreſſed ſuch ardour for the preſervation of the Engliſh conſtitution. The two houſes immediately preſented an addreſs to the prince, in which they acknowledged, that under God, the nation was indebted to him for its deliverance. They approved of his adminiſtration, engaged to pay all poſſible reſpect to his letters, and requeſted him to continue in the management of affairs, till they had occaſion to addreſs him again.

The moſt important queſtions that came before the houſe of commons were, firſt, whether there was an original compact between the king and the people; and ſecondly, whether king James had broke that original compact? Both theſe, after a ſlight oppoſition, were carried in the affirmative. The lords then proceeded to take into conſideration the word "abdicated," and it was carried that "deſerted" was more proper. The concluding queſtion with them was, "Whether ſuppoſing "king James had violated the original contract "between him and his people, and abandoned the "government, the throne was thereby become "vacant?" This queſtion was debated with more warmth than any of the former, and upon a diviſion, the Tories prevailed by eleven voices. Some of the Whig party then moved, that ſuppoſing king James virtually dead, they ſhould acknowledge the prince and princeſs of Orange king and queen of England; but this propoſal was rejected by a ſmall majority. After much debate the houſe of peers concurred with the vote of the commons, "That king James had abdicated the "gover-

Engraved for
RAYMOND'S
History of England

A DUKE.

A MARQUIS.

An EARL.

A BARON.

Gwyn delin.

Grignion sculp.

Four Portraits of a DUKE, *a* MARQUIS, *an* EARL, *and a* BARON,
in their Parliamentary Robes.

400

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Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England &c.*

MARY II.

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born *April 30. 1662.* | *Crowned* *April 11. 1689.* | *Died* *December 28. 1694.*

"government, and thereby the throne was be-
"come vacant."

During these transactions the conduct of the prince of Orange was highly meritorious. He entered into no intrigues with the leaders of parties, nor took any measures to influence an individual in his favour; but at length, sending for the marquis of Hallifax, the earls of Danby, Shrewsbury, and some other noblemen, he told them he had hitherto kept silence, that he might not interrupt their deliberations. He said, he knew some persons were inclined to a regency, to which he had no objection; but, for his own part, he could not undertake the office. Others, he observed, were desirous of raising the princess to the throne, and that he should reign by courtesy. He declared a profound esteem for the princess, but objected to holding a crown dependent on any woman upon earth, nor would he have any share in the government, unless invested with it for life; nevertheless, if they disapproved of his resolution, he would give them no opposition, but return to Holland, without interfering further in their affairs, but would agree to prefer the right of the children of the princess Anne to the throne, to any he might have by a second marriage, provided he was invested with the sovereignty for life.

The princess herself seconded these views of her husband; the princess Anne also concurred in the same plan, and at length both houses voted that the prince and princess should reign jointly as king and queen of England; and that the administration should be in the hands of the prince alone. On the twelfth day of February the princess of Orange arrived in London, next day the lords and commons went in a body to the banquetting house, where the prince and princess sat in state; and the declaration of Rights being read, the marquis of Hallifax, as speaker of the upper house, made a solemn tender of the crown to them in the name of the peers and commons of England. The offer was accepted in the most obliging manner by their highnesses, and the same day they were proclaimed by the name of William and Mary, king and queen of England.

BOOK XIV.

From the Revolution, to the Death of Queen ANNE.

CHAP. I.

WILLIAM III. and MARY II.

Accession of William and Mary. Parliament restored. Coronation of the king and queen. Civil list established. War declared against France. William acknowledged in Scotland. Conduct of James in Ireland. Siege of Londonderry. Signal valour of the inhabitants of Londonderry and Inniskilling. Affairs on the continent. Factions in the English parliament. Bill of rights. William goes over to Ireland. Battle of the Boyne. The French obtain a victory over the combined fleets of England and Holland. Farther affairs of the continent. Reduction of Ireland. Parliamentary debates. Battle of La Hogue. Campaign in Flanders. William defeated at the battle of Landen. Sequel of the war. Triennial Parliament. Death of the queen. Taking of Namur. New parliament. Act respecting high treason. Conspiracy against king William, discovered. Treaty of Ryswick. Commons oppose a standing army. Society for the reformation of manners. Partition treaty. Dutch guards dismissed. Affairs of the Scottish company. Disagreement between the king and parliament. Act to limit the succession. Right of the house of Hanover. Partition treaty censured by parliament. League against Lewis XIV. who acknowledges the son of James II. king of England. The commons enter into the king's measures. Death and character of king William the IIId.

ON the accession of William III. and his royal consort the princess Mary to the throne of England, the constitution revived, and the contests between prerogative and privilege, which had distracted former reigns, seemed entirely to subside.

A.D. 1689.

The first popular act of this auspicious prince, was a proclamation, continuing all protestants in the offices which they had for some time enjoyed before his accession. The king then chose the members of his council, and appointed the officers of state. Nottingham and Shrewsbury were constituted secretaries of state; the privy seal was bestowed on the marquis of Hallifax, and the earl of Danby was created president of the council. These two noblemen enjoyed the king's confidence; and Nottingham was considered as the head of the church party; but the chief favourite was Bentinck, first commissioner on the list of privy counsellors as well as groom of the stole and privy purse. D'Auverquerque was made master of the horse; Zuylestein of the robes, and Scomberg of the ordinance: the treasury, admiralty and chancery were put in commission; twelve able judges were chosen, and Dr. Burnet, one of the authors of the glorious revolution, obtained the see of Salisbury. Having taken refuge in Holland under the last reign, he had employed his pen and council in the interest of the Stadtholder, who was therefore greatly attached to that eminent divine.

As it appeared necessary either to assemble a parliament, or to give that title to the convention, it was determined, that rather than hazard a new election, the king should change the convention into a parliament, by going to the house of peers,

with the usual state of a sovereign, and pronouncing a speech from the throne to both houses. This expedient was accordingly practised, and in a few days the king opened the session of parliament with a most gracious speech, in which he thanked them for the great confidence they had reposed in him by chusing him their sovereign; assured them it should be his study to preserve their good opinion; laid before them the critical situation of affairs in Europe, and particularly in his realms; and concluded with earnestly requesting them to concur in the most speedy and effectual measures for the welfare of the nation.

On the eleventh of April, the king and queen were solemnly crowned by the bishop of London, at his desire, the archbishop of Canterbury being of the disaffected party. Next day the commons waited on their majesties at Whitehall, with a congratulatory address; and William, in order to conciliate the esteem of his new subjects, signified, in a solemn message to the house, his readiness to acquiesce in any measure they should think proper to take for a new regulation, or total suppression of the hearth money; and this tax was afterwards abolished. He received on this occasion an address of thanks from the commons couched in the warmest expressions of duty, gratitude and affection, and declaring that they would take such measures in support of his crown, as would convince the world, that he reigned in the hearts of his people.

In consequence of their attachment to the king's person and government, he obtained supplies both to reimburse the Dutch, who had expended an immense sum on his late expedition, and also to equip a powerful armament. But he perceived with concern, that the commons, by setting bounds to their liberality, were resolved to limit his power, as well as that of his predecessors.

One of the most important and worthy objects of parliamentary attention, was the civil list revenue. Under the late reigns, the revenues assigned to this purpose had been entirely at the disposal of the sovereign; it was therefore now resolved, that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity; and the rest of the public money should be employed under the inspection of parliament. The commons have ever since applied certain sums to particular services, and the accounts have been submitted to the examination of both houses.

This unprecedented measure was by no means agreeable to a prince of William's liberal and refined sentiments. The Tories did not fail to foment his jealousy against their adversaries; which was confirmed by a fresh effort of the whigs, in relation to a militia. The tories had, through the communication of Nottingham, made offers of service to his majesty, but complained, at the same time, that as they were in danger both with respect to their lives and fortunes, they could take no steps in favour of the crown, without an act of indemnity.

The king, in consequence of this representation, sent a message to the house, recommending a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means of putting an end to all controversies, distinctions, and sources of discord. He desired it might be drawn up with all convenient expedition, and with such exceptions only as should appear necessary for the maintenance of public justice, the safety of him and his consort, and the settlement and welfare of the nation. But the whigs proceeded so slow in the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the session.

William, who was equal to most princes in political abilities, and well knew the genius of the people he was to govern, determined, as the most effectual means of preserving peace at home, to find his subjects employment abroad. The grand scheme he had formed when only Stadholder, of a confederacy against France, began about this time to take effect. The princes of the empire importuned the emperor Leopold to declare war against the French king, who had not only violated several treaties entered into with them, but indicated a design of ruling all Europe. The king of England found no difficulty in persuading his subjects to unsheath the sword against their old enemies and rivals; for on the sixteenth of August, the commons unanimously resolved, that they were ready to support his majesty in his most vigorous measures if he chose to undertake a war

Thus encouraged by parliament, the king declared war against France on the seventh of May. It was urged as a plea for their conduct, that Lewis had encroached on the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee islands, and Hudson's bay, made captures on the English at sea, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on account of religion, and sent an armament to Ireland in support of the rebels in that kingdom, and in violation of the law of nations.

The kingdom of Scotland was at this time distracted by the rage of faction and party. The convention was appointed for the fourteenth of March, and both parties employed all their interest to influence the election of members. The duke of Hamilton, and all the presbyterians, declared for William; the duke of Gordon maintained the castle of Edinburgh for his old master, but as he neglected to lay in a store of provisions, he depended entirely on the citizens for subsistence. The partizans of James were headed by the earl of Balcaras, and Graham, viscount Dundee, who exerted their utmost efforts to preserve union; confirm the duke of Gordon, who began to waver, in his attachment to their sovereign; and concert measures in such a manner, that the proceedings of the ensuing session might be productive of some benefit to their cause.

The earls of Lothian and Tweedale were sent as deputies, to require the duke of Gordon, in the name of the states, to quit the castle in four and twenty hours, and leave the charge of it to the protestant officer next in command.

Notwithstanding the natural timidity of the duke, lord Dundee prevailed, on him to demand such terms, as the convention would not grant. The negotiation proved ineffectual; the states ordered the heralds to summon him to surrender the castle immediately, on pain of incurring the penalties of high treason, and he, on refusal, was proclaimed a traitor. All persons were forbid, under the same penalties, to aid, succour, or correspond with him; and the castle was blocked up by the troops of the city. On the next day, one Crane, a domestic of the abdicated queen, brought a letter from James, and at the same time, an express arrived with another from king William, to the states of Scotland. William observed, that he had called a meeting of their states, at the desire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, assembled in London; who requested that he would take on himself the administration of their affairs. He exhorted

horted them to concert measures for settling the peace of the kingdom upon a solid foundation; and to lay aside animosities and factions, which served but to prevent their harmony and settlement. He promised them his best endeavours to promote an union between the two kingdoms, of which he professed to have the highest opinion.

King William's letter was universally approved by the states, as appeared from their appointing a committee to draw up a dutiful and affectionate reply. A debate then ensued about the letter from the late king, which they resolved to favour with a reading, after the members should have subscribed an act, declaring, that notwithstanding any thing that might be contained in the letter, for dissolving the convention, or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the states, and would continue undissolved, until they should have settled and secured the protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom.

Having adapted this necessary measure for the security of their civil and religious liberties, they proceeded to the reading of James's letter, who conjured them to support his interest as faithful subjects. He promised to afford them such powerful assistance as would enable them to defend themselves from any foreign attempt; and even assert his right against those enemies, who had loaded him with calumny and the vilest aspersions. He offered to pardon all those, who should return to their duty before the last day of the month, and threatened to punish vigorously such as should stand out in rebellion against him and his authority.

But such was the low estimation in which James was generally held, that his messenger was ordered into custody, and afterwards dismissed with a pass instead of an answer. After some debate, the convention dispatched lord Ross with an answer to king William's letter, professing their gratitude to their deliverer; congratulating him upon his success; thanking him for assuming the administration of their affairs; declaring they would take effectual and speedy methods for securing the protestant religion, as well as for establishing the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom; assuring him they would studiously avoid animosities and contentions, and desiring the continuance of his majesty's care and protection.

The states then peremptorily declared, "that "James being a professed papist, did assume the "royal power, and act as a king without ever "taking the oath required by law; and had, by "the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, in- "vaded the fundamental constitutions of this "kingdom; and altered it from a legal monarchy "to an arbitrary, despotic power; and had govern- "ed the same to the subversion of the protestant "religion, and violation of the laws and liberties "of the nation, subverting all the ends of govern- "ment; whereby he had forfeited the right of the "crown, and the throne was become vacant." They forbid his being acknowledged or assisted, proclaimed king William and queen Mary, and sent commissioners to present to them the act which established their authority, proposing at the same time the form of an oath, confirming, among other articles, a promise of destroying heresy. William hesitated at taking the oaths, from a plea of aversion to persecution, till the commissioners assuring his majesty that this was not their meaning, on that declaration he accepted the crown of Scotland.

The duke of Gordon still held the castle of Edinburgh, which was blockaded by the troops in the town. A regular siege reduced them to extremity, so that the general was at length obliged to capitulate. Lord Dundee, however, still zealous in the cause of James, and refusing to obey the citation of the states, was declared a fugitive, outlaw and rebel; and parties were immediately sent out in pursuit of him and Balcarras. The latter falling into the hands of the pursuers, was committed to a common prison; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that surrounded him, and escaped to the Highlands, where having raised a considerable body of men, he soon returned at their head, attacked the regulars with an heroic ardour, defeated them on the first charge and might have gained a complete victory, had not a random shot extended him on the plain. The rebels by degrees lost their courage. Defeats destroyed their hopes, and they laid down their arms in order to obtain the indemnity offered them. James, however, did not abandon all hopes of being one day able to re-ascend the throne of his ancestors. The French king promised to assist him in the recovery of his crown, and in the mean time, supported him and his household in a proper manner at the castle of St. Germain. But James gave the strongest proofs of pusillanimity, bigotry and superstition. Ever surrounded by jesuits, and unmindful of his own situation and affairs, he incurred the contempt of the French, insomuch that the archbishop of Rheims seeing him come from mass, said with a sneer, "There goes a pious gentleman, "who has sacrificed three crowns for a mass."

Ireland was far from imitating the example of England and Scotland, in acknowledging the title of William to the crown. Tyrconnel, who commanded in that kingdom, was firmly attached to the interest of James, but he thought proper to temporize with William, until he should receive reinforcements from France, which he earnestly solicited by letter.

An army consisting of five thousand French forces, was embarked on board the fleet then lying at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, six frigates, and a proper number of transports. Lewis supplied him with arms, equipage, provisions, money, and every thing necessary for camp and household. At parting he embraced him with great affection, making use of this remarkable expression, "Farewell brother, the best thing I can "wish you, is, that I may never see you again."

After a passage of eight days, James arrived at Kinsale, whence he repaired, in a short time, to Cork, where he was received by the earl of Tyrconnel, who had collected an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse for his service.

Having refreshed his forces he proceeded to Dublin, and entered that city in triumph. The popish bishops and clergy in general received him with the utmost solemnity; the people partook of their zeal, and welcomed the sovereign with the loudest acclamations. On the second day after his arrival, he issued five proclamations; the first seemingly in favour of the protestants, who had abandoned the kingdom, requiring them to return immediately on promise of his protection, and likewise commanding all persons to join him against the prince of Orange. In the second he returned his grateful acknowledgments to his catholic subjects for their vigilance and attachment, and enjoined such as were not actually in his ser-

vice to retain and lay up their arms until it ſhould be found neceſſary to employ them for his advantage. The third contained an invitation to the ſubjects to ſupply his army with proviſions. By the fourth he raiſed the value of coin; and by the fifth ſummoned a parliament to meet on the ſeventh day of May at Dublin. And lord Tyrconnel, for his great ſervices, was created a duke.

These flattering proſpects of ſucceſs was followed by a ſad and fatal reverſe. Alarmed at the report of a general maſſacre of the proteſtants, the inhabitants of Londonderry ſhut their gates and made a gallant defence. They ſent to England for aſſiſtance, and were accordingly ſupplied with more arms and ammunition, but did not receive any conſiderable reinforcements till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived under the command of Cunningham and Richards. By this time James had reduced Colerain, inveſted Killmore, and was almoſt in ſight of Londonderry. A proteſtant clergyman, named Walker, ſerved the beſieged as commandant, and animated them with that ardent zeal for religion and liberty, which braves death. He maintained his poſt at the long cauſeway a whole night againſt the advanced guard of the enemy, until, overpowered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take the field, and come to a general engagement. Lundy called a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards aſſiſted, and it was reſolved, that, as they imagined they could not hold the place, the regiments ſhould not be landed; but that the chief officers ſhould retire from the town, whereby they thought the inhabitants would ſecure better terms.

In conſequence of this reſolve, a meſſenger was diſpatched to James with propoſals for opening a negotiation, and lieutenant general Hamilton, who commanded in that prince's ſervice, undertook, that the army ſhould not, during the continuance of the treaty, advance nearer than within four miles of the city. But James, diſregarding the promiſes made by his general, was advancing, at the head of his troops, to the town walls. The inhabitants and ſoldiers in the place were ſo exaſperated at the cowardice of their governor Lundy, and the two colonels Cunningham and Richards, that with difficulty they eſcaped their immediate vengeance. Lundy retired in diſguiſe to Scotland, but was ſoon apprehended, conveyed to London, and ignominiouſly diſmiſſed the ſervice.

James, being obliged to be preſent at the meeting of the parliament in Dublin, left the command of the army to the marquis de Roſene, a man of a moſt haughty and cruel diſpoſition, who, incenſed at the reſiſtance he met with from the garriſon, threatened to reduce the town to aſhes, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword, without diſtinction of ſex or age, unleſs they would immediately ſubmit at diſcretion. The governor treated his menaces with contempt, and publiſhed an order, forbidding any perſon, on pain of death, to talk of a ſurrender. They had now conſumed the laſt remains of their proviſions, and ſupported life by eating the fleſh of horſes, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, ſtarch, and ſalted hides, and even this loathſome food began to fail. Roſene, finding them altogether inflexible, threatened that he would ſtarve all the proteſtants of the country, by driving them to periſh under the walls of Londonderry.

This reſolution was executed with the moſt brutal rigour. Upwards of four thouſand proteſtants, almoſt expiring with famine and cold, were expoſed to the view of the beſieged; but the horrid ſight had a very different effect upon the garriſon, from what Roſene expected. They felt the deepeſt compaſſion for the diſtreſſes of their brethren; but their compaſſion was mingled with indignation againſt the perpetrators of ſo infernal an action, and ſuch apprehenſions of their own fate, if they ſhould fall into his hands, that they unanimouſly determined to periſh rather than ſubmit to ſuch a barbarian.

Concluding themſelves exempt from obligation to obſerve the articles of war, they erected a gibbet in ſight of the enemy, and ſent a meſſage to the French general, importing, that they would hang all the priſoners they had taken during the ſiege, unleſs the proteſtants were immediately diſmiſſed. Convinced by their general behaviour that they would carry their threats into execution, Roſene ordered the proteſtants to be releaſed, after they had been detained three days without any kind of food. Some hundreds died of famine and fatigue, and thoſe who lived to return to their own habitations found them plundered and ſacked; ſo that the greater number periſhed with hunger, or were maſſacred by ſtraggling parties of the enemy. It is ſaid, that James was requeſted by the biſhop of Meath to countermand this order, but without effect.

The intrepid garriſon of Londonderry was reduced from ſeven thouſand to five thouſand five hundred men, and thoſe were driven to ſuch extremity of diſtreſs, that they began to talk of preying upon each other. In this emergency, Kirke ordered two ſhips laden with proviſions to ſail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One of theſe broke the enemy's boom, with which they blocked up the channel, and all the three, after having ſuſtained a very hot fire from the enemy's cannon, arrived in ſafety before the town, to the inexpreſſible joy of the inhabitants.

The army of James deſpairing now of ſucceeding in their enterprize, raiſed the ſiege that very night, and retired with precipitation, after having loſt about nine thouſand men in the attempt. On the day preceding the relief of Londonderry, the brave Inniſkillingers advanced with a handful of men, and at a place called Newton-Butler, defeated ſix thouſand of James party.

Mean while the Iriſh parliament met at Dublin, purſuant to James's proclamation, and was opened by that prince with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he thanked them for their zeal and loyalty; extolled the generoſity of the French king, who had enabled him to viſit them in perſon; inſiſting upon executing his deſign of eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience, as the moſt effectual means of promoting the happineſs and welfare of his people; and promiſed to contribute to the public peace, by his concurrence to ſuch laws as they ſhould enact for that purpoſe.

He had no ſooner left the houſe, than an addreſs of thanks was voted to his majeſty, and a bill introduced to recognize his title, and expreſs their abhorrence of the uſurpation by the prince of Orange, as well as the defection of the Engliſh. Next day James publiſhed a declaration, complaining of the calumnies his enemies had ſpread to his prejudice, inſiſting on his great attention to the preſervation of his proteſtant ſubjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redreſſing their grievances, and granting liberty of conſcience; promiſing that he would take no ſtep but with the approbation of parliament; offering a free pardon to

to all persons who should desert his enemies, and join him in four and twenty days after his landing in Ireland, and charging all the blood that might be shed upon those who should continue in rebellion. But James soon gave a convincing proof that these promises were never intended to be kept any longer than they answered his convenience; for, two days after, a bill was brought into the house of commons for repealing the act of settlement; by which two thirds of the protestants in the kingdom, who held their fortunes by virtue of that act, were dispossessed of their estates, whilst papists seized on all their properties.

At the same time, an act of attainder was passed against all those who were absent from the kingdom, refused to acknowledge the authority of king James, or had any ways assisted the prince of Orange since the first of August last. By this act no less than three thousand protestants were attainted by name, among whom were two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, twenty-eight viscounts, seven bishops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, and eighty-three clergy, all of whom were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer forfeiture and the pain of death.

During these transactions, Lewis the fourteenth, notwithstanding the alliances formed against him, pursued his ambitious schemes with great rapidity. King William had engaged in a new league with the states general, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was stipulated, that if the king of Great Britain should be attacked, the Dutch should assist him with six thousand infantry, and twenty ships of war.

In consequence of this treaty, the earl of Marlborough was sent over with ten thousand British auxiliaries to join the allied army, which he effected; and at length a smart engagement ensuing, the French, after an obstinate resistance, were putto the rout.

On the meeting of the parliament in the month of October, the king set forth the necessity of a present supply to carry on the war, and desired that they might be speedy in their determinations on this subject; as these would in a great measure influence the deliberations of the princes and states concerned in a war against France, at a general meeting appointed to be held the following month at the Hague. The houses were then prorogued for four days, when they met again, and the commons taking his majesty's speech into consideration, unanimously resolved to assist him in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous prosecution of the war against France, for which purposes they voted a subsidy of two millions.

Several motions with regard to grievances having been made in the lower house, and many instances of miscarriage and mismanagement in Ireland produced, they resolved upon a subsequent address, to explain the ill conduct and success of the army and navy; to desire his majesty would find out the authors of these miscarriages, and for the future commit the guidance of affairs to unsuspected persons. By this opposition, which originated from the whig party, they lost much of the king's favour, and he discovered great propensity to abet the tories, especially as they made him most pompous promises of supplies and an assiduous attention to his will and pleasure, provided he would dissolve the then parliament, and call a new one. At length, however, he was so harrassed between the two factions, that he resolved to leave the government in the queen's hands and retire to Holland. But being dissuaded from this resolution by the remonstrances of several noblemen to whom he had communicated it, he determined to go over to Ireland in person to finish the war in that kingdom. This design was far from being agreeable to the parliament, his friends dreaded the climate of that country, which might prove fatal to his weak constitution; both houses, therefore, began to prepare an address against this expedition. To prevent this remonstrance, the king went to the house of peers, and there formally signified his resolution. After this speech, they were prorogued to the second day of April, and on the sixth of February they were dissolved by proclamation, and a new parliament summoned to meet on the twentieth of March. During this session of parliament, the bill of rights was passed into a law, together with the act of settlement.

A. D. 1690. The new parliament met according to the time appointed, and the king opened the session with a speech from the throne, in which he gave them to understand that he still persisted in his resolution of going in person to Ireland; desired they would settle the revenue, or establish it as a fund of credit, upon which the necessary sums for the public service might be immediately advanced: he signified his intention of sending to them an act of grace, with a few exceptions, that he might demonstrate his readiness to extend his protection to all his subjects, and leave no excuse for raising disturbances in his absence, as he knew how busy some ill affected men were in their endeavours to alter the established government. He recommended an union with Scotland, the parliament of which had appointed commissioners for that purpose; he told them that he should leave the administration in the hands of the queen, and desired they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: he exhorted them, for the sake of dispatch, to avoid debates, and hoped that if any business now remained unfinished, they would speedily settle it.

The parliament, sensible of the king's desire to embark for Ireland, dispatched business with the greatest facility, and the royal assent being given to several bills, and among the rest, that for investing the queen with the administration of government, during the king's absence, his majesty put an end to the session by a short speech from the throne.

The necessary preparations being made, the king embarked on the 4th of June, and landed on the fourteenth at Carrickfergus attended by prince George of Denmark, and other persons of distinction. From thence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, major-general Kirke, and other principal officers.

After refreshing his troops a few days at Belfast, William marched to Lisburne, where the duke of Schomberg had fixed his head quarters, ordering his whole army to encamp at Loughbrillen, where upon a review, he found they amounted to thirty-six thousand effective men, well armed and accoutered.

James was no sooner apprized of the arrival of William, than he left Dublin under the guard of the militia, and with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry which he had received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which almost equalled William's in number. He was very ad-

vantageouſly poſted, and, contrary to the advice of his generals, determined to hazard a battle. They propoſed to ſtrengthen their garriſons, retire to the Shannon, and wait the iſſue of the operations. They reminded him, that Lewis had promiſed to fit out a powerful armament againſt the Engliſh fleet, and to ſend over a great number of frigates, to deſtroy the Engliſh tranſports, as ſoon as their convoy had returned to England. But James, determined to decide the conteſt by a general battle, refuſed theſe ſalutary counſels, and made the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous engagement.

William was equally prepared to receive him, but thought proper before the battle began to reconnoitre the enemy. Accordingly he advanced to the oppoſite ſide of the river Boyne, where being ſingled out by the enemy, they planted two field pieces againſt his perſon. The firſt ſhot killed a man and two horſes cloſe by his ſide, and the ſecond rebounding from the earth grazed his right ſhoulder, and produced a conſiderable contuſion. The enemy, obſerving ſome confuſion among his attendants, concluded he was killed, and ſhouted aloud in token of their joy. The whole camp reſounded with acclamations, and ſeveral ſquadrons of their horſe were drawn down towards the river, as if they intended to paſs it immediately, and attack the Engliſh army. The report ſoon reached Dublin; from whence it was carried to Paris, where, contrary to the cuſtom of the French court, the people were encouraged to expreſs their joy by bonfires and illuminations.

As ſoon as the ſlight wound he had received was dreſſed, the king returned to ſhew himſelf to his army in order to quiet their apprehenſions. In the evening he called a council of war, and declared his reſolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at firſt oppoſed this deſign, but finding the king determined, he propoſed, that a ſtrong detachment of horſe and foot ſhould that night paſs the Boyne at Slanebridge, and take poſt between the enemy and Duleck, in order to cut off their retreat. This council being rejected, it was reſolved, that early in the morning, lieutenant general Douglas, with the right wing of the infantry, and young Schomberg with the horſe, ſhould paſs at Slanebridge, while the main body of foot ſhould force their paſſage at Oldbridge, and the leſs, at certain fords, between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. Every thing being properly diſpoſed for the attack in the morning, the king after riding through the different ranks of his army, retired to his tent.

About ſix the next morning, being the firſt of July, general Douglas, with young Schomberg, and the earl of Portland, marched to Slanebridge, and paſſed the river with very little oppoſition. On gaining the oppoſite bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a conſiderable number of horſe and foot, with a moraſs in their front; ſo that Douglas was forced to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the foot advanced to the charge through the moraſs, while young Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry to attack the enemy in flank. The Iriſh, inſtead of waiting the aſſault, wheeled about, and retreated with precipitation towards Duleck; notwithſtanding which, Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did conſiderable execution. In the mean time king William's main body, compoſed of the Dutch guards, French refugees, and ſome battalions of the Engliſh, paſſed the river, which was breaſt high, under a general diſcharge of artillery. They were faintly oppoſed by a body of muſqueteers, who were poſted behind ſome hedges; but theſe they ſoon repulſed, and ſeveral battalions landed: though before they could form, they were vigorouſly attacked by a ſquadron of the enemy's horſe, and a ſtrong body of their cavalry and foot, conducted by general Hamilton, advanced from behind an eminence to charge thoſe who were landed, as well as to prevent the reſt from reaching the ſhore. The infantry were routed on the firſt attack, but the cavalry advancing with great impetuoſity, the diſpute was, for ſome time very obſtinate, till at length the Iriſh gave way, leaving their horſe to ſuſtain the whole fury of the combat.

Perceiving the furious attacks made by the enemy, and being informed that the French proteſtant refugees were without a commander, the duke of Schomberg inſtantly croſſed the river, and heading thoſe regiments, pointed to the enemy, ſaying, "Gentlemen, theſe are your perſecutors." Hardly had he pronounced theſe words, when he ſuſtained a violent onſet from a party of king James's guards which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. The French refugees, miſtaking them for a party of their own troops, ſuffered them to paſs, when ſome of them riding up to the duke, ſurrounded him, and gave him two deſperate wounds on the head. Perceiving their error, and eager to ſave their general, the French refugees made ſuch an indiſcreet fire, that they ſhot the duke dead upon the ſpot. The ſmall part of the enemy's guard were immediately cut to pieces; but this was no recompence for the loſs of a conſummate general, who thus fell in the field of honor at the age of eighty-two, crowned with military glory.

The death of this gallant officer might have been attended with fatal conſequences, had not king William arrived at the critical moment, and decided the action by obtaining a compleat victory. Thus ended the famous battle of the Boyne, in which James was ſuppoſed to have ſuſtained the loſs of about fifteen hundred men, and William about one third of that number, which, conſidering the importance of the atchievement, was very inconſiderable.

Hiſtorians in general, attribute the higheſt honour to king William for the extraordinary proweſs he diſplayed on this memorable occaſion. Even the Iriſh themſelves are ſaid to have declared, "that if the Engliſh would change kings with "them, they would try the fortune of the day "once more."

James, who had continued an inactive ſpectator of this ſcene in which he ought to have taken a principal part, was among the firſt who retired from the field. On his return to Dublin, he reproached the Iriſh with cowardice, ſignified his intention of quitting the kingdom, and after the neceſſary preparations, embarked for France.

The proteſtants, who had now aſſumed the government of the city of Dublin, diſpatched a petition to king William, requeſting him to honour the capital with his preſence. The requeſt was immediately complied with, and William entered the city in triumph, and repaired to the cathedral to return thanks to heaven for the victory.

During the abſence of the king, the queen regent, though greatly embarraſſed by the perpetual oppoſition of her councils, diſplayed the higheſt prudence, and exerted herſelf with uncommon ſpirit.

A French ſquadron of upwards of ſeventy ſail, under the command of vice admiral Tourville, had defeated the combined fleets of England and Holland. Lord Torrington the Engliſh admiral incurred much diſgrace by this action; however, after impriſonment, and being brought to trial, he was acquitted, though his judges were cenſured by the Dutch as having given a partial award.

The late naval defeat, however, did not hinder William from purſuing a war, which eventually fixed him on the throne. He publiſhed an act of indemnity in Dublin; but the Iriſh, animated by their catholic prieſts, paid little regard to it, and the ſucceſs of the French fleet raiſed their ſpirits, and effaced every idea of ſubmiſſion. The king had returned to Dublin with a view of embarking for England; but being informed, that the deſigns of his domeſtic enemies were diſcovered and defeated, that the fleet was refitted, and the French retired to Breſt, he altered his intention, poſtponing his voyage till he had finiſhed the Iriſh war.

A conſiderable reinforcement of Engliſh troops, under the command of the earl of Marlborough, arrived in Ireland to inveſt the city of Cork; ſoon after which that general was joined by five thouſand men, under the duke of Wirtemberg.

The trenches being opened, the batteries played with ſuch fury, that a breach was ſoon effected, and the garriſon having ſurrendered, on Marlborough's preparing for a general aſſault, he took poſſeſſion, and then detached brigadier Villiers with a party of horſe and dragoons, to ſummon the town and forts of Kinſale, and next advanced with the reſt of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by ſtorm; but Sir Edward Scot, who commanded the other, ſuſtained a ſiege of ten days, and then capitulated on honourable terms. The earl of Marlborough, having accompliſhed this important enterprize in thirty days, returned with his priſoners to England. During theſe tranſactions the commander of the French forces in Ireland lay inactive near Galway, and ſent ſo deplorable an account of his ſituation to the court of France, that tranſports were ſent over to bring home the general and his forces. In theſe he embarked with his troops, and left the command of the Iriſh troops to the duke of Berwick. After the departure of the French general, the Iriſh formed themſelves into ſeparate bodies of free-booters, and plundered the country under the denomination of Rapparees, while the major part of William's troops retired to their reſpective quarters.

The king beſieged Limerick in perſon, but the badneſs of the ſeaſon, joined to the obſtinate reſiſtance of the garriſon, and the ſlaughter of his men, induced him to quit his enterprize, and return to England.

Soon after his majeſty's arrival, both houſes of parliament preſented ſeparate addreſſes of congratulation on his ſucceſſes in Ireland, and on the queen's wiſe and happy adminiſtration during his abſence. The commons, in particular, aſſured him of their readineſs to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power, and, as a proof of their loyalty, voted him a ſupply of four millions, agreeable to an eſtimate of what would be wanted for the enſuing year.

A. D. 1691. Impatient of going to Holland, where the ſituation of affairs were of a critical nature, the king came to the houſe, and having cloſed the ſeſſion with a conciſe but pertinent ſpeech from the throne, as well as adjuſted the affairs of the nation, he embarked with a numerous retinue, under a convoy of twelve ſhips of the line commanded by admiral Rooke. Upon his arrival at the Hague, he received every teſtimony of regard and affection from the ſtates-general, and every token of honour from the foreign miniſters aſſembled in congreſs. On this important occaſion, he ſignalized himſelf both as an orator and a warrior in exciting the allied powers to exert themſelves with vigor againſt the efforts of Lewis, who had ambitiouſly meditated the ſubjection of all Europe. He promiſed them twenty thouſand men for the firſt campaign, and ſent powerful ſuccours to the duke of Savoy, who had declared againſt France; but had the mortification, previous to his return, to ſee Mons fall into the hands of the enemy.

The king no ſooner arrived in England, than he turned his attention to the plan of operations for the enſuing campaign in Ireland, where general Ginckle commanded, which being regulated, he returned to Holland, and began to make preparations for taking the field in perſon. The duke of Luxemburgh, with an army of forty thouſand men, having paſſed the Scheld, took poſſeſſion of Halle, and gave it up to plunder in ſight of the confederates, who were obliged to throw up intrenchments for their preſervation.

Such was the military ſkill of Luxemburgh, that William, at the head of a numerous army, could effect nothing of importance. In vain did he attempt, by divers ſtratagems, to bring them to an engagement; but the French mareſchal avoided it with ſuch dexterity, as baffled all his endeavours. While the king lay encamped at Court-ſur-heure, a ſoldier, corrupted by the enemy, ſet fire to the fuſees of ſeveral bombs, by the exploſion of which, the whole magazine might have been blown up, had not the miſchief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery; theſe, even while the fuſees were burning, drew out the waggons from the line, and tumbled them down the ſide of a hill, ſo that the communication was intercepted.

William, ſuſpicious that this deſign was particularly levelled at him, or finding it impoſſible to elude the devices of Luxemburgh, who baffled all his attempts, transferred the command of the army to prince Waldec, and returned to the Hague, where he ſoon after embarked, and landed in England on the nineteenth day of October.

Whilſt William remained with the allied army in the Low Countries, general Ginckle, aided by Mackay, a Scottiſh officer of rank, completed the reduction of Ireland. Athlone was carried by aſſault almoſt before the eyes of the Iriſh army. They were defeated at the deciſive battle of Aughrim; and Tyrconnel, James's principal partizan, died with grief at the ſucceſſes of the king's party.

The taking of Limerick filled up the meaſure of Ginckle's exploits, and his majeſty determined to pay all poſſible regard to his continental connections, ordered that general at all events to finiſh the Iriſh war; whereupon hoſtages were exchanged, for the due execution of the following articles. The catholics were reſtored to the enjoyment of all their liberty in the exerciſe of their religion, which they poſſeſſed in the reign of Charles II. They were admitted to all the privileges of ſubjects, upon taking

king the oath of allegiance, without being compelled to that of ſupremacy, and paſſports were provided for thoſe who choſe to retire to France.

The proteſtants exclaimed againſt this treaty, but the neceſſity of it was obvious to the king's general, who was enjoined by his maſter to put a ſpeedy end to the war. Notwithſtanding the indemnity and liberty of conſcience afforded by the tenour of the articles, twelve thouſand Iriſh catholics choſe rather to leave their native country, than ſubmit to the government of king William. France was their aſylum: there they were received with open arms, and gratified with thanks from James or their loyal attachment.

Ginckle was rewarded for his important ſervices, with the title of earl of Athlone, and the thanks of the commons of England. The parliament congratulated William on his ſucceſſes, and the queen on her prudent adminiſtration during his majeſty's abſence.

But notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions of loyalty and affection, a ſecret diſcontent prevailed too much throughout the kingdom. The malecontents inſinuated to the people, that there was no neceſſity for maintaining a ſtanding army; that inſtead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greateſt part of the burthen, without the leaſt ſhare of profit. They animadverted on the king's partiality to the Dutch; his proud reſerve; his imperious diſpoſition, and particularly inſiſted that the earl of Marlborough's gallant behaviour in Ireland was ill requited by a diſmiſſion from his employments. The commons, however, granted the king a liberal ſupply, ſo that the parliamentary diſputes produced no effects eſſentially injurious to the ſtate.

A. D. 1692. On the 24th of February his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked them for the zeal and attachment they had ſhewn to his government, and the liberality and diſpatch with which they had ſupplied the public neceſſities, acquainting them, at the ſame time, with his intention of repairing ſpeedily to the continent.

King William having returned to Holland to direct the operations of the confederates, Lewis renewed his efforts to reſtore the exiled James to the throne of England. His emiſſaries and adherents were exceeding numerous, and laboured aſſiduouſly in his cauſe and intereſt. James publiſhed a declaration, ſtrongly avowing an intended invaſion, and other projected reſolutions; notwithſtanding which, the general animoſity againſt him was much ſtronger than the murmurs againſt his rival.

Colonel Parker, with ſome other officers, enliſted men privately for the ſervice of James, in the counties of York, Lancaſter, and the biſhopric of Durham; and at the ſame time Fountaine and Holman were employed in raiſing two regiments of horſe at London, that they might join their maſter, who, by this time, had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army.

But the violent zeal of his agents betrayed their cauſe, for, having communicated the ſcheme to admiral Carter, on a ſuppoſition of his being diſaffected to the houſe of Orange, he immediately divulged the important ſecret to the queen and council. The queen, being inveſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs in the king's abſence, no ſooner received this intelligence, than ſhe iſſued a proclamation enjoining all papiſts to depart from London and Weſtminſter; a ſecond for aſſembling both houſes of parliament, and a third for apprehending ſeveral perſons on ſuſpicion. The militia took arms, and admiral Ruſſel, reinforced by the Dutch ſquadron, put to ſea with ninety ſail of the line under his command, aſſiſted by Sir Ralph Delaval and admiral Carter.

Tourville the French admiral, though inferior in number, had poſitive orders to engage the enemy at all events, and therefore bore down along-ſide Ruſſel's own ſhip, which he fought at a very ſmall diſtance with great fury ſeven hours, when his rigging being greatly damaged, his ſhip, the Riſing Sun, of an hundred and four guns, was towed out of the line in great diſorder. The fleet, being at length ſeparated by a thick fog, were compelled to lay by till it abated, when the admiral made the ſignal for chaſing the enemy, who were diſcovered ſtanding to the northward. Part of the blue ſquadron came up with them about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which, admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding his caſe deſperate, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ſhip could ſwim, and expired with great compoſure. It muſt be acknowledged that the French fought valiantly on this occaſion, and ſupported the honour of their nation; but their fleet was at length diſperſed, and fourteen large ſhips were burnt in the road of La Hogue.

James, ready to put to ſea, was an eye witneſs to this diſaſter, which affected Lewis with the deepeſt concern, as he had the utmoſt reaſon to apprehend an invaſion of his dominions.

Sir John Aſhby and Callemberg having received the admiral's orders to ſteer for Havre de Grace, with a view to deſtroy the remainder of the French fleet, Ruſſel ſailed back to St. Helens, that the damaged ſhips might be refitted and the fleet furniſhed with freſh ſupplies of proviſion and ammunition. The bodies of admiral Carter and captain Haſtings were interred with great pomp; medals were ſtruck in honour of the action, and thirty thouſand pounds diſtributed among the ſailors, as proofs of the queen's approbation of their conduct.

An expedition was now projected againſt St. Maloe's, Rochfort and Breſt, and accordingly ſeven thouſand men were embarked under the command of the duke of Leinſter; but through ſome neglect the whole ſcheme was laid aſide, on a pretence of the ſeaſon being too far advanced to carry it into execution. Lewis, therefore, withdrew his forces from the coaſt of Normandy, and James returned to St. Germain's, deprived of all hopes of effecting his reſtoration to the throne of England.

The French king was not a little elated by the ſucceſs of his arms in the Low Countries. He took Namur, one of the ſtrongeſt forts in Flanders. Luxemburg, who covered the ſiege, managed with ſuch ſkill and ability, that William, at the head of a numerous army, could neither paſs the river Mehaigne to attack the enemy which lay on the other ſide, nor relieve a place of ſuch importance: ſo that the citadel being thus left expoſed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withſtand the violence of their operations. The two covered ways were taken by aſſault, and on the twentieth of May, the governor capitulated.

Luxemburg placed a ſtrong garriſon in Namur, pitched his camp in a very advantageous ſituation between Enghien and Steenkirk. Here William reſolved to attack them, but the paſs being much

much narrower than was imagined, his army was under a neceſſity of dividing, and began to move in two columns, on the twenty-fourth of July. The prince of Wirtemberg began the attack on the right wing of the enemy, at the head of the Engliſh, Daniſh, and Dutch infantry, and was ſupported by a conſiderable body of Britiſh horſe and foot commanded by lieutenant general Mackay. Though the ground was interſected by hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles, the prince marched with ſuch diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were driven from their poſts, and their whole camp was diſordered. Luxemburg, however, put himſelf at the head of the rallied troops, and made ſo furious and deſperate a reſiſtance, that Wirtemberg, in danger of being over-powered by numbers, ſent ſeveral meſſages to count Solmes, deſiring a reinforcement, but that officer diſregarded his requeſt. At length, when the king ſent an expreſs order, commanding the Count to ſuſtain the left wing, he made a motion with his horſe, which could not act while his infantry kept their ground; and the Britiſh troops with a few Dutch and Danes ſuſtained the heat of the battle. They fought with great reſolution, and the event continued doubtful, until Boufflers rejoined the French army with a great body of Dragoons, which turned the fortune of the day.

The earl of Angus, general Mackay, and about three thouſand officers and ſoldiers of the allied army, were left dead on the ſpot; a like number was wounded or taken, with many colours and ſtandards, and ſeveral pieces of cannon. The French reaped no ſolid advantage from their victory, which coſt them about three thouſand men, with many officers of diſtinction. King William retired to his camp, and notwithſtanding all his misfortunes, his genius and courage rendered him a formidable enemy to the French.

The elector of Bavaria having been appointed commander in chief, William embarked for England on the fifteenth of October, and the parliament meeting on the fourth of November, his majeſty in his ſpeech to both houſes, thanked them for their laſt ſupplies, congratulated them upon the victory obtained by ſea; condoled with them on the bad ſucceſs of the campaign by land, repreſented the power of the French, and the neceſſity of maintaining a great armament to oppoſe it, and demanded ſubſidies equal to the occaſion. He intimated a deſign of making a deſcent up France; and declared that the happineſs of his people was his ſole aim, for which he would again willingly expoſe his life.

A ſtrong party under the direction of the earl of Marlborough, was formed in the upper houſe, who began an enquiry into the commitment of the peers that had been lately ſent to the Tower. They voted that the judges and thoſe who had in their cuſtody priſoners accuſed of treaſon, ought to conform to the act of *Habeas Corpus*, and admit them to bail, unleſs it was declared on oath that there were two witneſſes againſt them, which could not yet be produced. But the king prevented the conſequences of this affair, by ordering the priſoners to be diſcharged. After another warm debate, a formal entry was made in the journals, importing, that the houſe being informed of his majeſty's having given orders for diſcharging the lords under bail in the King's-bench, the debate about that matter had ceaſed. The reſentment of the peers being thus allayed, they proceeded to take his majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration, and a bill for regulating trials in caſes of high treaſon was voted by the commons. They then preſented addreſſes to the king and queen, congratulating them upon their deliverance from the wiles of their open and ſecret enemies, and aſſuring them that they would ſupport government with their beſt advice and aſſiſtance. But previous to their voting any ſupplies, the commons inſiſted upon peruſing the treaties, public accompts and eſtimates, that they might be in a condition to adviſe as well as aſſiſt his majeſty. Some members exclaimed loudly againſt partiality to foreign generals, and particularly inſiſted on the miſconduct of count Solmes, and his late behaviour in the battle of Steenkirk. After ſome warm altercation, they reſolved, that his majeſty ſhould be petitioned, to beſtow the chief command of the Engliſh forces upon an Engliſhman, and to fill ſuch vacancies as ſhould happen among the general officers, with ſuch only as were natives of his dominions. They then voted two millions, to pay the ſubſidies to the electors of Hanover and Saxony, to defray the expences of the continental war, and for the ſubſiſtence of the land forces.

A. D. 1693. On the fourteenth of March, the king put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament by a ſpeech from the throne, and having ſettled the domeſtic affairs of the nation, embarked in a few days for Holland, where he arrived on the third of April. The war in Flanders was now carried on with great vigour. Luxemburg being informed of the great inferiority of the allied army, reſolved to attack them in their camp, or at leaſt to fall upon their rear, ſhould they retreat at his approach. With this view he made a motion towards Liege, as if he intended to inveſt that place, and encamped at Heiliſheim, about ſeven leagues from the allied army.

On the twenty ninth of July he began his march in four columns and paſſed the Sare without oppoſition. King William at firſt imagined that this motion was a feint to cover the deſign upon Liege, but hearing that the whole French army was advancing againſt him, he reſolved to keep his ground, and immediately drew up his forces in order of battle. But his diſpoſition appeared to Luxemburg ſo erroneous, that he exclaimed "Now I believe that Waldeck is dead," alluding to that general's known ſagacity in chuſing his ground for an engagement.

The French appeared on the high ground early the next morning, and ſoon after deſcended in great order into the plain, though the cannon of the allied army played on them very furiouſly. About eight in the morning they attacked the villages of Lare and Neer-Winden with great fury, and twice made themſelves maſter of theſe poſts, from whence they were as often repulſed. At length, the allies maintained their ground; and brigadier Churchill took the duke of Berwick priſoner.

The battle now increaſed and continued till near ſun-ſet, when Luxemburg attacking the confederates at Landen, many of them were ſlain, and the reſt compelled to retreat into the open plain. William who had ſignalized his valour during the fearing all would be loſt, drew off his army, and retreated in as good order as ſo preſſing a ſituation would admit. The French, however, ſuſtained ſuch loſs in the engagement, that they either were not able, or did not think it

prudent, to purſue the confederates. The duke of Ormond was wounded in ſeveral places and taken priſoner, and the count of Solmes was mortally wounded.

Nothing remarkable happened during the remainder of this campaign, except the reduction of Charleroy, which, after being inveſted twenty-ſix days, ſurrendered on honourable terms.

The ſame ill fortune attended the Engliſh by ſea this year, as the allies by land. Preparations had been made by the admiralty to protect commerce, and deſtroy the corſairs which infeſted the coaſts. A fleet was fitted out to intercept the enemy's merchantmen in their outward bound paſſage, but they had ſailed before it could put to ſea.

It having been intended to make a deſcent upon Breſt, the fleet aſſembled at St. Helen's about the middle of May; but this deſign being laid aſide, it was expected, that on the junction of the Dutch and Engliſh fleets, ſomething of importance would be attempted; but the admirals were divided in opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any ſcheme of conſequence. It was at length determined that Sir George Rooke ſhould convoy the trade bound to the Mediterranean, but through unforeſeen accidents the deſign failed, for they were ſurprized by a ſuperior force of the enemy, and being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to ſubmit, after ſuſtaining the loſs of nine and twenty merchantmen and an Engliſh man of war. The reſult was, the admiral bore away for the Madeiras, where, having ſupplied himſelf with wood, water, and other neceſſaries, he made for Ireland, and arrived at Cork with about fifty ſail, including ſhips of war and trading veſſels.

After the engagement, the French admiral ſtood away for Cadiz, but not ſucceeding in his attemps on that place, he bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants ſunk their ſhips, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands. They afterwards ſailed along the coaſt of Spain, burnt ſome Engliſh and Dutch veſſels at Malaga and Alicant, and at laſt returned to Toulon. The diſcontents ariſing from this misfortune were greatly increaſed by the failure of an expedition to the Weſt Indies, which was committed to the care of Sir Francis Wheeler. He made an unſucceſsful attempt upon the iſlands of Martinico and St. Domingo, and after a ſucceſſion of ill fortune, in divers places, his deſigns being fruſtrated, and the greateſt part of his men having died during the voyage, he returned with the remains of his ſquadron in a very ſhattered condition to Portſmouth.

The nation in general, in conſequence of ſuch repeated failures, exclaimed againſt the miniſtry, and the marquis of Caermarthen, with the earls of Nottingham and Rocheſter, (who poſſeſſed the moſt lucrative and important offices of the ſtate) were pointed out as the principal defaulters.

France in the midſt of her conqueſts laboured under a moſt dreadful famine, which ſwept away many thouſands, and reduced the nation to ſuch diſtreſs, that Lewis attempted to conclude a ſeparate peace with ſome of the allies; but as his demands were ſtill ſo exorbitant as to afford no proſpect of a juſt and honourable peace, his offers were rejected.

William returned to England the latter end of October, when his firſt care was that of ſilencing the public murmur, by changing his miniſtry. Nottingham was diſmiſſed, and ſucceeded as ſecretary of ſtate by the earl of Shrewſbury. The command of the fleet was beſtowed upon the gallant Ruſſel, and the moſt popular meaſures were adopted in general.

On the meeting of parliament the king in his ſpeech adverted to the ſeveral loſſes the allies had ſuſtained, as well as the miſcarriages of the Engliſh fleet in divers expeditions; promiſed that delinquents upon conviction ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment, and requeſted ſuch aſſiſtance as was eſſential to the ſafety and honour of the nation. After various debates concerning the cauſes of popular complaints, and the inveſtigation of many points relative both to men and meaſures, they granted moſt liberal ſupplies for the enſuing year, which were to be raiſed by annuities, and the taxation of divers articles of commerce and convenience.

A. D. 1694. Sir Francis Wheeler, who had failed in a former expedition, met with a ſingular misfortune on his next appointment. He was ſent out with a number of ſhips under his convoy, part of which were to be left in a certain latitude, and he was to proceed with the reſt to the Mediterranean. He acted according to order, but on his entering the bay of Gibraltar, being overtaken by a dreadful tempeſt under a lee-ſhore, many of the ſhips foundered, and among the reſt that of the admiral, who, together with his whole crew, were buried in the deep. Thus ended at once the tranſactions and life of that unfortunate commander.

Having ſettled the affairs of England, his majeſty embarked at Margate on the ſixth of May, and on the ſeventh in the evening arrived in Holland, where he conſulted with the ſtates general. On the third day of June he repaired to Berthermeabbey near Louvain, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army, and where he was met by the electors of Bavaria and Cologne. In a few days a numerous army was collected, and every thing ſeemed to promiſe an active campaign.

On the third day of June the dauphin took the command of the French forces, with which Luxemburg had taken poſt between Mons and Maubeuge, and paſſing the Sambre encamped at Fleury; but on the eighteenth he removed from thence, and took up his quarters between St. Tron and Wanheim, while the confederates lay at Roſbeck.

Through an unexpected manœuvre of the French army, William's intention of paſſing the river Schelde was totally defeated; indeed, the only action of importance during this campaign was the reduction of Huy, which, after a ſiege of ten days, ſurrendered to the allies; and the reſult of all was, the return of the Dauphin and the king of England to their reſpective dominions.

A bill paſſed both houſes of parliament this ſummer, empowering the king and queen to incorporate a number of merchants, (who had previouſly ſubſcribed twelve hundred thouſand pounds, as a beginning fund) by the name of the governors and company of the bank of England, under a proviſo, that, at any time after the firſt of Auguſt 1705, upon a year's notice, and the repayment of the capital, the ſaid corporation ſhould ceaſe and determine.

The king, according to cuſtom in opening the ſeſſion of parliament, repreſented the neceſſity of ſuch ſupplies as would enable him to proſecute the war with vigour. They were granted without oppoſition, but the commons not unmindful of

what they deemed conducive to the true intereſt of the nation, inſiſted on the triennial bill, to which his majeſty, from motives of preſent expediency, gave the royal aſſent. It exacted that a new parliament ſhould be held every third year, at the expiration of which, the king was obliged to iſſue writs for another.

During theſe tranſactions, Dr. John Tillotſon, archbiſhop of Canterbury, paid the debt of nature. Few prelates conduced more by their lives or writings to the intereſt of real religion. This venerable metropolitan eminently exemplified as a chriſtian, thoſe virtues he ſo forcibly recommended as a divine.

Soon after died queen Mary in the thirty-third year of her age, and the ſixth of her reign. Mary upon the whole was an amiable character. In her perſon ſhe was graceful and commanding, while the complacency and mildneſs of her aſpect tempered the awfulneſs of majeſty, and the affability of her diſpoſition encouraged the moſt timid to approach her. Her treatment both of her father and ſiſter may be deemed blameable; but theſe defects will be counterpoized when placed in the balance with her exalted virtues.

The king cordially regretted the loſs of his royal conſort, who, both in public and domeſtic life, had been an ornament to her eminent ſtation. Her ſtatue, together with that of the king, was erected in the Royal Exchange, in conſequence of a reſolution of the court of common council of London.

The king, as well as the queen, had been ſome time on ill terms with the princeſs Anne their preſumptive heir; but on the demiſe of the latter, the earl of Sunderland effected a kind of reconciliation between his majeſty and the princeſs. She was preſented with great part of her ſiſter's jewels, and aſſigned a reſidence in St. James's palace; but theſe were rather formal tokens of civility than real inſtances of eſteem.

A. D. 1695. The affairs of the continent requiring his majeſty's perſonal attendance, the lord keeper at the royal command prorogued the parliament; and the king nominated the regency that was to act in his abſence. But as both the princeſs of Denmark and her huſband were excluded, the king's diſpoſition towards them was plain and evident.

This campaign was glorious to the allies, whoſe army being ſuperior to that of the French, William determined to ſtrike ſome blow of importance. The great general Luxemburg died the preceeding winter, and was ſucceeded by the mareſchal Villeroy. On the third of July, William inveſted the city of Namur, the garriſon of which conſiſted of near twenty thouſand men, and the fortifications had received ſuch additional repairs that it was deemed impregnable.

Concious of their inferiority the French thought proper to ſecure their late conqueſts, by a new line drawn between the Lys and the Schelde, and made diſpoſition for covering Dunkirk, Ypres, Tournay, and Namur, ſome of which they apprehended would be attacked by the allies. Mean while the confederates formed two great armies in the Netherlands: the firſt, compoſed of ſeventy battalions of foot, and eighty-two ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons, was encamped at Aerſeele, Canehem, and Wanterghen, between Theildt and Deynſe, and commanded by the king in perſon, aſſiſted by the old prince of Vaudemont; the other, compoſed of ſixteen battalions of foot, and one hundred and thirty ſquadrons of horſe, was encamped at Zellich and Ham; under the command of the elector of Bavaria, who was aſſiſted by many experienced officers, at the head of whom were the duke of Holſtein-Plon, and the earl of Athlone.

After the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made, the king directed the baron Heyden, and the earl of Athlone to aſſiſt in the reduction of Namur. The plan of the ſiege being laid, the trenches were opened on the eleventh of July, and next day the batteries began to play with incredible fury. On the eighteenth, five battalions of Scotch and Dutch aſſaulted the enemy's advanced works on the counterſcarp. They were ſuſtained by ſix Engliſh battalions, while major Saliſch, with eight foreign regiments, and nine thouſand pioneers, advanced on the left. The conteſt was deſperate and bloody, the enemy maintaining their ground for two hours with undaunted reſolution; but they were at laſt repulſed, and purſued to the very gates of the town. The king was ſo charmed with the gallantry of the Britiſh troops, that laying his hand on the elector of Bavaria's ſhoulder, he exclaimed with great tranſport, "See my brave Engliſh."

The ſiege was carried on with the utmoſt vigour on the part of the aſſailants, while the place was defended with the moſt heroic bravery by the garriſon.

At length the beſieged were ſummoned to ſurrender, but neglecting to give an immediate anſwer, it was determined to proceed to a general aſſault according to the plan previouſly laid down by the king. The confederates procured and maintained a lodgement near a mile long by this attempt, though it did not ſucceed to their wiſhes.

On this occaſion the elector of Bavaria ſignalized his valour, but he acquired fame at the expence of the lives of many brave ſoldiers, who nobly fell in the heat of action.

The garriſon had indeed made a moſt gallant reſiſtance, till at length reduced from near twenty to ſix thouſand men; and mareſchal Boufflers who commanded, being cut off from all hopes of relief, was under a neceſſity of ſurrendering, and the capitulation was ſigned on the ſecond of September.

According to articles the French garriſon marched out on the fifth, when William cauſed mareſchal Boufflers to be arreſted by way of repriſal for the detention of the garriſons of Dixmuyde and Deynſe, contrary to cartel: but on the reſtoration of thoſe places, he was ſet at liberty.

The king now reſigned the command to the elector of Bavaria, and retired to St. Loo, his uſual receſs; ſoon after which both armies went into winter quarters.

Notwithſtanding the great ſtrength of the Engliſh at ſea, the enemy's privateers found means to ſlip out of their ports and capture a number of merchantmen. Through the neglect of the marquis of Caermarthen, who was ſtationed off Scilly, the Barbadoes homeward bound fleet fell a prey to the French corſairs, as did five ſail of Indiamen, valued at a million ſterling.

On the tenth of October the king arrived from Holland, and was hailed on his return with the triumphant acclamations of his Engliſh ſubjects. With the advice of council, a new parliament was ſummoned by proclamation to meet on the twenty-ſecond of November. William, on his laſt arrival from the continent, began to aſſume an affability of deportment, rather repugnant to the natural reſerve which had rather created diſguſt than conciliated

ciliated esteem. He visited several noblemen at their country seats, honoured the universities with his presence, and, by his general behaviour, seemed to court popularity.

The parliament having met according to proclamation, the commons chose Foley again for their speaker. The king in his first speech, extolled the valour of the English forces; expressed his concern at being obliged to demand such large supplies from his people; observed that the funds had proved very deficient, and the civil list was in a precarious situation; recommended to their compassionate regard the miserable state of the French protestants; took notice of the bad state of the coin; desired they would form a bill for the encouragement of seamen, and contrive laws for the advancement of commerce. He expressed his satisfaction at the choice of representatives, and recommended unanimity and dispatch, as their enemies the French were making great preparations to take the field early in the spring.

The commons granted him a supply of six millions, the taxes became enormous, the nation complained of being aggrieved, yet the ministry were not less lavish of the public treasure. This parliament passed a celebrated act respecting trials for high-treason. It was enacted, that persons indicted should receive a copy of their accusation five days before the commencement of the trial; that they should be allowed council to plead in their behalf; that no person should be accused but on the deposition of two respectable witnesses; that the accused should have a list of the witnesses two days before the preparation for trial; and that no accusation should be admitted three years after the commission of the crime, except in case of an actual attempt on the life of the king. The peers added a clause, that a peer should only be judged by the whole body of peers.

The next point agitated was relative to the state of the current coin, and it appearing that it had been greatly debased by fraudulent arts, it was resolved to proceed to a new coinage, so that in less than two years the silver coin came from the Mint the finest and most beautiful in Europe.

A. D. 1696. In the beginning of this year a conspiracy was discovered against the person and government of king William, in order to restore the abdicated James. The earl of Aylesbury, lord Montgomery, and some other persons of distinction, were the contrivers of the project. In the beginning of February, the duke of Berwick had come privately into England, in order to hasten the preparations of the conspirators. While they were labouring to increase their party and assemble forces, James came to Calais with a view to embark; troops were brought to the sea side, and an officer was advancing with a number of ships, which were to join a considerable fleet of transports already at Dunkirk.

Sir George Barclay, a native of Scotland, a man of undaunted courage, cautious and circumspect, but a furious bigot to the church of Rome, came over in order to effect this horrid design. He imparted the secret to the conspirators assembled, when, after various consultations, they resolved to attack the king on his return from Richmond, where he usually hunted on Saturdays, and the scene of the intended tragedy was a lane between Brentford and Turnham-green. But the plot was discovered by captain Fisher, Pendergrass an Irish officer, and La Rue, a Frenchman. The two former gave their information to the earl of Portland, the last to brigadier Levison. The king was at first extremely backward in believing the plot; but finding it confirmed by so many witnesses, he admitted Pendergrass into his presence, and persuaded him to give a list of the assassins. A proclamation was issued for their immediate apprehension; in consequence of which most of them were secured, but Barclay found means to escape.

Measures were immediately taken to dispel the tempest: admiral Russel sailed to the coast of France; the enemy retired at his sudden appearance, and James, disconcerted in his projects, returned in despair to St. Germains.—The two houses of parliament being acquainted with the conspiracy by the king himself, zealously formed an association for his defence, engaging to support his government, and to revenge all attempts against his person: the king assured them he would be always ready at the hazard of his life to resist all those who should endeavour to overturn the laws, religion and liberties of the kingdom.

The methods of raising the supplies was the next business of the parliament. A new bank was established, commonly called the Land-bank, because founded upon land-securities. This scheme was generally believed to be intended to ruin the bank of England. The company of the latter petitioned against the bill, and were heard by their counsel; but their representation had no effect; and the bill, having passed both houses, at last received the royal assent. On the twenty-seventh of April the king closed the session with a short but gracious speech, and the parliament was prorogued to the sixteenth of June. During this session, Pendergrass, Porter, and others gave evidence against several of the conspirators, who were accordingly executed.

The confederates, incensed at the French as abettors of the conspiracy against the person and government of king William, were determined on revenge. Lewis had established a vast magazine at Givet, with a view of striking some stroke of importance early in the campaign, while the allies should be weakened by the absence of the British troops. Upon this magazine the confederates determined to wreak their vengeance, and with this view, the earl of Athlone, and lieutenant-general Coehorn, set out from Namur with forty squadrons, thirty battalions, fifteen pieces of cannon, and six mortars. Athlone, with part of his body, invested Dinant, while Coehorn with the remainder, advanced to Givet. He forthwith began to bombard the town, which in three hours was on fire, and by four in the afternoon wholly destroyed, with the great magazine it contained.

On the fifth of May the king embarked for Holland, having appointed a regency previous to his departure. The French had taken the field early in the spring, but no enterprize of importance was attempted in the course of this campaign. Lewis was obliged to act on the defensive, while the active plans of William were defeated by want of money. All the funds of this year proved defective, the land bank failed, having affected the credit of the former bank, without producing any one good effect.

Lewis now thought seriously of making a peace, and with this view, sent an ambassador to the states general; but the Dutch refused, to enter into any conferences on the subject, until they had obtained the consent of the allies. The French king therefore, in order to expedite this negotiation, pursued offensive measures in Catalonia, where his general

the duke de Vendome, attacked and worſted the Spaniards in their camp near Oſtalric, but he was obliged to retreat, after very ſtrenuous efforts againſt their intrenchments, and the action was not deciſive.

Before any treaty could be ſet on foot, the duke of Savoy made a ſeperate truce with France. William, though much chagrined at the information, diſſembled his anger, and liſtened to the miniſter without the leaſt apparent emotion. One of the conditions of this treaty imported, that within a limited time, the allies ſhould evacuate the duke's dominions, otherwiſe they ſhould be expelled by the joint forces of France and Savoy. They offered a neutrality to the confederates, but this being rejected, the contracting powers reſolved to attack the Milaneſe. Accordingly, when the truce expired, the duke, as generaliſſimo of the French king, entered that duchy, and inveſted Valencia, ſo that in one campaign, he commanded two contending armies. A meſſenger from the king of Spain, who conſented to accept of a neutrality for Italy, arrived when the garriſon of Valencia was reduced to the utmoſt extremity.

The allies gained little advantages by land this year, but Lord Berkeley, who commanded the fleet, pillaged and burned the villages on the iſlands of Guoy, Horeal, and Heydic; made prizes of about twenty veſſels, and bombarded St. Martin's on the iſle of Rees.

Soon after, rear admiral Bembow was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron to block up Du Bart in the harbour of Dunkirk; but that bold adventurer found means to eſcape in a fog, and ſailing towards the Baltic, fell in with the Dutch fleet, under convoy of ſix frigates. Theſe he took, together with half the trading veſſels; but meeting with the outward bound fleet, convoyed by thirteen ſhips of the line, he was obliged to part with all his prizes except fifteen, which he carried into Dunkirk, having burnt four of the frigates and turned the other two adrift.

As the ſeaſon was now far advanced the hoſtile operations of this year were concluded, and William embarked for England to open the ſeſſions of parliament. In the courſe of his ſpeech he obſerved, that propoſals had been made for a negotiation, but that the beſt way of treating with France, would be ſword in hand; that he hoped they would quickly raiſe ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year; that the civil liſt could not be ſupported without their aſſiſtance; that he flattered himſelf they would contrive ſome means for the recovery of the national credit; and that the ſafety and welfare of the kingdom could be no way ſo well ſecured as by their unanimity and diſpatch.

The commons aſſured his majeſty in a loyal addreſs, that they would ſupport his perſon and government againſt all enemies foreign or domeſtic. They then deliberated upon the eſtimates, and chearfully granted upwards of ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They paſſed a bill for remedying the ill ſtate of the gold coin, and another explaining an act of the preceding ſeſſion, for laying duties on low wines, and ſpirits of the firſt extraction. In order to raiſe the ſupplies of the year, they reſolved to tax all perſons according to the value of their real and perſonal eſtates, their ſtock upon land and in trade, or their income by offices, penſions, and profeſſions. A duty of one penny per week for one year was levied upon all perſons not receiving alms. Not one perſon able to bear any part of the expence was excuſed, on this occaſion, from contributing to the exigencies of the ſtate.

The bank of England having been found of ſingular ſervice to government, the commons voted another million to be raiſed by new ſubſcriptions, in order to ſupport its credit.

The caſe of Sir John Fenwick was now brought into the lower houſe, where, though his guilt was rendered manifeſt, he could not be convicted by common law as one poſitive evidence only appeared againſt him. A bill of attainder, however, after the moſt violent debates, paſſed both houſes; and Fenwick was executed on Tower-hill.

He acknowledged his attachment to king James, but called heaven to witneſs, in his expiring moments, that he never harboured a deſign againſt the life of king William. On cloſing the ſeſſion of parliament the ſixteenth of April, his majeſty thanked them for the liberal ſupplies they had granted him, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction with the meaſures they had taken for the retrieval of the public credit.

A. D. 1697—8. On the 26th of April the king embarked for Holland, in order to direct the negotiations for a general peace, the preliminaries of which were to the following effect: that the treaties of Weſtphalia, and Nimeguen, ſhould be the baſis of the preſent negotiation; that Stratſburgh ſhould be reſtored to the emperor, and Luxembourgh to the Spaniards, together with Mons, Charleroy, and all the places taken by the French in Catalonia, ſince the treaty of Nimeguen; that Dinant ſhould be ceded to the biſhop of Liege, and all re-unions ſince the treaty of Nimeguen be made void; that Lorraine ſhould be reſtored according to the conditions of that treaty; and that Lewis ſhould acknowledge the prince of Orange king of Great Britain without the leaſt reſtriction, or reſervation.

After ſome little altercation concerning the place for holding the general congreſs, the negotiations were agreed to be opened at a village called Ryſwick, a few miles diſtant from the Hague. The conferences began on the twenty-ninth of April, and were nearly being interrupted by the death of Charles XI. of Sweden; but as his ſucceſſor was a minor, the parties reſolved to proſecute the buſineſs, and the plenipotentiary appointed in behalf of the court of Sweden continued in his office. The taking of Barcelona by the duke of Vendome, and the loſs ſuſtained by the Spaniards in America, haſtened the concluſion of the treaty, ſo far at leaſt as it concerned their particular nation.

Several articles were objected to by the imperial plenipotentiary, which protracted the negotiation; however, it was at length reſolved, that the treaty between England, Holland, Spain, and France ſhould be ſigned on the 20th of September, even though the emperor ſhould not concur. But from prudential maxims, he was induced to accede and ſign, and his example was followed by all the princes of the empire. The treaty between England and France imported, that Lewis ſhould not diſturb or diſquiet the king of Great Britain in the poſſeſſion of his crown or government, aſſiſt his enemies, nor favour conſpiracies againſt his perſon; that a free commerce ſhould be reſtored between the two kingdoms; that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to meet at London, to determine the pretenſions of each crown to Hudſon's bay, taken by the French during the late peace,

and retaken by the Engliſh in the courſe of the war; and to fix the limits of places to be reſtored, as well as the proportion of exchanges to be made; that in caſe of a freſh war, ſix months ſhould be allowed to the ſubjects of each crown for removing their effects; that the ſeparate article of the treaty of Nimeguen, relating to the principality of Orange, ſhould be fully executed; and that in three weeks after the day of ſigning the agreement, the ratifications ſhould be exchanged.

William, having thus firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf on the throne, returned to England, and was received in London amidſt the acclamations of the people. On the meeting of parliament, he mentioned among other things in his ſpeech, the expediency of a ſtanding army, a circumſtance by no means agreeable to the commons, ſome of the members of which gave it as their opinion that it tended to introduce deſpotiſm. When the queſtion came regularly before the houſe, it was carried in the negative; however, to compenſate for this deciſion, in oppoſition to the king's opinion, they voted the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds per annum for the ſupport of the civil liſt, diſtinct from all other ſervices, to be paid his majeſty during life; an indulgence he had often requeſted, but could never before obtain.

The petition of the governor and inhabitants of Londonderry in Ireland now came before the Engliſh parliament. They ſolicited ſuch indemnification for the loſſes ſuſtained by the ſiege of that place, which they had ſo gallantly defended, as might ſeem meet to the members in general. It was recommended by the commons to the conſideration of his majeſty, who engaged to attend to it, but the petitioners obtained no immediate relief.

A reſident of Dublin having aſſerted in a pamphlet the independence of the Iriſh parliament on that of England, a committee was appointed to enquire into the nature and tendency of this performance. It being reſolved, that the book tended to leſſen the dependence of Ireland upon England, an addreſs was preſented to his majeſty, beſeeching him to give effectual orders for preventing any ſuch encroachments for the future, as well as diſcountenancing thoſe who had been guilty of ſuch pernicious attempts. His majeſty promiſed his compliance.

A ſociety for the reformation of manners was now begun, under the king's immediate protection. Conſiderable collections were made for maintaining clergymen to read prayers at certain hours in places of public worſhip, and adminiſter the ſacrament every Sunday.

William prorogued the parliament on the third day of July, thanking them in a ſhort ſpeech for the many teſtimonies of their favour he had received, and, in two days after the prorogation, it was diſſolved.

Advice having been received in England, that the death of Charles II. of Spain was daily expected, William, under pretence of retiring from public buſineſs, embarked for Holland; but his real intention was to ſound the French king as to the ſucceſſion to the throne of Spain. He had appointed a regency to govern the kingdom in his abſence; and, as one of the number, nominated the earl of Marlborough, who had regained his favour, and been appointed governor to the duke of Glouceſter. His majeſty at his departure left ſealed orders with the miniſtry, directing, that ſixteen thouſand men ſhould be retained in the ſervice, notwithſtanding the vote of the commons, by which the ſtanding army was limited to ten thouſand. He alledged, that the apprehenſion of freſh troubles, which might ariſe at the death of his catholic majeſty induced him to tranſgreſs this limitation, and hoped that the new parliament would be more favourable. But they proved as averſe to this meaſure as the former had done.

The French miniſter having, by order of his maſter attended king William at his palace near the Hague to negotiate the treaty of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, the particulars were tranſmitted to the earl of Portland, and, at the requeſt of the king, communicated by him to the ſecretaries of ſtate, who, by letter, ſignified to his majeſty the iſſue of the deliberation of the regency, though it ſeems they had ſigned the firſt partition before the letter reached Holland.

The chief articles of the partition treaty were the follwing; that in caſe the king of Spain ſhould die without iſſue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spaniſh monarchy, and ſituated on the coaſt of Tuſcany, or the adjacent iſlands, the marquiſate of Final, the province of Guipuſcoa, all places on the ſide of the Pyrenees, or the other mountains of Navarre, Alva, or Biſcay, on the other ſide of the province of Guipuſcoa, with all the ſhips, veſſels, and ſtores, ſhould devolve upon the dauphin, in conſideration of his right to the crown of Spain, which, with all its other dependencies, ſhould deſcend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, under the guardianſhip of his father; that the dutchy of Milan ſhould be ſettled on the emperor's ſecond ſon the archduke Charles; that this treaty ſhould be communicated to the emperor, and the elector of Bavaria, by the king of England, and the ſtates general; that in caſe the elector of Bavaria ſhould die before his father, then the elector and his other heir ſhould ſucceed him in theſe dominions; and ſhould the archduke reject the dutchy of Milan, they agreed it ſhould be ſequeſtered, and governed by the prince of Vaudemont.

Lewis, perſuaded that he ſhould never be able to accompliſh his deſigns upon Spain, while the king of England had it in his power to form a confederacy againſt him, determined to amuſe that prince with a treaty in which he ſhould ſeem to act as umpire in the concerns of Europe. The plan ſucceeded, and kept William in the dark as to his real intention.

When his majeſty arrived from the continent he found new mortifications from the parliament he had lately ordered to be ſummoned. Inſtead of ten thouſand men, the number fixed by the laſt parliament, and to which he had given the royal aſſent, he had kept on foot ſixteen thouſand. The commons, in token of their diſapprobation of this meaſure, reduced the troops in pay to ſeven thouſand, and obliged the king to diſmiſs his Dutch guards, of whoſe zeal and attachment he had inſtances of the fulleſt aſſurance. His remonſtrances on this ſubject had no effect. They reminded him of his promiſe to diſmiſs all his foreign troops, and gave him to underſtand that the happineſs and welfare of the kingdom depended on the mutual confidence between king and people, and that this confidence demanded that he ſhould entruſt to his ſubjects the care of his ſacred perſon. The king complied, though with ſome reluctance, and paſſed the bill according to the deſire of his faithful commons, who immediately preſented an addreſs, in which they thanked him for this freſh mark of his royal goodneſs, and ſo

lemnly assured him, that they would defend his person and government at the hazard of their lives and fortunes. They then voted fifteen thousand seamen, and a proportionable fleet for the security of the kingdom, and granted one million four hundred and eighty four thousand pounds for the services of the year, to be raised by a tax of three shillings in the pound upon lands, personal estates, pensioners and officers.

A. D. 1699. Notwithstanding the late appearance of affection and zeal that subsisted between the king and parliament, as instanced in their mutual compliance with the requests of each other, his majesty, from some private disgust, came to the house on the 4th of June, prorogued the parliament, and soon after embarked for Holland.

A very powerful party of malecontents prevailed at this time in Scotland. The Scots had formed a trading company, which, animated by the same prospect of gain that had transported so many Europeans into a new world established, at a great expence, a colony on the isthmus of Darien, between North and South America, to which they gave the name of Caledonia. The Spaniards exclaimed that such proceedings were infractions of the last treaty, and the English that they would ruin their commerce. William, therefore, sent orders to the English governors, forbidding all intercourse with the new colony, so that the Scots, disappointed by these means in their hopes and expectations of acquiring wealth, as well as reduced to the necessity of submitting to the Spaniards, breathed nothing but fury against king William, as the author of that destruction which inevitably resulted from his partial and illiberal conduct. Their parliament adopted the sense of the nation. All threatened a revolt, and it was only by time, address, and flattering promises, that the king prevented the most fatal consequences.

Nothing of importance transpired relative to the partition treaty, nor did any event of moment occur during his majesty's last visit to Holland, so that having settled the particular business of the States-general, he embarked for England, whither he arrived on the sixteenth of October. The parliament meeting about the middle of November, the king, in his speech to both houses, advised a further provision for the safety of the kingdom, by sea and land, and the repair of ships and fortifications, exhorted the commons to make good the deficiencies of the funds, discharge the national debt, and provide the necessary supplies. He assured them of his resolution to encourage virtue and punish vice, and that he would decline no difficulties nor dangers where the happiness of his people might be concerned. He then concluded with these words: "Since, therefore, our aims are "only for the general good, let us act with con- "fidence in one another, which will not fail, with "the blessing of God, to make me a happy king, "and you a great and flourishing people."

The American colonies having suffered much from piratical depredations, one Kidd, a desperate adventurer, undertook to suppress them, provided he was furnished with a ship of thirty guns well manned. Being thus equipped by voluntary subscription of several noblemen and gentlemen, he set sail from Plymouth, but instead of cruizing on the coast of America, and apprehending the pirates, he engaged in the same scandalous practices, and afterwards arriving on the coast of New York, was seized, together with his men, by lord Bellamont. An account was transmitted to the English government, and a man of war dispatched to put a stop to those infamous proceedings; but being driven back by stress of weather, the design was frustrated, and the desperadoes suffered to prosecute their ravages.

The commons this session took into consideration the right of the king to dispose of the forfeited estates in Ireland, and discussed the affair in such a manner as indicated motives of caprice and resentment rather than justice and equity.

Having framed and passed a bill of resumption, they directed an account of the whole transaction to be published for their vindication; and resolved, that the procuring or passing exorbitant grants by any member then of the privy council, or by any other that had been a privy counsellor, in this or any former reign, to his own use and benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanor. As the members of the lower house were apprehensive that this bill would be strongly opposed by those of the upper, they annexed it to the money bill, so that the one could not be rejected, without defeating the other. The lords proposed some alterations, but the commons refused to give their consent, and ordered a list of the privy-council to be laid before them.

The general measures of the commons seemed at this time to have been framed in order to thwart those of the king. They enquired into the most minute circumstances of government, rigorously censured the ministry, debated on a motion to address his majesty for the dismission of lord chancellor Somers, and evinced every principle of diffidence and disgust. William was so displeased at these instances of disaffection, that he could not dissemble his resentment, and from this circumstance his enemies employed the most inveterate malice to blacken his character.

In order to perplex and embarrass administration with fresh obstacles, the commons determined to address his majesty, that no person, who was not a native of his dominions, except his royal highness prince George of Denmark, should be admitted into his majesty's councils in England or Ireland. This resolution was levelled against Portland, Albemarle, and Galway; but to obviate that disagreeable business, his majesty prorogued the parliament to the 23d of May.

A. D. 1700. When the houses met according to prorogation, a bill was brought into the commons, purporting that no person born after the twenty-fifth day of March next ensuing, being a papist, should be capable of inheriting any title of honour or estate within the kingdom of England, principality of Wales, or town of Berwick upon Tweed; and that no papist should be capable of purchasing any lands or tenements, either in his own, or in the name of any other person in trust for him. But this bill being defectively framed in many instances, though it received the royal assent, never answered its original design.

The result of the negotiation for a second partition treaty between the contracting parties on the continent was, that in case his catholic majesty should die without issue, the dauphin should possess, for himself and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the islands of St. Stephano, Porto, Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone, Piombino, the marquisate of Final, the province of Guipuscoa, and the dutchies of Lorraine, and Barre; in exchange for which the duke of Lorraine should receive the dutchy of Milan; but that the country of Biche should remain in so-

vereignty

vereignty to the prince of Vaudemont; that the archduke Charles ſhould inherit the kingdom of Spain, and all its dependencies in and out of Europe; but in caſe of his dying without iſſue, it ſhould devolve to ſome other child of the emperor, excepting him who was to ſucceed as emperor or king of the Romans; that this monarchy ſhould never deſcend to a king of France, or dauphin; and that three months ſhould be allowed for the emperor's conſideration whether he would accede to the treaty.

His majeſty according to annual cuſtom reviſited his native country in the month of July, and on the nineteenth day of the ſame died the young duke of Glouceſter, only ſurviving child of Anne princeſs of Denmark. Her death was much lamented by the greater part of the Engliſh nation, not only on account of his promiſing talents and affable diſpoſition, but alſo as fatal diſputes might happen in conſequence of the ſucceſſion being left doubtful.

The partizans of James conſidered this event as favourable to their wiſhes, of placing the pretended prince of Wales on that throne, which James had abdicated. But the proteſtants turned their eyes on the princeſs Sophia, electreſs-dowager of Hanover, and grand daughter of James the firſt, as neareſt heir in the proteſtant line, after the reſpective deſcendants of the king and the princeſs Anne, and this lineage afterwards eſtabliſhed the right of the houſe of Hanover to the crown of England.

Soon after his majeſty's return from Holland, he received intelligence of the death of the king of Spain. Charles had in his laſt will declared the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the dauphin, ſole heir to the Spaniſh monarchy. In caſe this prince ſhould die without iſſue, or inherit the crown of France, he ordered that Spain ſhould devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him and his children, to the archduke Charles and his heirs; in failure of whom, to the duke of Savoy and his poſterity.

Lewis who had concerted and executed this politic ſcheme, diſplayed great art and fineſſe in bringing it to a concluſion. After the will was accepted, by the French council, he addreſſed the duke of Anjou in the preſence of the Marquis de Rios, in the following manner, "Sir, the king of Spain has made you a "king. The grandees demand you, the people "wiſh for you, and I give my conſent. Remem-"ber only, you are a prince of France. I recom-"mend to you to love your people, to gain their "affection by the lenity of your government, and "render yourſelf worthy of the throne you are "about to aſcend." The new monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the princes of the blood; nevertheleſs, the duke of Orleans and his ſon proteſted againſt the will, becauſe the archduke was placed next in ſucceſſion to the duke of Berry, in bar of their right as deſcendants of Anne of Auſtria. The emperor loudly exclaimed againſt the will, as being more iniquitous than the treaty of partion, and threatened to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms. The Spaniards gave themſelves up to the protection of Lewis, ſenſible that they were incapable of defending their own dominions.

William was fired with indignation, at being thus egregiouſly duped by the policy of the French king, but concealed his reſentment until he ſhould have ſounded the opinions of other powers in Europe, and ſeen how far he could rely on his new miniſtry. His chief favourite was the earl of Rocheſter, who was declared lord lieutenant of Ireland. A general change was made in the principal departments of ſtate, but the new miniſtry, conſcious that they had not intereſt ſufficient to procure a majority in the parliament, prevailed on the king to diſſolve it by proclamation, which was accordingly done, and the ſixth of February was appointed for the meeting of a new parliament.

A. D. 1701. At the meeting, on the day appointed, the king in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the loſs of the duke of Glouceſter had rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome farther proviſion for ſettling the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line; and that the death of the late king of Spain had produced ſuch an alteration in the affairs of Europe, as required their moſt ſerious deliberation. He then, as uſual, demanded ſupplies for the enſuing year; reminded them of the deficiencies and public debt; recommended to their regard the ſtrength of the nation, naval, and military; exhorted them to unanimity in their proceedings, and to employ the poor, by giving all poſſible encouragement to commerce.

The commons waited on his majeſty with an addreſs, in which they aſſured him that they would defend his perſon and government, and take ſuch effectual meaſures as might beſt conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of England, and the preſervation of the proteſtant religion.

The ſtates general, by their ambaſſador, preſented a memorial to king William, in which they acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king of Spain; informed him that France had agreed to a negotiation, in which they might ſtipulate the neceſſary conditions for ſecuring the peace of Europe, and that they were firmly reſolved to do nothing without the concurrence of his majeſty and the other allies; the commons alſo deſired permiſſion to inſpect the treaties between England and Holland.

The king having laid before the houſe the ſeveral articles of the memorial, they referred the matter to his majeſty's known wiſdom and policy, not doubting but he would act in ſuch a manner as would be moſt conducive to promote the grand and principal objects of the negotiation. They then voted, that proviſion ſhould be made from time to time for making good the principal and intereſt due upon all parliamentary funds; and afterwards paſſed a bill for renewing the bills of credit, commonly called the exchequer bills.

His majeſty having recommended the eſtabliſhment of the ſucceſſion of the crown, that affair was brought into the houſe, when, after ſome conſideration, and certain conditions being ſettled as preliminaries, in order to ſecure the privileges of the people, it was voted, "That the princeſs Sophia, "dutcheſs-dowager of Hanover, be declared next "in ſucceſſion to the crown of England, after his "majeſty and the princeſs of Denmark, and the "heirs of their bodies reſpectively." And, "that "the further limitation of the crown be to the "ſaid princeſs Sophia and the heirs of her body, "being proteſtants." The earl of Macclesfield was appointed to acquaint the princeſs, that the act of ſettlement had paſſed in her favour.

After theſe tranſactions, the ſecretary of ſtate, by order of the king, informed the houſe of the demands inſiſted on by Mr. Stanhope, his majeſty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, in conjunction with the ſtate's general, from the French ambaſſador; namely, that for the ſecurity of England, the cities of Oſtend and Nieuport ſhould be delivered into the

hands of his Britannic majeſty; that no kingdoms, provinces, cities, lands, or places, belonging to the crown of Spain, ſhould ever be yielded, or transferred to the crown of France on any pretence whatever; that the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty ſhould retain all the privileges, rights and immunities, with regard to navigation and commerce in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late Catholic majeſty; as alſo, all ſuch immunities, rights, and franchiſes, as the ſubjects of France or any other power, either poſſeſs for the preſent, or may enjoy for the future; that all treaties of peace and commerce between England and Spain ſhould be renewed, and that a treaty formed on theſe demands ſhould be guarantied by ſuch powers, as one or other of the contractors ſhould ſolicit or perſuade to undertake that office." But ſo extravagant were theſe demands in the opinion of count d'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, that he ſaid, they could not have been higher, if his maſter had loſt four ſucceſſive battles. He declared, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, would withdraw his troops from the Spaniſh Netherlands, as ſoon as the king of Spain ſhould have forces of his own ſufficient to guard the country; but with reſpect to the other articles, he could give no other anſwer, than, that he would immediately tranſmit them to Verſailles. Lewis affected to reſent the propoſals, as highly arrogant, as well as a ſure mark of the hoſtile intention of the allies, and refuſed to give any other ſecurity for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Ryſwick.

The affairs of Spain now engaged the attention of parliament, and the partition treaty became a ſubject of invective. They complained that it had been made without their advice, and tended to the aggrandizement of France. One of the members called it a felony, another compared it to the diſtribution of a booty taken on the highway. They afterwards drew up an addreſs, in which, among other particulars, they begged to lay before his majeſty the ill conſequences that muſt reſult from the treaty of partition to the intereſt of his kingdoms, and the peace of Europe in general. They beſought his majeſty to take the advice of his ſubjects, and believe them more worthy of confidence than foreigners; and added, moreover, that they adviſed him, in all his negotiations with the king of France, to take every precaution that could render them ſafe and uſeful.

Though William was greatly chagrined at theſe proceedings, he diſſembled his reſentment, and replied, that his treaty ſhould have the honour and ſecurity of England for its baſis. Lewis would recede in no point from the treaty of Ryſwick, ſo that the court of London and the ſtate's general prepared for a war, which ſeemed inevitable. The parliament expreſſed their ardor to aſſiſt the Dutch, but could not ſtifle their reſentment againſt thoſe miniſters to whom they attributed the negotiation of the partition treaty. Several noblemen were impeached with as much injuſtice as paſſion by the commons, and being acquitted by the upper houſe, animoſities univerſally prevailed. A memorial now appeared, ſigned LEGION, in which was this forcible expreſſion, "Engliſhmen are no more "to be ſlaves to parliaments than to kings. "Our name is Legion, and we are many."

So much hardineſs in the people was not unuſeful to the king, for the commons promiſed to aſſiſt him in all his meaſures for ſetting bounds to the exceſſive power of France, and voted him about two millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, for defraying the expences of the enſuing year.

Former animoſities beginning to revive between the two houſes, the king interrupted their diſputes, by putting an end to the ſeſſion on the twenty-fourth day of June, after having thanked the parliament for their zeal in the public ſervice, and exhorted them to a diſcharge of their duties, in their ſeveral counties.

Though William had acknowledged the new king of Spain, he ſeemed, however, determined to dethrone him; his health now daily declined, but not to diſcourage the allies from engaging in the confederacy, he carefully concealed his indiſpoſition. He conferred the command of the ten thouſand troops deſtined for Holland upon the earl of Marlborough, whom he likewiſe appointed his plenipotentiary to the ſtates general.

Having ſettled the regency, and other matters relative to domeſtic government, his majeſty embarked for Holland in the beginning of July, and, on his arrival at the Hague, aſſiſted at the aſſembly of the ſtates-general, whom he addreſſed in a very affectionate ſpeech, and was anſwered with great cordiality.

Soon after the arrival of William in Holland, d'Avaux, the French miniſter, delivered a letter to the ſtates from his maſter, who complained that they had interrupted the conferences, from which no good fruits were to be expected; but at the ſame time aſſured them, that it wholly depended on themſelves, whether they ſhould continue to receive marks of his ancient friendſhip for their republic. This letter was accompanied by an inſolent memorial, to which the ſtates-general returned a very ſpirited anſwer. As they were now convinced of the hoſtile intentions of France, they hired auxiliaries, increaſed their army, repaired their fortifications, and took every neceſſary precaution for their defence.

Though the confederate parties in general were intereſted in humbling the pride of the houſe of Bourbon, the emperor, who was moſt affected at the acceſſion of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, aſſembled a powerful army, the command of which he beſtowed on prince Eugene, one of the greateſt and moſt fortunate generals then in Europe. That prince began the war in Italy, and ſhewed himſelf worthy of his reputation. Towards the end of the campaign, he took poſſeſſion of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itſelf, the blockade of which he formed. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and kept the field the whole winter, exhibiting repeated marks of the moſt undaunted courage, indefatigable vigilance, and conſummate prudence. In January he had nearly ſurpriſed Cremona, by introducing a body of men through an old aqueduct: they forced one of the gates, by which the prince and his followers entered. Villeroy, the governor, being wakened by noiſe, ran out into the ſtreet, where he was taken, and the town muſt have inevitably been reduced had prince Eugene been joined by another body of troops he had ordered to advance from Parmeſan, to ſecure the bridge; which poſt being previouſly poſſeſſed by an Iriſh regiment in the French ſervice, the prince was compelled to retire, taking with him Villeroy the governor.

King William, having put his navy on the moſt reſpectable footing, the fleet under the command of Sir George Rooke, though they came to no action, kept all their neighbours in awe, during the courſe of this ſummer, while his Britannic majeſty was employed in perfecting the alliances, be-

tween the emperor, England, and Holland; ſo that a treaty was concluded at the Hague on the ſeventh of September.

The death of the weak and unfortunate prince James II. who expired at St. Germain's on the 16th of September; brought affairs much ſooner to criſis than was expected before that event. He was privately interred in the church of the Engliſh benedictines in that place. James poſſeſſed, from nature, many good qualities, but his bigotry was ſo great, and he was ſo governed by prieſts, that theſe qualities had no influence when the concerns of the church came under conſideration.

Lewis, elated by his victories, and depending too much on his own power, ſeemed haughtily to brave the ſtorm gathering againſt him, in giving the title of king of England to the ſon of the deceaſed James. His title was likewiſe recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope. William was no ſooner informed of this tranſaction, than he diſpatched a courier to the king of Sweden as guarantee of the treaty of Ryſwic, to complain of this manifeſt violation. At the ſame time, even without an audience of leave, he directed the earl of Manchester to leave Paris.

In vain did Lewis diſperſe a manifeſto throughout Europe, declaring that he had not infringed any article of the treaty, in acknowledging the prince of Wales as king of England, for the Engliſh, already diſpoſed for war, felt themſelves inſulted and breathed only vengeance. One general intereſt now united all parties, and their reſolutions became unanimous.

The city of London, and moſt of the counties of England, tranſmitted addreſſes to his majeſty, declaring a due ſenſe of the indignity offered him by Lewis, and promiſing to ſupport his government againſt him and all his other enemies.

Having concluded the treaty of alliance, William propoſed to return to England, but being detained by the impaired ſtate of his health, he did not arrive till the fifth of November. The firſt thing that engaged his attention, was the expediency of calling a new parliament, which being determined in council, was put into execution, and a new parliament appointed to meet on the thirtieth of December.

On that day the commons having choſen Mr. Harley for their ſpeaker, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he expreſſed his hope, that they were come together, determined to avoid diſputes and differences, and to act with a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cauſe. He ſaid he ſhould think it a particular bleſſing to England, if they were as much inclined to lay aſide thoſe unhappy animoſities, which divided and weakened them, as he was diſpoſed to make all his ſubjects ſafe and eaſy; even thoſe who had committed the higheſt offences againſt his perſon. At the ſame time he conjured them to diſappoint the hopes of their enemies by their unanimity. As he had always ſhewn, and always would ſhew, how deſirous he was to be the common father of all his people, he deſired they would lay aſide all parties and diviſions, ſo that no diſtinction might be known amongſt them. He concluded with affirming, that by their behaviour, it would be ſeen whether they were really in earneſt to have England hold the balance of power, and be at the head of the proteſtant intereſt.

This ſpeech was univerſally applauded. The peers aſſured his majeſty of their zeal for his perſon and government. The commons expreſſed the ſame ardor, and reſolved on a further addreſs, to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to inſert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing, that no peace ſhould be made with France, until his majeſty and the nation had received ſatisfaction for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. They prepared a bill of attainder againſt the pretender, which being ſent up to the other houſe, paſſed with an additional clauſe of attainder againſt his mother.

A. D. 1702. While William was projecting meaſures for aſſerting his own dignity, and humbling the pride of the ambitious houſe of Bourbon, he was ſeized with an indiſpoſition that overſpread the nation with a cloud of ſorrow. His health had been long upon the decline, and by the advice of his phyſicians he had retired to Hampton-court, where, as he was one day taking the air, he fell from his horſe with ſuch violence as to break his collar bone. The bone, however, being immediately ſet, he returned to Kenſington the ſame evening, and ſeemed to be in a fair way of recovery, till the firſt of March, when a defluxion fell upon his knee, attended with very alarming ſymptons.

As this diſorder prevented his going to the houſe on the ſecond of March, the royal aſſent was given by commiſſion to ſuch bills as had paſſed both houſes, namely, the act of attainder againſt the pretended prince of Wales; and another in favour of the Quakers, enacting, that their ſolemn affirmation and declaration ſhould be accepted inſtead of an oath.

His majeſty was ſo far recovered by the ſeventh day of the month, that he took ſeveral turns in the gallery at Kenſington; but ſitting down on a couch and falling aſleep, he was ſeized when he awoke with a ſhivering which terminated in a fever and diarrhæa. Every remedy that could be thought on by his phyſicians was immediately adminiſtered, but without ſucceſs. He ſaw his laſt moments approach with that firmneſs of mind which had never left him. He thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderneſs, ſaying, "I know that you and the "other learned phyſicians have done all that your "art can do for my relief; but finding all means "ineffectual, I ſubmit." He was attended in his preparatory devotions by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Saliſbury. Finding his diſſolution near at hand, he enquired for the earl of Portland, who not arriving till after he was ſpeechleſs, the king could only ſhew the warmth of his friendſhip by graſping his hand, and preſſing it with extraordinary ardor to his heart.

His majeſty then reſigned his breath on the eighth of March, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign. His body was interred on the twelfth of April, in Weſtminſter Abbey.

As it is the lot of humanity to err, and moſt human characters are tinged with light and ſhade, the mental portrait of king William has been drawn by various pens, in various colours. That prejudice and party zeal which blinded the writers of the laſt century, having now vaniſhed before candour and equity, he is generally conſidered, upon a comparative view, equal at leaſt to any prince that ever ſwayed the ſceptre of England. A reſerved temper, and a natural attachment to his countrymen the Dutch, frequently excited diſguſt, and raiſed jealouſies in the minds of his Engliſh ſubjects, to the mutual prejudice of prince and people. He appears to have had little or no taſte

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Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Born *Feb. 6. 1664.* | *Crowned* *April 23. 1702.* | *Died* *August 1. 1714.*

taſte for polite literature, nor to have been actuated by what are called the more refined ſenſations of the ſoul. But if we conſider him as a king and a warrior, and ſurvey his councils in the cabinet and atchievements in the field, no trifling defects can veil ſuch glaring merit. To maintain himſelf on the throne in ſpite of the efforts of the moſt powerful monarch in Europe; to diſcuſs by the moſt profound policy the counſels of foreign courts; to command armies with as much ability as reſolution; to be always formidable even after ill ſucceſs, indefatigable under ſickneſs and fatigue; in ſhort, if to vindicate and aſſert the natural rights of mankind and become the illuſtrious inſtrument in the hands of Providence for reſcuing our forefathers from popiſh ſuperſtition and arbitrary power, are actions worthy the veneration of the world, and the grateful acknowledgment of all Engliſhmen, the name of William Prince of Orange will ever be held ſacred to the lateſt poſterity.

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of William III.

A. D.
1689 The firſt land-tax in England.
1692 Bayonets invented, and firſt uſed in England.
1692 In the month of September the ſhock of an earthquake was felt in London, and in many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the ſame kind had happened ſome time before in Sicily and Malta. In the former no leſs than 100,000 perſons are ſaid to have periſhed on the occaſion. The ſame year the town of Port Royal in Jamaica was almoſt deſtroyed by an earthquake, and about 1500 perſons buried in the ruins.
1694 Stamp duties firſt impoſed in England.
1695 A tax laid on Batchelors above 25 years of age. For a duke 12l. 10s. and for a common perſon 1s.
Another on Widowers. For a duke 12l. 10s. a common perſon 1s.
Another upon Births. For a duke 30l. a common perſon 2s.
Another upon Burials. For a duke 50l. a common perſon 4s.
Another on Marriages. For a duke 50l. a common perſon 2s. 6d.
1696 Aſylums for debtors, particularly the Mint in the Borough, and White Friars in Fleet-ſtreet, aboliſhed.
Council firſt allowed to perſons guilty of treaſon.
1698 Hawkers and Pedlars in England firſt allowed to ſell commodities retale by licence.
Whitehall totally deſtroyed by fire.
1699 Billingſgate made a free fiſh-market.
1700 The firſt Auction in England, by Eliſha Yale, governor of Fort St. George in the Eaſt-Indies; who ſold the goods he brought from thence in that manner.

CHAP. II.

ANNE.

Acceſſion of queen Anne. War declared againſt France and Spain. State of France. Campaign in Flanders. Naval expeditions. Death of the brave Admiral Bembow. The queen gains the confidence of the parliament. Campaign of the allies. Defection of the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal from the intereſt of Lewis. Battle of Blenheim. Naval exploits. Siege and reduction of Gibraltar. Taking of Barcelona. The Union. Battle of Ramillies. Expedition in Spain. Treaty of Union confirmed. Fate of Sir Cloudeſley Shovel and part of his fleet. Lewis attempts an invaſion in Scotland in favor of the Pretender. Siege of Liſle. Capture of Minorca from the Spaniards. Death of the prince of Denmark. Lewis ſolicits for peace. Battle of Malplaquet. Trial of Sacheverel. Revolution in the Engliſh miniſtry. New parliament. The duke of Marlborough inſulted. South-ſea company. Preliminaries of peace. Oppoſition of the Allies. Treaty between the Engliſh and the States General. Treaty of Utrecht. Peace proclaimed. Party zeal maintained with great violence and animoſity. The earl of Oxford diſgraced. Death and character of queen Anne.

A. D. 1702. ON the demiſe of king William, Anne Stuart, princeſs of Denmark, by virtue of the act of ſucceſſion, aſcended the throne of England, and was acknowledged by all the nation with a joy equally great and unanimous. When the news of the queen's acceſſion reached the kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland, the joy of the people appeared as ſincere as that of the people of England. The parliament, which continued to ſit after the king's death, met immediately and expreſſed the moſt lively zeal for her ſervice.

Anne's firſt act of ſovereignty was to convene the privy council, to whom ſhe declared her concern for the loſs the nation had ſuſtained, in the death of his late majeſty; her regard for the religion and liberties of her country; her deſire to maintain the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line, and the government in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed; and finally, her reſolution to curb the inſolence of France, and purſue the true intereſt of England, together with that of the confederates. At the ſame time the queen iſſued a proclamation by which all magiſtrates and officers whether civil or military, were continued in their reſpective functions till further orders.

On the eleventh of March her majeſty went to the houſe of peers, where, after aſſuring her parliament that ſhe relied entirely on their affection and zeal for the eſtabliſhment of her revenues, ſhe promiſed to make the public good the ſole object of her adminiſtration, "As I know my heart," ſaid ſhe "to be entirely Engliſh, the happineſs and proſperity of England ſhall be my grand aim, and you ſhall always find me a ſtrict and religious obſerver of my word." The affable manner in which ſhe received the congratulations of her ſubjects increaſed their confidence and confirmed their loyalty.

Though the death of the late king had been a ſubject of rejoicing to the French, and of conſternation to the Hollanders, it produced a change in the affairs of Europe. The ſtates, animated by her majeſty's aſſurances, at length reſolved to proſecute vigorous meaſures, and the arrival of the earl of Marlborough ſtrengthened their reſolutions. That nobleman was ſent to Holland in quality of her majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary

potentiary to the ſtates-general. Every part of Marlborough's negotiation was attended with ſucceſs, and he embarked for England on the third of April, having firſt laid down the plan of operations for the following campaign.

During theſe tranſactions the commons reſolved to ſettle on her majeſty for life, the ſame revenue as had been allowed the late king William. On the thirtieth of March the queen went to the houſe of lords, and gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private bills; at the ſame time, ſhe thanked the commons for continuing the ſame revenue to her as to the late king, told them ſhe would aſſign an hundred thouſand pounds thereof for the public ſervice of the preſent year, and adviſed them to diſpatch the public buſineſs as faſt as poſſible.

After a warm debate in council, whether the Engliſh ſhould engage in the war as principals or only as auxiliaries, the majority gave it in favour of the former, and a declaration of war was ordered to be prepared againſt France and Spain. The queen, however, laid the matter before the houſe of commons, and the comptroller, by her command, communicated to them the convention between her majeſty, the emperor, and the ſtates general. Having obtained the conſent of parliament, the queen cauſed war to be declared againſt France and Spain on the 4th of May, and two days after, the lord Godolphin was appointed lord high-treaſurer.

A bill having paſſed both houſes to impower her majeſty to name commiſſioners for treating with the Scots on the ſubject of an union, they were accordingly appointed, and met for the firſt time at the cockpit, where, after reading both commiſſions, the lord-keeper Wright made a ſhort ſpeech on the ſubject of their meeting, and was anſwered by the duke of Queenſbury. Accordingly, they agreed, that the two kingdoms ſhould be inſeparably united into one monarchy, under her majeſty, her heirs and ſucceſſors, and under the ſame limitations, according to the act of ſettlement: but when the Scottiſh commiſſioners propoſed, that the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies ſhould be preſerved and maintained, inſurmountable difficulties aroſe, and no farther progreſs was then made in the affair.

The campaign in Germany was begun with the ſiege of Keyſerſwaert, which was reduced after a deſperate reſiſtance, by the prince of Naſſau Saarbrugh mareſchal de camp to the emperor. General Coehorn, at the head of a ſtrong detachment, had entered Flanders, demoliſhed the French lines, between the forts of Donat and Iſabella, and laid Chatellaine under contribution.

When Marlborough arrived in Holland he repaired to the army then encamped under the walls of Nimeguen, paſſed the Maeſe on the 16th of July, and encamped within two leagues and a half of the enemy. The French army, under the command of the duke of Burgundy and mareſchal Boufflers, being infererior to that of the allies, and determining to avoid the hazard of a battle, abandoned Spaniſh Guelderland, and left it intirely to their diſcretion, by which means Marlborough took Venlo, Ruremonde and Leige, and prepared himſelf for more memorable expeditions. Thus ended the firſt campaign equally advantageous to the allies and honorary to the earl, who now eſtabliſhed that military fame, for which he ſtands ſo renowned in the annals of hiſtory.

The confederate army being now ſeparated, Marlborough repaired to Maeſtricht, where he embarked that evening on the Maeſe for the Hague, accompanied by general Opdam, and Mynheer Guildermanſer, one of the deputies of the ſtates, together with twenty-five ſoldiers, under the command of a lieutenant to ſerve as convoy. But the boats being ſeparated in the night, a French partizan, with thirty-five men from Gueldres, who was lurking among the ruſhes on the banks of the river, obſerving the boat in which were the earl and his attendants, they ſeized the rope by which it was drawn, diſcharged their ſmall arms, and then ruſhing into it, ſecured the ſoldiers, before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence. They afterwards rifled the baggage, carried off the guard as priſoners, and allowed the boat to proceed. An account of this tranſaction having reached the Hague, greatly alarmed the inhabitants; but their fears were ſoon diſpelled by the arrival of the earl, whom they now conſidered as their friend and deliverer.

King William, a ſhort time before his death, had formed a deſign to reduce Cadiz, and this ſcheme queen Anne determined to put in execution. The fleet conſiſted of fifty ſail of the line, commanded by Sir George Rooke; and the duke of Ormond was appointed general of the land forces, deſtined for this expedition.

They ſailed from St. Helen's the latter end of June, and anchored about two leagues from Cadiz on the twelfth of Auguſt. On the fifteenth the duke of Ormond landed with his forces in the bay of Bulls, under cover of a ſmart fire from ſome frigates. He ſummoned the governor of St. Catherine to ſurrender; and received for anſwer, that the garriſon were prepared for his reception. The allies raiſed a battery againſt Montagorda fort; but were ſoon obliged to reimbark their troops on failure of the attempt.

While they were on their way for England, admiral Rooke, receiving advice that the Weſt India galleons had put into Vigo under convoy of a French ſquadron, reſolved to ſail thither, and attack them in that poſture. The paſſage into the harbour was defended by batteries, forts, and breaſtworks on each ſide; by a ſtrong boom conſiſting of iron chains, topmaſts, and cables, moored at each end to a ſeventy gun ſhip, and fortified within by five ſhips of the ſame ſtrength, laying athwart the channel with their broadſides to the offing. As the firſt and ſecond rates of the combined ſhips were too large to enter, the admirals ſhifted their flags to ſmaller veſſels. In order to favour the attempt the duke of Ormond landed with twenty five hundred men, at the diſtance of two leagues from Vigo, and attacked a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the mouth of the harbour, of which he made himſelf maſter.

As ſoon as the Britiſh enſign was diſplayed at the top of this fort, the ſhips advanced to the attack. Vice admiral Hopſon in the Torbay crouding all his ſail, ran directly againſt the boom, which was ſhivered by the firſt ſhock; the whole ſquadron entered the harbour, through a terrible fire from the enemy's ſhips and batteries; and the French, finding themſelves unequal to their antagoniſts, reſolved, after a deſperate engagement, to ſet fire to the galleons and ſhips of war, that they might not fall into the hands of the Engliſh. They accordingly burned and ran aſhore eight ſhips and as many advice-boats; but ten French men of war and eleven galleons were taken. The value of fourteen millions of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, were loſt in ſix galleons that periſhed

riſhed; but about half that value was brought off by the conquerors, ſo that this adventure proved a dreadful ſtroke to the enemy, and a noble acquiſition to the allies. Sir George Rooke being joined ſoon after by Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, who had been ſent out with a ſquadron to intercept the galleons, returned home in triumph, leaving Sir Cloudeſley to deſtroy the fortifications, and bring the prizes to England.

But the general joy excited by the ſucceſs of the late expedition, was damped by an event which took place in America. The gallant admiral Bembow was defeated by the French in the Weſt Indies. This brave commander, being of a violent temper, is ſuppoſed to have diſguſted ſeveral of his captains, who baſely deſerted him in the midſt of action. He had a leg ſhot off, and received ſeveral other wounds, notwithſtanding which he refuſed to quit the deck. An officer expreſſing his ſorrow that he had loſt a leg: "I am ſorry too," ſaid Bembow, "but I wiſh I had loſt them both rather "than have ſeen my country thus diſhonoured." Some of theſe traitors were apprehended and executed purſuant to a ſentence of a court martial; and the brave Bembow was ſuppoſed to have fallen a ſacrifice as much to grief of heart, as from the conſequences of his wounds.

The queen by gaining the hearts of her ſubjects, laid the foundation of all the ſucceſſes of her reign. She ſummoned a parliament and addreſſed them in a manner beſt adapted to perſuade. Inſtead of availing herſelf of the royal prerogative, ſhe deſired the commons to examine the public accounts that that they might diſcover the errors of adminiſtration, and puniſh the guilty with juſt ſeverity. She recommended every means of rendering commerce, manufactures and arts more flouriſhing. She declared the love of her people was the ſureſt pledge of their obedience and fidelity, and that as ſhe regarded her intereſt as inſeparable from that of the nation, the public good ſhould be the object of all her efforts.

The commons granted ſupplies for the maintenance of forty thouſand men. They thanked the duke of Ormond and admiral Rooke for the ſingular ſervices they had rendered their country in their reſpective departments. They ſettled on the prince of Denmark a penſion of one hundred thouſand pounds per annum if he ſurvived the queen. Marlborough, created a duke by his royal miſtreſs, received the applauſe he merited. She propoſed to reward his ſervices with a grant of five thouſand pounds a year, iſſuing out of the revenue of the Poſt-office, but this becoming a ſubject of debate in the lower houſe, the duke deſired to decline the favour her majeſty intended him.

A. D. 1703. In the beginning of this year the queen acquainted the commons that the ſtates general had preſſed her to augment her forces, as the only means to defeat the great and early preparations of the enemy. The commons reſolved, therefore, that ten thouſand men ſhould be hired as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies; but on this expreſs condition, that an immediate ſtop ſhould be put to all commerce and correſpondence with France and Spain on the part of the ſtates general. The Dutch conſcious that their intereſt was inſeparable from that of the allies, reſolved to yield a ready compliance, and accordingly, a prohibition of commerce with France and Spain was immediately publiſhed.

The violence of parties ſtill ſubſiſted; the adherents to hierachy availed themſelves of this circumſtance as the beſt means of accompliſhing their favorite purpoſe of extirpating the oppoſite party. With this view, three members were ordered by the houſe of commons to bring in a bill for preventing occaſional conformity.

The debates on this bill were very warm in the lower houſe, but it met with great oppoſition in the upper. Moſt of the peers were of opinion, that beſides the original deſign of ſecuring entirely the election of parliaments, it was intended as a preparatory ſtep towards the repeal of the toleration act. The majority of the biſhops, and amongſt theſe, in particular, Burnet of Sarum, argued againſt it, with that candour, and at the ſame time evident force, which chriſtian charity and ſound learning united never fail to inſpire. The oppoſite party, however, had the ſanction and aſſiſtance of the court intereſt. After long debates and a free conference between the two houſes, the lords adhered to their amendments, the commons perſiſted in rejecting them, the bill miſcarried, and both parties aimed to juſtify their conduct by a publication of their ſeveral proceedings.

As numbers of people had not taken the oath for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales, a bill was brought into the lower houſe, to allow them one year longer to determine if they would take it. The lords added three clauſes, importing, that thoſe perſons who ſhould take the oath within the limited time, might return to their benefices and employments, provided they were not already filled; that any perſon endeavouring to defeat the ſucceſſion to the crown, as now limited by law, ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon; and that the oath of abjuration ſhould be impoſed upon the ſubjects of Ireland. The queſtion being put, whether they ſhould agree to the amendments of the lords, it was carried in the affirmative by one voice, and thus was a new ſecurity provided for a proteſtant ſucceſſor; a circumſtance, by which all lovers of their country were filled with the ſincereſt joy.

The Engliſh fleet being joined by twelve Dutch ſhips of the line, ſailed from St. Helen's, the combined ſquadrons amounting to fifty ſeven ſail, having under them a convoy of 200 merchantmen. On the 24th of July, they arrived off the rock of Liſbon, where Sir Cloudeſley Shovel commander in chief, called a council of war, in which the rendezvous was appointed to be held in Altea bay, on the coaſt of Valencia. Having made a deſcent with two thouſand five hundred men, the admiral publiſhed a declaration, intimating, that he came, not to injure the Spaniards, but to protect them from the tyranny of the French, whereupon the Spaniards chearfully ſupplied them with proviſions.

When Sir Cloudeſley arrived before Leghorn, count Lamberg went on board, to inform him that (notwithſtanding the duke of Anjou had been declared ſucceſſor to the late Spaniſh monarch) the archduke of Auſtria, had (by order of the emperor) been proclaimed at Vienna king of Spain, by the name of Charles III.

On the ſeventeenth of November the admiral arrived in the Downs, without having once an opportunity of engaging the French fleet, which kept cloſe in Toulon the whole time the combined ſquadrons were in the Mediterranean.

The military operations of the contending parties were carried on with various ſucceſs. if on one ſide, the duke of Marlborough took Bonne, Huy and Limbourg, Boufflers, on the other, defeated the Dutch general Opdam; the duke of Burgundy made himſelf maſter of Old Briſac; and

count Tallard retook Landau, and defeated the prince of Heſſe.

The Engliſh fleet at this time met with a dreadful diſaſter. A moſt alarming tempeſt, by which the houſes even in London were ſhaken, and many thrown down, occaſioned the loſs of thirteen ſhips of war. The damage in London, eſtimated at a million, was only a part of the immenſe loſs ſuſtained by the kingdom in general. Theſe events might have revived the drooping ſpirits of Lewis; but he loſt in his turn two allies, whoſe defection threatened him with great misfortunes. Theſe were the duke of Savoy and the king of Portugal, who, actuated by ſimilar motives of intereſt, determined in favour of the grand alliance.

On the ninth of November the parliament met, and the queen opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech in which ſhe expreſſed the moſt ardent wiſh of ſeeing them in perfect union among themſelves, and deſired they would avoid all heats and diviſions. She deſired of the commons ſupplies to enable her to perform her engagement with the king of Portugal, and the duke of Savoy, as well as her former engagements. She told them, that the funds held out ſo well, and the prizes were ſo conſiderable, that they had defrayed the charge of the expedition to Portugal, and of the augmentation of troops deſired by the ſtates general; that ſhe had, out of her own revenue, contributed to the ſupport of the circle of Suabia, whoſe firm adherence to the intereſt of the allies, under the greateſt preſſures, well deſerved her aſſiſtance. She wiſhed a leſs expenſive way could be deviſed for manning the fleet; and at the ſame time expreſſed an earneſt deſire of ſeeing the intereſt of the allies in a ſtill more flouriſhing ſtate. The commons then came to a reſolution, that the forty thouſand men, which were raiſed to act in conjunction with the forces of the allies, and the additional troops, conſiſting of ten thouſand men, ſhould be continued for the uſe of the enſuing year; that the proportion of land forces to act in conjunction with Portugal ſhould be eight thouſand men, one thouſand whereof to be horſe and dragoons; that five thouſand marines, and forty thouſand ſailors, ſhould be employed, making the whole number, for the following year, upwards of one hundred thouſand.

In conſequence of an intimation given by her majeſty to both houſes, that a plot was forming againſt her in Scotland, abetted by the emiſſaries of Lewis, the lords appointed a committe to examine into the matter, and aſſured her majeſty they would, with their utmoſt zeal, maintain the rights of the crown, and the church of England, in ſuch a manner, as might beſt conduce to further her majeſty's pious deſigns, and promote the happineſs of all her ſubjects; an addreſs to this purport was alſo preſented by the commons.

When Marlborough, in the name of his royal miſtreſs, complimented the archduke of Auſtria, on his advancement to the throne of Spain, he took his ſword from his ſide, and gave it to the duke with a pleaſant aſpect, ſaying to him in French; "I have nothing but my cloak and ſword, and I "hope you will not think it the worſe for one day's "wearing." On the contrary, replied the duke, "it will always put me in mind of your majeſty's "juſt right and title, and of the obligations I lie "under to hazard my life in making you the "greateſt prince in Chriſtendom." Marlborough returned to England in October, and the king of Spain embarking with him under convoy of an Engliſh and Dutch ſquadron, arrived at Spithead on the twenty-ſixth day of December. Having paſſed through the uſual formalities at the court of Windſor, he returned to Portſmouth, from whence on the fifth of January, he ſailed for Portugal, with the grand fleet, commanded by Sir George Rooke; but meeting with a violent ſtorm off cape Finiſterre, wherein they received conſiderable damage, they were, on the twentieth day of the month, obliged to put into St. Helen's; the damage, however, which the fleet had ſuſtained, being repaired, they ſailed with a fair wind on the tenth of February for Portugal, where the king ſafely arrived on the twenty-fifth, and was received with great ſplendour, amidſt the acclamations of the people.

A. D. 1704. When the parliament aſſembled in the beginning of March, the lords exhibited a charge againſt admiral Graydon, for not attacking a ſquadron of the enemy of inferior force, in his way to the Weſt-Indies, as alſo for ſeverities exerciſed towards maſters of tranſports under his convoy, and that officer by her majeſty's command was diſmiſſed the ſervice. With reſpect to the Scottiſh plot, they reſolved, that it appeared evident to that houſe, there had been a dangerous conſpiracy carried on for raiſing a rebellion in Scotland, and invading that kingdom by a French power, with a view to bring in the pretended prince of Wales, to the ſubverſion of her majeſty's government.

The parliament having finiſhed the neceſſary buſineſs of the ſeſſion, her majeſty, on the 3d of April, thanked both houſes for their readineſs to aſſiſt her in the proſecution of the war, and the houſe of commons in particular for the diſpatch of their ſupplies. By this time the emperor's affairs being in a moſt deplorable ſituation, the imperial envoy to the court of London preſented a memorial to the queen, diſplaying the imminent danger of Germany, and imploring her majeſty's aſſiſtance. The ſecretary of ſtate, by command of the queen, informed the envoy, that ſhe had ordered the duke of Marlborough to concert the moſt effectual means to prevent the fatal conſequences apprehended by his maſter. Accordingly the duke embarked for Holland, and arrived at the Hague on the twenty-firſt of April, and by a forcible repreſentation of the ſtate of the empire, brought the Dutch into compliance with the project of lending a body of troops for its immediate relief. The forces allotted for this expedition were ſpeedily aſſembled, and proceeded for Maeſtricht under his grace's command.

Having obtained every thing he wiſhed, Marlborough purſued his rout into the heart of the empire, forced the elector of Bavaria's lines, ravaged the country, and at length joined prince Eugene. Theſe two generals, emulous of glory, and animated by the ſame zeal for the common cauſe, attacked near Hockſted the French and Bavarian army, ſuperior in number, and able, by avoiding a battle, to have reduced the allies through want of forage. Villars, at this time on bad terms with the elector, was employed againſt the revolted proteſtants in the Cevennes. A great general is not eaſily replaced. The mareſchals Tallard and Marſin, leſs ſkilful, though full as brave as Villars, committed errors to which their defeat by ſome writers has been attributed. Such, however, was the proweſs of Marlborough and Eugene in conjunction, that the defeat was ſoon general, the field ſtrewed with dead, and the Danube covered with fugitives, who were drowned in endeavouring to

to escape. There remained in the village of Blenheim eleven or twelve thousand of the best troops. Unable to range themselves in order of battle, or force their way through a victorious army, they surrendered themselves prisoners without fighting. In short the allies gained a complete victory. About twelve thousand slain, fourteen thousand prisoners, an hundred pieces of cannon, three hundred colours and standards, and an immense booty, were the trophies of their victory. The duke of Bavaria was obliged to fly, and abandoned his dominions to their mercy. Marlborough signalized himself in this action as much by his valour as his military talents. Mareschal Tallard, his prisoner, having complimented him "on the defeat of the best troops in Europe:" "I hope," replied the duke, "you will except the troops that defeated them." Marlborough was amply compensated for his services. The emperor created him a prince of the empire, Holland shewed him peculiar honours, and that spacious mansion, to which he gave the name of Blenheim, is a monument of the public gratitude. The celebrated Addison did him still greater honour by immortalizing him in his poems.

The confederates afterwards penetrated into Alsace, took Landau, and spread universal terror.

The siege of Landau finished the campaign in Germany, the duke of Marlborough repaired to Berlin, and contracted for a reinforcement of eight thousand Prussians to serve under prince Eugene in Italy during the ensuing campaign. Soon after he embarked for England, where he was received with those demonstrations of joy and gratitude his important services so well deserved.

The principal actions in Flanders were the bombardment of Bruges and Namur by nine thousand Dutch troops, and two attempts on the French lines.

The superiority of the French in Italy over the duke of Savoy gave them great advantages. They reduced Vercelli, Jurea, and Verac, the last of which places sustained a siege of no less than five months. The duke bore his losses with great equanimity, and told the English minister, that though he was abandoned by the allies, he scorned to follow their example.

The operations of the combined fleet at sea were nearly as glorious as those of the allied armies by land, and therefore demand particular attention. Sir George Rooke, having landed king Charles at Lisbon, was ordered by the ministry to cruize in the Mediterranean, and watch the motions of the Toulon squadron. Soon after he received advice, that a strong fleet from Brest had passed Lisbon, in order to join the Toulon division. Sir George soon descried the Brest squadron, and commanded the fleet to tack and stand after them; but the French having the weather gage, and night coming on, he could not bring them to action; he therefore, as soon as they were out of sight, sailed towards the Streights, where he was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with a large fleet under his command. A council of war was held in the road of Tetuan, on the seventeenth of July, the result of which was that they should sail to make a sudden attempt upon Gibraltar, in consequence of a violation of a clause in the second partition treaty. On the twenty-first, the prince of Hesse landed on the Isthmus with eighteen hundred marines, and summoned the garrison to surrender; but the governor answered, that the place should be defended to the last extremity. Next day the admiral gave orders to cannonade the town, and perceiving that the enemy were driven from the fortifications at the South Molehead, he commanded captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and attack that quarter. But the captains Hicks and Jumper, who lay next the Mole, pushed on shore with their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. The enemy sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and about an hundred men were either killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains made themselves masters of the platform, and maintained their ground, until they were supported by captain Whitaker, and the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt between the Mole and the town. The governor then capitulated, and the prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of this attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by an handful of men against a numerous army. The admiral now returned to Tetuan to take in wood and water, leaving a sufficient number of troops to defend the place, under the command of the prince.

This was no sooner accomplished than the admiral put to sea, and on the 11th of August got sight of the French fleet, which he pursued with all the sail he could make. On the 13th the combined fleets came up with the enemy, as they lay in a line off Malaga, ready to receive them to the number of fifty two ships of the line, and four and twenty gallies, under the command of the count of Thoulouse, high-admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the black and white divisions. The combined fleet consisted of fifty three ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, but were inferior to the French in weight of metal, and in the number of guns and men.

A little after ten in the morning the action began, when the rear and the van commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and the Dutch admiral Callemberg, immediately pressed forward to a close engagement, and soon compelled the enemy to give way: but the center of the French being remarkably strong, bore hard upon Rooke's division, several of whose ships, having expended their shot, were obliged to leave the line as entirely useless. The fight, however, was maintained till night, when the French bore away to leeward. In the night the wind shifted to the northward, and in the morning to the westward, which gave the enemy advantage over the combined fleet, and at length they disappeared. The loss in this engagement was pretty equal on both sides, though not a single ship was taken or destroyed by either. After the battle Sir George Rooke sailed to Gibraltar to refit, and leaving a squadron with Sir John Leake, set sail for England on the twenty-fourth of August. He arrived in September, and was received by the ministry, and the people in general, with the highest marks of approbation and esteem.

The news of the reduction of Gibraltar no sooner reached the court of Madrid, than Philip, the reigning king of Spain, sent the marquis of Villadartas with an army to retake that important fortress. During a siege of four months, the prince of Hesse displayed great proofs of his military capacity. Gibraltar was supplied with provisions and forces from Lisbon, till that communication was cut off by a strong squadron entering the bay, under the command of Monsieur de Pointis, who, however, retiring at the approach of Sir John Leake and admiral Vanderdussen, the marquis speedily abandoned his attempt.

On the meeting of parliament, the queen in her speech

ſpeech, obſerved, that the remarkable ſucceſs with which Providence had crowned her arms had excited ſentiments of joy in all her ſubjects; and that a timely improvement of the preſent advantages would enable them to procure a laſting foundation of ſecurity for England. She deſired of the commons the ſupplies for the enſuing year, and aſſured them they ſhould be carefully managed, at the ſame time recommending a ſpeedy diſpatch. Next day the lords congratulated her majeſty on the ſucceſs of her arms under the conduct of the duke of Marlborough. The commons alſo preſented an addreſs, in which they mentioned the atchievements of admiral Rooke; and aſſured her majeſty, they came diſpoſed to do every thing that was neceſſary, for the effectual proſecution of the war; and that they would ſo diſpatch the public buſineſs, as might enable her majeſty to purſue the advantages ſhe had already obtained over the common enemy.

Soon after the commons, by an unanimous vote, preſented an addreſs, requeſting her majeſty to beſtow her bounty upon the ſeamen and land forces who had behaved ſo gallantly in the ſervice of their country; and received for anſwer, that cognizance ſhould be taken of their requeſt. They then voted the number of forces, and the ſums neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance during the enſuing year.

The parliament having experienced great difficulties attending the northern parts of Britain continuing as a ſeparate kingdom, a bill was brought into the upper houſe, for enabling her majeſty to name commiſſioners for treating with thoſe of Scotland, in order to ſettle an union between the two kingdoms.

A. D. 1705. The duke of Marlborough, on his firſt appearance in the houſe, was honoured with the thanks of the peers, in an elegant ſpeech pronounced by the lord keeper. A committee of the houſe of commons alſo waited on his grace, to give him the thanks of that houſe, and to congratulate him on his ſucceſſes.

But as the moſt exalted minds are liable to prejudice, and the influence of favorites, the queen, (wrought upon by the dutcheſs of Marlborough, whoſe ambition could not bear the idea of any commander naval or military, being placed upon a level with her huſband) treated the gallant Rooke with cold neglect, and, as an inſtance of very reprehenſible partiality, if not injuſtice, appointed Sir Cloudeſly Shovel rear admiral of England.

The commons, in their addreſs to the queen, took particular notice of the deficiency of their allies in furniſhing their reſpective quotas towards carrying on the war, as well by ſea as by land, and beſought her majeſty to uſe her intereſt with them, that next year they might furniſh their complete proportion according to their ſeveral treaties. The queen returned a favourable anſwer to this as well as every other part of the addreſs, and after giving the royal aſſent to the bills that had paſſed, diſſolved the parliament; and ordered a proclamation to be iſſued for calling another.

As no plan appeared more effectual for the improvement of the advantages obtained by the memorable battle of Blenheim, than that of making an impreſſion on the frontiers of France, the Moſelle was pitched on as the ſcene of action. The ſtates general having agreed to the project, Marlborough ſet out for Maeſtricht to aſſemble his army. About the latter end of May, the troops paſſed the Maeſe, and continued their march towards the Moſelle, under the command of general Churchill, while the duke ſet out for Raſtadt, to viſit prince Lewis of Baden. At a conference held, according to appoinmtent, between theſe two great generals, it was reſolved that a ſufficient number of German troops ſhould be left for ſecuring Lauterberg and Stolhoffen, under the command of general Thungen, and that prince Lewis ſhould advance with a ſtrong detachment towards the Saar, to act in concert with the duke. As forage was very ſcarce in that part of the country, and it was therefore impoſſible for the allied army to ſubſiſt long between the rivers Moſelle and Saar, Marlborough ſent repeated remonſtances to quicken the march of the imperialiſts, but neither his remonſtances, nor thoſe of the deputies of the ſtate had any effect. Prince Lewis, inſtead of joining the duke in perſon, repaired to Swalbach, leaving the command of the Imperial troops to the count de Frize.

Whilſt the duke was in this ſtate of ſuſpenſe and diſappointment, the French did not fail to puſh their ſuperiority in the Netherlands. They inveſted Huy, and took it with the caſtle and forts, on the eleventh of June, making the garriſon priſoners of war, and immediately afterwards undertook the reduction of the citadel of Liege. The ſtates general having informed the duke of Marlborough of theſe diſaſters, and repreſented to him the neceſſity of making a powerful diverſion on the Moſelle, or of returning immediately to the defence of their frontiers, he reſolved to abandon his deſign on the river, and return to the Netherlands. Having marched with great expedition, he arrived time enough to ſave the citadel of Liege; and the French, upon advice of his approach, retired to Namur. On the ſixth of July, the allies inveſted Huy, and in a few days the garriſon was obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. The confederate troops paſſed the French lines with very little oppoſition, but were afterwards attacked by a formidable party of Bavarian cavalry. This occaſioned a ſharp action, but they were ſoon defeated and put to flight, leaving their ſtandards and artillery behind them. Two lieutenant generals were taken priſoners, together with one major general, and ſeventy-four inferior officers. Nothing farther of moment happened in Flanders during the campaign of this year. The duke put his army into winter quarters, and after concerting the operations of the next campaign with the Emperor and the ſtates general, embarked for England, and arrived at St. James's on the thirtieth of December.

No ſignal event was produced by the campaigne on the Rhine. The Imperialiſts were commanded by prince Eugene, the French by the duke de Vendome. The former reduced Druſenheim, and Hagonau, and forced the enemy's lines at the place laſt mentioned. The duke de Feuillade, who commanded a ſeparate army near Turin, reduced Chivas, and inveſted Nice, which ſurrendered in the month of December after a vigorous defence.

The Portugueſe with their allies the Engliſh and Dutch, marched to the frontiers of Spain, and meeting no enemy in the field on that ſide, inveſted Alcantara in the province of Alentejo, which ſurrendered; and the garriſon, conſiſting of ſeven hundred Spaniards, were made priſoners. They afterwards laid ſiege to Abuquerque, which held out a week, and then capitulated on honourable terms. It was afterwards debated, whether they ſhould inveſt Bajadox; but that town being better fortified than either of the former, the deſign was laid aſide.

The marquis de la Minas, who commanded a ſeparate body of the Portugueſe in the province of Beyra, reduced the town of Salvaterra, plundered and burned Sarca, but was obliged to retire to Penamacos, on the appearance of the enemy; which concluded the campaign in that part of the country.

The moſt remarkable atchievements of this ſummer, was the reduction of Barcelona by the earl of Peterborough and Sir Cloudeſly Shovel, who, in the latter end of May, ſailed from St. Helen's with the Engliſh fleet, and on the twentieth of June landed at Liſbon, where they were reinforced by Sir John Leake, and the Dutch admiral Allemonde. On the twenty-ſecond they arrived in the bay of Barcelona, the troops were diſembarked to the eaſtward of the city, where they poſſeſſed themſelves of a ſtrong camp, and were well received by the country people. On the twenty-eighth, Charles (whom the emperor had lately declared king of Spain) landed amidſt the acclamations of an infinite multitude from the neighbouring towns and villages, who welcomed him with the utmoſt tranſport, crying out, "long live the king."

Though the garriſon of Barcelona conſiſted of five thouſand men, commanded by expert and valiant officers, it was determined, after long debates in various councils of war, to proceed to the ſiege. But previous to the attempt, the prince of Heſſe propoſed to lord Peterborough a ſcheme for ſurprizing Montjuic, to effect which the neceſſary preparations were made. At ſix o'clock in the evening a detachment of one thouſand men was ordered to march by the way of Serria, and a thouſand more followed at midnight to ſupport them if there ſhould be occaſion. The outworks were carried by aſſault, with the loſs of the gallant prince of Heſſe, who was ſhot through the head, and expired in a few hours. The earl of Peterborough then began to bombard the body of the fort, and a ſhell happening to fall into the magazine of powder, blew it up, together with the governor and ſome of the principal officers; an accident which ſo alarmed the garriſon, that they ſurrendered without further reſiſtance.

The trenches being open, and the batteries erected againſt the town, it was bombarded with ſuch fury that in a few days the governor, deſpairing of relief capitulated, and on the fourth of October, king Charles entered in triumph. All the other places in Catalonia, except Roſeas, declared for him; ſo that the largeſt and richeſt province of Spain was conquered by an army ſcarce doubling in number the garriſon of Barcelona. Charles wrote with his own hand a letter to queen Anne, containing a circumſtantial detail of his affairs; the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude, and the greateſt encomiums of the earl of Peterborough and her other ſubjects.

After the capture of Barcelona, it was reſolved in a council of war, that a ſtrong naval force ſhould be ſtationed in the Mediterranean, and at Gibraltar under the command of Sir John Leake and Lord Peterborough. Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with nineteen ſhips of the line and part of the Dutch fleet, ſailed through the ſtreights, and arrived at Spithead. The Breſt fleet was ſo well obſerved by a ſquadron of the Engliſh, that the French did not think proper to venture out; but the Dunkirk Squadron, under the command of the count de St. Paul, took the homeward bound Baltic fleet, with their convoy of three ſhips of war.

On the twenty-fifth of October, the new parliament met, and the commons choſe Mr. Smith for their ſpeaker. Two days after, her majeſty made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which ſhe repreſented the neceſſity of acting with the utmoſt vigour againſt France, the common enemy of the liberties of Europe; informed them that ſhe had an intention to expedite an union with Scotland; recommended unanimity among themſelves, and aſſured them that thoſe who would concur with her in theſe laudable deſigns, might rely on her favour and protection. Both houſes, in conſequence of this ſpeech, preſented addreſſes in the warmeſt terms of duty and affection. The commons aſſured her majeſty of their aſſiſtance in bringing the treaty of union to a happy concluſion; after which, they proceeded to examine the eſtimates for the ſervices of the enſuing year, and chearfully granted ſuch ſupplies as were wanted.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, the duke of Marlborough received the thanks of the houſe of commons for his ſignal ſervices in the laſt campaign; the credit of that nobleman was, indeed, exceeding high at this juncture, as was public credit in general. The kingdom was bleſſed with plenty; the forces were well paid, notwithſtanding the great quantity of coin exported for the maintenance of the war; and the face of things wore a pleaſing aſpect.

A. D. 1706. The parliamentary buſineſs being concluded, her majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the 17th of March, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral public and private acts, made a ſpeech to both houſes, wherein ſhe expreſſed her acknowledgements for the unanimity and diſpatch with which they had conducted the public buſineſs, and the zeal and affection they had ſhewn for her ſervice, and then prorogued the parliament.

The commiſſioners appointed for forming a conſolidating union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland met at the cock-pit on the ſixteenth of April. Their commiſſions being opened and read by the reſpective ſecretaries, and introductory ſpeeches being pronounced by the lord keeper of England, and the lord chancellor of Scotland, they agreed to certain preliminary articles, importing, that all the propoſals ſhould be made in writing, and every point when agreed reduced into writing; that no points ſhould be obligatory, till all matters ſhould be adjuſted in ſuch a manner as would be proper to be laid before the queen and the two parliaments for their approbation; that a committee ſhould be appointed from each commiſſion, to reviſe the minutes which might paſs, before they ſhould be inſerted in the books by the reſpective ſecretaries; and that during the whole treaty, the moſt profound ſecrecy ſhould be obſerved with regard to their proceedings.

On the twenty-fourth of April the lord keeper of England propoſed, "That the two kingdoms of "England and Scotland ſhould be for ever united "into one nation by the name of GREAT BRITAIN; "that it ſhould be repreſented by one and the ſame "parliament, and that the ſucceſſion to this mo-"narchy, in failure of heirs of her majeſty's body, "ſhould be ſubject to the limitations mentioned in "an act paſſed in the late reign, entitled an act for "the further limitation of the crown, &c."

Theſe preliminaries were agreed to with this proviſo, "That all the ſubjects of the united "kingdom of Great Britain ſhould have full free-"dom and intercourſe of trade and navigation to "or from any part or place within the united "kingdom, and plantations thereunto belonging;

" and that there ſhould be a communication of all " other privileges and advantages, which do or " may belong to the ſubjects of either kingdom." To this the Engliſh commiſſioners conſented, under ſuch terms as might be found for their mutual advantage in the farther progreſs of the treaty.

Theſe general preliminaries being ſettled, the commiſſioners proceeded to particulars, and at length the following articles were agreed to and ratified, viz. That England and Scotland ſhould, from the firſt of May, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeven, be united into one kingdon by the name of Great Britain; that the ſucceſſion ſhould be veſted in the princeſs Sophia and her heirs; that all papiſts, or perſons that married papiſts, ſhould be for ever excluded from inheriting the crown; that the united kingdoms ſhould be repreſented by one parliament; that all ſubjects of Great Britain ſhould enjoy a communication of rights, and all advantages, and be under the ſame reſtrictions and regulations; that Scotland ſhould be exempted from the temporary duties on ſome commodities; that the ſum of three hundred, ninety-eight thouſand, and eighty-five pounds ten ſhillings ſhould be granted to the Scots as an equivalent for ſuch part of the cuſtoms and exciſe, charged upon that kingdom in conſequence of that union, as ſhould be applicable to the payment of the debts of England, according to the proportion which the cuſtoms and exciſe of Scotland bore to thoſe of England; that as the revenue of Scotland might encreaſe, a further equivalent ſhould be allowed for ſuch proportion of the ſaid increaſe, as ſhould be applicable to the payment of the debts of England; that the ſum to be paid at preſent, as well as the money ariſing from the future equivalents, ſhould be employed in reducing the coin of Scotland to the ſtandard and value of the Engliſh coin; in paying off the capital ſtock and intereſt due to the proprietors of the African company, which ſhould be immediately diſſolved; in diſcharging all the public debts of the kingdom of Scotland; and in promoting manufactures and fiſheries under the direction of commiſſioners appointed by her majeſty, and accountable to the parliament of Great Britain; that the laws concerning public right, policy and civil government, ſhould be the ſame thoughout the kingdom; but that no alteration ſhould be made in the laws concerning private property, except for evident utility of the ſubjects within Scotland; that the court of ſeſſion, and all courts of judicature in Scotland, ſhould remain as then conſtituted by the laws of that kingdom, with the ſame authority and privileges as they enjoyed before the union; ſubject, however, to ſuch regulations as ſhould be made by the parliament of Great Britain; that the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs of Scotland ſhould remain entire after the union; that Scotland ſhould be repreſented in the parliament of Great Britain by ſixteen peers, and forty-five commoners, to be elected in ſuch a manner as ſhould be ſettled by the preſent parliament of Scotland; that all the peers in Scotland, and the ſucceſſors to their honours and dignities, ſhould, from and after the union of the peers of Great Britain, have rank and precedency immediately after the Engliſh peers of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union; that they ſhould be tried as peers of Great Britain, and enjoy all the privileges of peers of England, and particularly the right and privileges of ſitting in the houſe of lords, and on the trials of peers; that the crown, ſcepter, and ſword of ſtate, the records of parliament, and all other records, rolls and regiſters whatſoever ſhould remain as they were; within that part of the united kingdom called Scotland; and that all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, ſo far as they might be inconſiſtent with theſe articles, or any of them, ſhould ceaſe and be declared void by the reſpective parliaments of the two kingdoms. Such was the ſubſtance of that famous treaty which was ſoon after concluded, and formally preſented to her majeſty by the duke of Queenſberry and Dover.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the French had formed a deſign to ſurprize the duke of Marlborough before the Danes and Pruſſians could join him; and accordingly, in the beginning of May, the duke of Bavaria and mareſchal Villars decamped from Tirlemont, and paſſing the Dyle, marched directly towards the confederate army. The duke, by early intelligence, perceiving their drift, diſpatched an expreſs to the Dutch troops to join him, who, by the twenty-ſecond of May, arrived within a league of his camp.

Early next morning the confederates marched towards the village of Ramillies, where the duke was ſurprized with the news, that the enemy were in march to give him battle. They had taken poſſeſſion of a ſtrong camp, their right extending to the Town of Hautemont on the ſide of the Mehaigne; their left to Anderkirk, and Ramillies in the center. The allied army was drawn up, with the right wing near the brook of Yauſe; and their left was poſted near the village of Franqueine.

The village of Ramillies was now attacked by a detachment of the allied army under the command of lieutenant general Schultz, who entered with great vigour and reſolution. The Dutch and Daniſh horſe of the left wing charged with great intrepidity, but were ſo warmly received by the enemy, that they began to fall into diſorder, when the duke ordered them to be ſupported with the body of reſerve, and twenty ſquadrons drawn from the right wing. Before the arrival of the reinforcement which the duke had ordered, the Dutch and Danes had returned to the charge, and the beſt part of the enemy's muſqueteers were cut to pieces. The French king's own regiment of foot begged for quarter, and delivered up their arms and colours to the victors.

They now gave way on all ſides; the horſe took three different routs, but were ſo cloſely purſued that very few eſcaped. The elector of Bavaria and mareſchal Villeroy ſaved themſelves with the utmoſt difficulty. The purſuit was followed till two in the morning, five leagues from the field of battle, and within two of Louvain. In ſhort, the confederates obtained a compleat victory. They took moſt of the enemy's baggage and artillery, about one hundred and twenty colours or ſtandards, ſix hundred officers, ſix thouſand private ſoldiers, and about eight thouſand were killed or wounded. The loſs of the allies did not exceed three thouſand men, including prince Lewis of Heſſe, and colonel Bentinck, who loſt their lives in the engagement.

The battle of Ramillies was immediately followed with the conqueſt of all Brabant, and the principal cities of the Netherlands, which ſubmitted without reſiſtance. This ſo irritated Lewis, that he ſent immediate orders to the duke de la Feuillade to inveſt the city of Turin; but the ſiege, being ill directed, went on ſlowly. The duke of Savoy left the town and joined prince Eugene; they forced the French lines, diſperſed the army commanded by the duke of Orleans, took the proviſions and baggage, and remained

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The ACT *of* UNION *presented to* QUEEN ANNE
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mained maſters of Piedmont, and ſoon after of the reſt of Italy. Barcelona was beſieged with as little ſucceſs. The mareſchal de Teſſé raiſed the ſiege, leaving a rich booty to the enemy. The earl of Galway took ſeveral Spaniſh towns, penetrated even to Madrid, and proclaimed king Charles, whilſt Philip V. humbled by his misfortunes, had ſcarce a feeble hope remaining.

Lewis XIV. was now under a neceſſity of having recourſe to the moſt humiliating meaſures. He employed the elector of Bavaria to write letters in his name to the duke of Marlborough and the deputies of the ſtates general, containing propoſals for opening a congreſs. But the powers that formed the confederacy were fired by the ambition of making conqueſts, and England was deſirous of being indemnified for the immenſe ſums ſhe had expended. The offers of France were therefore rejected, and the allies determined to exert themſelves with redoubled vigour.

On the ſecond of December the parliament met, and her majeſty in her ſpeech mentioned the glorious ſucceſs of her arms abroad, and recommended to the commons to grant the ſupplies neceſſary for proſecuting the war with vigour, in order to obtain an honourable peace. She acquainted them with the progreſs made in the union, and adviſed the completion of that deſirable undertaking. The commons granted the ſupplies, and expreſſed every token of loyalty and affection to the queen.

The Scottiſh parliament having paſſed an act to preſcribe the method for chuſing the repreſentatives for that kingdom, in the firſt parliament of Great Britain, and paſſed ſeveral other bills, the lord commiſſioner made a ſpeech, and adjourned them to the twenty-ſecond day of April.

An addreſs was preſented to her majeſty by the houſe of lords on the ſeventh of December, requeſting that the honours and titles of the duke of Marlborough ſhould be ſettled upon his poſterity by act of parliament; and they prayed her majeſty's direction therein, to which ſhe was graciouſly pleaſed ſoon after to ſignify her royal aſſent; and a bill being brought in accordingly, paſſed both houſes.

The houſe of commons, ſoon after, addreſſed the queen, intimating, that as ſhe was pleaſed to erect the houſe of Blenheim as a monument of the glorious actions of the duke of Marlborough, their willingneſs to make proviſion for the more honourable ſupport of his dignity to his poſterity, in ſuch a manner as her majeſty ſhould think fit. The queen declared that, having ſettled an annual penſion of five thouſand pounds, out of the revenue of the Poſt Office, on the duke of Marlborough, it would be agreeable to her, if that might be continued to his poſterity for ever. Accordingly an act for that purpoſe was immediately paſſed.

A. D. 1707. On the twentieth of January her majeſty came to the houſe of lords, and after paſſing ſeveral public and private acts, acquainted them that the union being perfected by the parliament of Scotland, ſhe had ordered the ſame to be laid before them for their concurrence in it. She alſo intimated, that Scotland being to have an equivalent for what that kingdom was obliged to contribute towards the debts of England, it was neceſſary to provide for the payment thereof. In the houſe of lords, previous to the entering upon the conſideration of the union, a bill was ordered to be brought in for the ſecurity of the church of England; an act for ſecuring preſbytery in Scotland having paſſed there before the articles of the union. The purport was, that the act of uniformity ſhould be in force for ever; that every king or queen hereafter, at their coronation, ſhould take an oath to preſerve the ſettlement of the church, and the diſcipline thereof; and that this act ſhould be held a fundamental and eſſential part of the union. This act being paſſed, the union was taken into general conſideration, and after long and warm debates the bill for confirming the articles was carried, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

The campaign in the Netherlands was barren of events. The time was ſpent in marches and countermarches, till the reſpective armies retired into winter quarters. The ſiege of Toulon was ſo much the object of the attention of the allies, that other matters were greatly neglected. Towards the latter end of June, the duke of Savoy and prince Eugene began their march thither, with an army of between forty and fifty thouſand men; Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with the combined fleet, and tranſports, having taken on board their heavy cannon, with the proviſions and ammunition neceſſary to carry on the ſiege.

On the arrival of the confederate army before the place, prince Eugene reconnoitred the diſpoſition of the enemy, and perceiving he muſt fight an army intrenched in the outworks, on the heights that ſurrounded the place, and which were furniſhed with great number of guns, was for retreating. The duke of Savoy was, however, determined to purſue the enterprize, and accordingly, the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made for attacking the hill of St. Catherine, which the enemy had fortified; and in this firſt attempt the allies were ſucceſsful. They alſo attacked and carried two ſmall forts near the harbour, but the enemy, whoſe forces were increaſed, attacked their camp, and recovered the hill of St. Catherine.

The impoſſibility of taking Toulon at length appearing to the duke of Savoy, who received intelligence that the enemy had ſixty battalions in their entrenchments, beſides a numerous cavalry, he agreed to deſiſt from the enterprize. However, by way of retaliation for the ruin of his capital city of Turin, he gave directions for the bombarding of Toulon both by ſea and land; and both himſelf and prince Eugene advanced to an eminence to behold the dreadful blaze.

In the mean time Sir Cloudeſley Shovel, with fifteen men of war, ſailed for England, and on the twenty-firſt of October his own ſhip, the Aſſociation, ſtruck upon the rocks of Scilly, wherein himſelf and every creature on board periſhed. The like was the unhappy fate of the Eagle and Romney. The Firebrand was daſhed in pieces on the rocks, but the captain and twenty-four of his men ſaved themſelves in the boat; the Phœnix ran aground, but the crew luckily ſaved themſelves. The reſt of the fleet by tacking with greater expedition ſaved themſelves. The body of the admiral was afterwards found by ſome of the country people, who having ſtript it, buried it in the ſands, but being diſcovered, was taken up, and interred in Weſtminſter-abbey, where her majeſty cauſed a monument to be erected to his memory.

The firſt parliament of Great Britain meeting on the twenty-third of October, the queen, in a ſpeech to both houſes, mentioned the tranſactions in Provence and Spain, repreſenting the neceſſity of making further efforts againſt the common enemy; and exhorted them to be upon their guard againſt thoſe who endeavoured to ſow jealouſies in the commonwealth. The commons, in their addreſs, expreſſed

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the continuance of their former zeal and devotion towards her majeſty's goverment, but in the houſe of lords, the earl of Wharton expatiated upon the ſcarcity of money, the decay of trade, and the miſmanagement of the navy. He was ſeconded by the lord Somers, and the leaders of all the oppoſite party, who propoſed to conſider the ſtate of the nation, before they proceeded to any other buſineſs.

The deſign of this motion was to place the earl of Oxford once more at the head of the admiralty, and thereby ſubſerve the deſign of a party. A day being fixed for this examination, the houſe received a petition from the ſheriffs and merchants of London, complaining of great loſſes by ſea, for want of cruizers and convoys, and theſe complaints were proved by witneſſes. An addreſs was then moved for, in which the miſcarriages at ſea were alledged to the miniſtry and council, but the motion was overruled. The commons made ſome progreſs in an enquiry of the ſame nature, brought in a bill for the better ſecuring the trade of the kingdom, and at the ſame time chearfully granted the ſupplies for the ſervice of the enſuing year. They alſo reſolved, that there ſhould be but one privy council in the kingdom of Great Britain; that the militia in Scotland ſhould be put on the ſame footing with that of England; that the powers of the juſtices of peace ſhould be the ſame through the whole iſland; that the lords juſticiary in Scotland ſhould go circuits twice a year, and that the writs for electing Scottiſh members to ſerve in the houſe of commons ſhould be directed, and returns made, in the ſame manner as practiſed in England. Her majeſty recommended an increaſe in the aids granted to Charles king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, at the time ſhe paſſed theſe bills.

A. D. 1708. Lewis, meditating revenge for the invaſion of his dominions, and beſieging a place of ſuch importance to him as Toulon, determined to retaliate the injury. He was invited to it by the evident diſcontent of the Scottiſh nation, occaſioned by the union, where many, in the vehemence of their miſguided zeal, gave oblique hints, that the pretended prince of Wales would be no unwelcome gueſt. The French, therefore, propoſed to fix the ſeat of war in Great Britain, by affording their aſſiſtance to the chevalier de St. George.

To execute this project, a fleet of men or war and tranſports were expeditiouſly fitted out at Dunkirk, and ten thouſand land forces, with many officers, and a great quantity of proviſion and ammunition were put on board. Major general Cadogan, her majeſty's envoy in Holland, ſoon gave notice of theſe preparations; and then went to Bruſſels, and concerted matters in ſuch a manner with monſieur d'Auverquerque, that ten battalions of the Engliſh forces in Flanders were immediately drawn to the coaſt ready to be ſhipped. At the ſame time the admiralty of England uſed ſuch diſpatch in equipping a fleet, that three and twenty ſail of men of war, under the command of Sir George Byng and the lord Durſley, appeared before Dunkirk on the twenty-ſeventh day of February, when the enemy vainly hoped, that the Engliſh had no fleet abroad. The pretender arrived at Dunkirk on the ninth of March, but the ſight of the Engliſh fleet induced the French admiral, monſieur Fourbin, to write back to court for freſh inſtructions.

Lewis ſent peremptory orders to his admiral to come out, ſo that he obeyed and ſailed from Dunkirk at a time that adverſe gales had driven the Engliſh from their ſtation. The fleet was now encreaſed to the number of forty ſail of the line, beſides frigates and tenders. Sir George Byng, having received advice, that the French had left Dunkirk, ſailed immediately in purſuit of them, at the ſame time the forces were ſhipped off at Oſtend, and admiral Baker convoyed them over; theſe forces, together with ſeveral regiments of horſe, marched for Scotland with all expedition. But theſe precautions were rendered uſeleſs by the vigilance of Sir George Byng, who arrived at the Frith of Edinburgh almoſt as ſoon as the enemy, whereupon they took the advantage of a land breeze, and bore away with all the ſail they could crowd.

Next morning at break of day the combined fleets gave chace, but were outſailed, ſo that except the Saliſbury, a man of war formerly taken from the Engliſh, all eſcaped. The French ſhips loitered about ſome time with intent to land at Inverneſs, but having no pilots, and the wind not permitting a frigate, which they had ſent for ſome proviſions, to get aſhore, they ſtood off, and by diſperſing themſelves in that wide ſea and hazy weather, made ſhift to get back to Dunkirk in a moſt ſhattered condition. There were taken priſoners on board the Saliſbury, the lords Griffin and Clermont, and Mr. Middleton, a lieutenant general, his aid de camp, a colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, five captains, two lieutenants, and two hundred and fifty ſeamen, together with all the officers of the ſhip. Thus ended this expedition, in which Lewis reaped only the merit of having formed a daring, though unſucceſsful enterprize.

The parliament was diſſolved by proclamation on the fifteenth of April, ſoon after which, writs were iſſued for calling a new one; at the ſame time a proclamation was publiſhed, commanding all the peers of North Britain, to meet on the ſeventeenth day of June at Holyrood houſe, in Edinburgh, in order to elect ſixteen peers to repreſent them in the enſuing Britiſh parliament, purſuant to a clauſe in the treaty of union.

Prince Eugene and the duke of Marlborough, having agreed to act in conjunction in the Low Countries, during this campaign, took the field about the middle of May. They then marched to the general rendezvous, and having left no other troops at Ghent, and Bruges, than the country militia, thoſe places, on the appearance of a detachment of French troops, ſurrendered without oppoſition. The enemy advanced as far as Dutch Flanders, and laid the whole country under contribution. The dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and the chevalier de St. George, who this year took the field with the duke of Vendome, looked upon themſelves ſo much ſuperior to the confederates, that they reſolved upon the ſiege of Oudenarde, and accordingly inveſted that place on the ninth day of July.

The duke of Marlborough was inſtantly in motion, and marched with all expedition to the relief of Oudenarde. At his approach the French raiſed the ſiege, and began to croſs the Scheld at Gavre, where the duke of Marlborough, and prince Eugene paſſed alſo, reſolving to give them battle, though the number of the enemy greatly exceeded that of the allies. Accordingly, about three in the afternoon the battle began, but could not be deemed a general engagement till ſeven in the evening, when the action became very furious and doubtful on both ſides; for the French being continually reinforced, maintained the fight with great vigour

vigour and reſolution for ſome time; at length they were totally defeated, by the ſuperior conduct and courage of Eugene and Marlborough.

The French retreated towards Ghent in the night, having loſt above three thouſand men on the field of battle, together with ſeven hundred officers, ſeven pieces of cannon, and upwards of one hundred ſtandards and colours, while, on the other hand, the loſs of the confederates did not exceed eight hundred and twenty-four killed, and two thouſand two hundred wounded.

Farther to demonſtrate their ſuperiority, the allies determined to lay ſiege to Liſle. There was in the town, which was then one of the moſt finiſhed fortifications in Europe, a garriſon of at leaſt twenty-one battalions, commanded by mareſchal Boufflers, but this did not deter Eugene from undertaking the ſiege.

The prince of Orange attacked it on one ſide, while prince Eugene did the ſame on the other, and the duke of Marlborough covered the ſiege with the reſt of the army. On the twenty-ſecond the trenches were opened, and the dukes of Burgundy and Vendome, having joined the duke of Berwick, marched towards the duke of Marlborough, and for ſeveral days cannonaded his camp, whereupon prince Eugene joined him with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot from the ſiege; but the allies finding the deſign of the French was only to retard the ſiege, the duke of Marlborough intrenched himſelf, and prince Eugene returned to Liſle, where the bravery of the French made the ſiege go on very heavily.

In ſtorming the outworks, on the twenty-firſt of September, the allies ſuſtained conſiderable loſs, and prince Eugene was wounded by a muſquet ball, which grazed upon his ſkull, and confined him to his tent for ſome days, during which the duke of Marlborough had the command both of the ſiege and of the covering army. As ſoon as the prince was recovered of his wound he viſited the trenches and continued his operations with his uſual vigour. The governor omitted nothing that could be expected from a brave and experienced officer, but the allies, after a moſt bloody and obſtinate engagement, made themſelves maſters of the covered way, and prince Eugene cauſed a battery of fifty pieces of cannon to be raiſed thereon, which played with ſuch fury upon the curtain, that in leſs than the ſpace of twelve hours a breach was made full ſufficient for an aſſault. But juſt as every neceſſary diſpoſition was made for beginning an aſſault, mareſchal Boufflers demanded a capitulation for the town. A mutual exchange of hoſtages was made, and prince Eugene, in conſideration of the gallant defence of the French general, left him to propoſe his own terms, promiſing that, if conſiſtent with his honour, they ſhould be literally complied with. On the 25th of October the prince entered the town in triumph, and the French garriſon retired into the caſtle, which ſtill continued to make a vigorous defence. While the allies lay before this place, the duke of Bavaria made an attempt to reduce Bruſſels, which probably he would have effected, had not the army, under the duke of Marlborough, marched to its relief.

At length, however, after a moſt noble reſiſtance the citadel capitulated on the eighth of December, and on the tenth the mareſchal Boufflers marched out with the garriſon, with the uſual honours of war, and was conducted to Douay.

Ghent, Bruges, and many other places opened their gates to the allies. The duke of Savoy was maſter of the paſſes towards Dauphine; the emperor Joſeph, brother to the archduke Charles, held Landau, one of the keys of France. Paris trembled, and the whole kingdom was filled with conſternation.

The emperor had deprived Philip the Spaniſh monarch of Naples and Lombardy. The Engliſh took from him Sardinia for the emperor, and the iſland of Minorca for themſelves. In a word, the allies carried every thing before them.

Commodore Wager, this ſummer, had the good fortune to take a Spaniſh galleon of immenſe value, and would have extended his ſucceſſes, had he not been deſerted by two of his captains, who, in conſequence thereof, were brought to condign puniſhment.

The queen had the unhappineſs to loſe the prince of Denmark her huſband: he was a man of the moſt amiable diſpoſition, without ambition, and contented himſelf with being the firſt ſubject without interfering in affairs of ſtate; though, by his office of high admiral, he might have aſſumed a great ſhare in the political department. He was much eſteemed in life and lamented in death. Her majeſty, in particular, was inconſolable for his loſs, the moſt uninterrupted conjugal affection having ſubſiſted between them.

Several changes were now made in the principal departments of ſtate, and ſuch was the power of faction, as to have a very ſingular influence on the conduct of the queen. Sir Richard Onſlow was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons at the meeting of parliament on the ſixteenth of November. Her majeſty being abſent on account of the late demiſe of her conſort, commiſſioners were appointed to repreſent her royal perſon, in whoſe name the lord chancellor made a ſpeech, in which he recommended a large ſupply for the army in Flanders, and another for the fleet; the proviſion of ſuch laws as might be neceſſary to make the union more perfect, and an improvement of the commerce of the nation.

Both houſes having preſented addreſſes of congratulation for the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms, and condolence for the death of the prince of Denmark, the commons proceeded to examine the different branches of the ſupply, and voted an augmentation of ten thouſand men as neceſſary to carry on the war with vigour. There paſſed this ſeſſion, an act for naturalizing all foreigners, being proteſtants; and another to aſcertain the privilege of ambaſſadors. In this parliament, the eldeſt ſons of the peers of Scotland were voted incapable of ſitting in the houſe of commons.

After ſeveral enquiries and debates relative to the intended invaſion of Scotland, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords under the title of "An act for improving the union of the two "kingdoms." It referred to trials for treaſon committed in Scotland, which, by this law, were regulated according to the manner of proceeding in England, with very little variation. Notwithſtanding all the efforts of many Scottiſh members, abetted by ſeveral of the Engliſh, the bill paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. The queen, however, in order to make them eaſy, conſented to an act of grace, wherein all treaſons were pardoned, except ſuch as were committed on the high ſeas, an exception levelled at thoſe who had embarked with the pretender in his laſt expedition.

A. D. 1709. Lewis, having ſignified a diſpo-

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ſition for holding a treaty with the allies on the ſubject of a general peace, the lords reſolved to addreſs her majeſty, deſiring her to take care that the French king ſhould be obliged to own her majeſty's title, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; that her allies be guarantees of the treaty, and that the pretender be removed out of the French dominions. This addreſs being ſent to the commons for their concurrence, they added to it a clauſe, inſiſting on the demolition of Dunkirk.

The duke of Holſtein's envoy, Mr. Petkum, aſſiſted to advance the negotiation, and by his means the allies were prevailed upon to permit the preſident de Rouille to come into the Netherlands, in order to carry on the negotiation on the part of France. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year, that miniſter had ſeveral private conferences with Buys and Vanderhuſſen: the ſtates ſent immediate advice to the emperor and the queen of Great Britain, who diſpatched Eugene and Marlborough to Holland to carry on the conferences on her part.

The demands of the confederates were communicated to the court of France by monſieur de Rouille, and the duke of Marlborough returned to England, to inform the queen of the progreſs made in the negotiation, and to receive her further commands. The duke ſoon after repaired to Holland, with the lord Townſhend, as joint plenipotentiary; and prince Eugene being likewiſe at the Hague, the conferences immediately commenced.

Lewis, whoſe reſources were inferior to thoſe of his enemies, offered to demoliſh Dunkirk, to abandon the pretender, to renounce all pretenſion to the Spaniſh monarchy, to cede to the States-general the barrier they demanded in the Low Countries, and to negotiate with the emperor on the terms of the treaty of Ryſwick. The miniſters of the allies, elated by ſucceſs, made ſuch enormous demands, that the French king, refuſing compliance, the conference ended, Rouille was ordered to quit Holland immediately, and the confederates reſolved to open the campaign without heſitation.

Accordingly, the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene proceeded to Flanders, and by the end of June the allied army encamped in the plain of Liſle, to the number of one hundred and ten thouſand fighting men. At the ſame time the mareſchal Villars (accounted one of the moſt fortunate generals in France) aſſembled the French forces on the plain of Lens, where he began to throw up intrenchments. The confederate generals, having obſerved his ſituation, and finding they could not attack him without incurring great danger, reſolved to inveſt Tournay, the garriſon of which Villars had imprudently weakened. To conceal their deſign, they made a motion towards Ypres, and while the attention of the enemy was wholly diverted to that quarter, they ſuddenly laid ſiege to Tournay. The town itſelf was eaſily taken, but the citadel was ſo ſtrong by nature and art, that, with only a weak garriſon, the ſiege was ſuſtained for a whole month, by the courage and good conduct of the governor monſieur de Surville.

The confederates proceeding by the method of ſap, their miners frequently met with thoſe of the enemy under ground, and fought with bayonet and piſtol. The volunteers on both ſides preſented themſelves to theſe ſubterraneous combats, in the midſt of mines and countermines big with ruin and deſtruction. Sometimes they fell in by accident, and ſometimes ſprung by deſign, ſo that great numbers of theſe brave men were ſtifled below, and by a ſingle exploſion, upwards of four hundred of the beſiegers met with death.

At length the enemy offering to capitulate, articles were drawn up and tranſmitted to Verſailles; but Lewis refuſing to ratify them, hoſtilities were renewed, with uncommon ardor and animoſity, till the proviſions in the citadel being entirely exhauſted, Surville and his garriſon ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war.

Tournay being thus reduced, the allies determined to inveſt the city of Mons, and for that purpoſe paſſed the Scheld. The prince of Heſſe was detached to attack the French lines from the Haiſne to the Sambre, which were abandoned at his approach. In the mean time the mareſchal de Boufflers arrived in the French camp at Quievrain, and the duke of Marlborough receiving advice that the enemy had detached a large part of their army to attack the advanced body commanded by the prince of Heſſe, left his camp at Havre, and made a motion to the left to ſupport the prince.

On the 9th of September the reſpective armies approached ſo near, that they cannonaded each other. The French army, amounting to one hundred and twenty thouſand men, were poſted behind the woods of La Merte and Franciere in the neighbourhood of Malplaquet. The confederates, nearly of the ſame number, encamped with the right towards Sart and Bleron, and the left on the edge of Lagniere, the head quarters being at Blaregnies. The enemy, deſirous of avoiding an engagement, fortified their camp with tripple intrenchments; ſo that being of itſelf naturally ſtrong, it then ſeemed quite inacceſſible.

On the 11th of September the allies began the attack with the utmoſt fury, and charged the left wing of the enemy with ſuch intrepidity that in leſs than an hour they were driven from their intrenchments into the woods of Sart and Teniers. The prince of Orange attacked the right wing of the enemy advantageouſly poſted and covered with three entrenchments. Both ſides diſplayed the moſt conſummate valour, till the French ſeeing their lines forced, and Villars their gallant general dangerouſly wounded, they retreated in good order under the conduct of Boufflers, leaving to the enemy the field of battle ſtrewed with the carcaſes of the ſlain. The confederates loſt twenty thouſand of their beſt troops, which was but ill repaired by their taking ſixteen pieces of artillery, forty colours and ſtandards, and a great number of priſoners. Prince Eugene was ſlightly wounded in the head, and lieutenant-general Webb received a ſhot in the groin. The prince of Orange had two horſes ſhot under him, but eſcaped unhurt, as did likewiſe the duke of Argyle.

The enemy having thus retreated from the vicinity of Mons, the allies beſieged that city, which capitulated on the twenty-ſixth of October, when both armies retired into winter quarters.

One action only marked the campaign on the Rhine. This was between detached parties of the French and Germans, in which the latter were defeated and afterwards obliged to repaſs the river.

Lewis again made ſome ambiguous overtures of peace. He withdrew his troops from Spain under pretence of obliging the allies, but in reality for the defence of his own dominions. His miniſter Torcy demanded paſſports, that the plenipotentiaries might repair to Holland, but the ſtates

neral refuſed his requeſt. They, however, permitted Mr. Petkum, the Holſtein reſident at the Hague, to repair to Verſailles, from whence he brought back a kind of memorial, importing, that the French king would willingly treat of a general and reaſonable peace, but refuſed to confine himſelf to the form of the preliminaries impoſed by the allies; but this being admitted as an additional inſtance of his fallacy, the ſtates determined on a proſecution of the war.

On the 15th of November the parliament of Great Britain aſſembled, when the queen addreſſed both houſes in a ſpeech, in which ſhe told them that the enemy had endeavoured, by falſe appearances and deceitful inſinuations, to create jealouſies and diviſions among the allies; that the Almighty had been pleaſed to crown the arms of the confederates with remarkable ſucceſs; and that France was, therefore, in more need of peace than in the beginning of the campaign. She declared herſelf obliged to aſſiſt her allies in all parts, and proſecute the advantages reſulting from victory with the utmoſt vigour, in order to finiſh the great work of reducing that exorbitant and oppreſſive power, which had ſo long threatened the liberties of Europe. This ſpeech had the deſired ſucceſs; both houſes preſented congratulatory addreſſes, thanked the duke of Marlborough for his ſignal ſervices, and ſix millions for the ſervice of the enſuing year were granted by the commons.

A very extraordinary affair now revived the animoſity of the two contending parties which divided the nation. On the 13th of December a complaint was laid before the houſe of commons by Mr. Dolben againſt Dr. Henry Sacheverel, for having publiſhed two diſcourſes containing dangerous and unconſtitutional tenets. This eccleſiaſtic was a man of narrow and confined ideas, but poſſeſſing the moſt obſtinate bigotry, took every opportunity of exclaiming againſt the diſſenters.

The complaint being ſeconded by Sir Peter King, and the diſcourſes voted malicious, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libels, on the 14th of December, the Doctor was brought to the bar, where he acknowledged himſelf the author of both the ſermons, and declared, that he had received encouragement from the lord mayor, to print that intitled, "The perils of falſe brethren." The lord mayor, who was a member of the houſe, denied that he had ever given ſuch encouragement; upon which the commons ordered Mr. Dolben to impeach the doctor at the bar of the houſe of lords, in the name of all the commons of England, appointed a committee to draw up articles againſt him, and commanded the uſher of the black rod to take him into cuſtody. On the ſeventeenth, he petitioned the houſe that he might be admitted to bail; but the commons, determined to proceed againſt him with the utmoſt rigour, denied his requeſt.

A. D. 1710. This extraordinary trial engroſſed the public attention, and for ſome time ſuſpended all other buſineſs. At laſt, after much virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of ſeventeen voices, prohibited from preaching for the ſpace of three years, and his two ſermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in preſence of the lord mayor and the two ſheriffs of London.

During theſe tranſactions, Lewis had again recourſe to negotiation, and offered to treat upon the plan propoſed by the allies. But this application proved as ineffectual as the former.

To revive their operations with the campaign on the 15th of April Eugene and Marlborough ſet out from the Hague for Tournay, in order to aſſemble the forces which were quartered on the Maeſe, in Flanders, and Brabant. They immediately advanced to Pont-a-Vendin, in order to attack the lines thrown up by the French to cover Douay, and other frontier towns. On their approach, the troops left for the defence of the lines retired, and the allies, having thrown bridges over the Scarpe, the duke of Marlborough with his diviſion paſſed that river, and encamped at Vitri, while prince Eugene inveſted Douay. Mareſchal Villars, having aſſembled all his forces, croſſed the Schelde, and encamped at Bouchain in order to give battle to the confederates; but after viewing their ſituation, thought proper to retreat to the heights of St. Laurence, where he encamped.

On the 26th of June the town of Douay capitulated, as did that of Bethune ſhortly after, which cloſing the campaign, both armies retired to winter quarters.

The campaign on the Rhine was entirely inactive, nor was any thing of moment tranſacted in Piedmont.

The ſpirit of faction now revived with the moſt virulent malignity. A popular ſpirit of averſion to thoſe who favoured the diſſenters had been excited by Sacheverel's trial, and the queen herſelf began to ſhew her diſlike of that party by mortifying the duke of Marlborough, in the diſmiſſion of his relatives and friends from the great offices of ſtate, and the introduction of men of oppoſite principles into their places.

Such ſudden changes ſpread an univerſal alarm among the friends of liberty. The directors of the bank repreſented to the queen the prejudice that would inevitably reſult to public credit from theſe alterations. The emperor and the ſtates-general interpoſed their good offices, and their miniſters at London preſented memorials, explaining the injury that would incur to the common cauſe from the late procedures.

The projected changes, however, began to take place in the month of Auguſt. The earl of Godolphin, a miniſter of equal ability and integrity, was deprived of his office, and the treaſury put into commiſſion under the direction of Mr. Harley, appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and under treaſurer. In ſhort, ſo univerſal a change was made in adminiſtration, that not one of the former party was left in any office of ſtate, except the duke of Marlborough, who would have reſigned his command, had not his particular friends repreſented to him, that ſuch a ſtep could not fail of being prejudicial to the intereſt of his country. The preſent parliament was alſo diſſolved, and ſuch precautions taken as ſufficiently influenced the electors in favour of the other party.

The new parliament met on the 25th of November, when Mr. Bromley was choſen ſpeaker. The queen, in her ſpeech from the throne, recommended the proſecution of the war with vigour, eſpecially in Spain; ſhe declared her reſolution of ſupporting the church of England, and preſerving the Britiſh conſtitution according to the union; and declared that only ſuch perſons as appeared firmly attached to the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover ſhould be employed in the ſervice of government.

The lords preſented an addreſs, importing, that they would concur in all reaſonable meaſures for procuring an honourable peace. The addreſs of the

the commons diſcovered the ſpirit by which they were actuated; they exhorted her majeſty to diſcountenance all ſuch principles and meaſures as thoſe by which her crown and dignity had been lately endangered.

On the duke of Marlborough's arrival in London her majeſty gave him to underſtand that he muſt not expect the thanks of the parliament as formerly; and added, that ſhe hoped there would be a perfect agreement between him and her miniſters. The duke, with a moderation truly meritorious, expreſſed no reſentment at the alterations which had been made, being reſolved to continue at the head of the army for the good of the public.

A. D. 711. The queen having in a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, intimated the loſs which the Engliſh in particular ſuſtained from an action that had happened in Spain, this opportunity was embraced by the commons for inveighing againſt the late adminiſtration. Animoſity excited them even to the violation of common decency. Marlborough, ſo often extolled by the people, and thanked by their repreſentatives, met with the vileſt treatment, and now became the object of popular contempt and parliamentary cenſure.

Harley, the favourite miniſter, who had been principally acceſſary in ſupplanting the late adminiſtration, loſt his influence with the preſent, becauſe he had too much moderation to adopt their violent meaſures. But a tragical event reſtored at once his favour and reputation. One Guiſcard, a French partizan in the ſervice of England, not thinking himſelf ſufficiently rewarded, reſolved to treat with the court of Verſailles. His letter being intercepted, he was arreſted, and conveyed to the council board for examination. Tranſported with fury, he deſired a private audience of Mr. Secretary St. John, which being refuſed, as St. John was out of his reach, he ſtept up to Harley, crying "Have at thee," then ſtabbed him twice with a pen-knife, and afterwards received himſelf ſeveral wounds which proved mortal. The injurious ſuſpicions entertained of this miniſter vaniſhed, when an enemy to the ſtate had made an attempt on his perſon.

The two houſes in an addreſs to the queen declared it as their opinion, that Mr. Harley's fidelity to her majeſty had drawn upon him the hatred of all the abettors of popery and faction. A proclamation was publiſhed in conſequence of this addreſs, directing the laws to be ſtrictly put in execution againſt papiſts, and Harley was appointed lord treaſurer, and created earl of Oxford. He formed a new trading company to the South ſea, which was to pay the debts of the navy by a fund aſſigned to that uſe; in conſequence of this plan the Engliſh flattered themſelves with obtaining permiſſion to trade to Peru in the Weſt-Indies.

The emperor Joſeph dying without male iſſue, king Charles's immediate aim was to ſucceed his brother on the Imperial throne, and accordingly he was, ſome months afterwards, duly elected.

On the eighteenth of February the duke of Marlborough ſet out for Holland, her majeſty having aſſured him that the payment of the troops ſhould be duly remitted. About the middle of April he aſſembled an army at Orchies, between Liſle and Douay; mareſchal Villars drew together the French forces in the neighbourhood of Cambray and Arras, and encamped behind the river Sanſet, in ſuch an advantageous poſt, that he could not be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs.

The duke hereupon paſſed the Scarpe, and pitched his camp between Douay and Bouchain, where he was joined by prince Eugene. This general, however, did not long continue in the Netherlands; for, hearing that detachments had been ſent from the army of Villars, and the neighbouring garriſons, to the Rhine, and that the elector of Bavaria intended to act in the empire, he marched with the imperial and palatine troops, in order to ſecure the German dominions.

Marlborough, repaſſing the Scarpe in the interim, encamped in the plains of Lens; and thence advanced towards Aire, as if he intended to attack the French lines in that quarter. Theſe lines extended along the Sanſet and the Scarpe from Bouchain to Arras, and thence along the upper Scarpe to Canche. They were ſo ſecured by redoubts and other works, that Villars deemed them impenetrable, and called them the *Ne plus ultra* of Marlborough. But his towering hopes were diſappointed. The Engliſh general, by a march which did equal honour to his diligence and ſkill, ſurprized Villars and forced his lines. He afterwards beſieged Bouchain, an attempt not leſs hazardous but which was attended with ſucceſs; for in twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garriſon were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war.

The duke of Argyle having been appointed ambaſſador extraordinary to Charles III. and commander in chief of her majeſty's forces in Spain, his grace landed on the twenty-ninth at Barcelona, where he found the Britiſh troops in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of ſubſiſtence. All their hopes of ſucceſs were fixed on the campaign in that kingdom, and indeed the army commanded by Vendome was in ſuch a wretched condition, that had Staremberg been properly ſupported by the allies, he might have reduced king Philip to the laſt extremity. The remittances were ſo long delayed, that Argyle was obliged to borrow money on his own credit before the Britiſh troops could take the field, and the campaign ended without any action of conſequence being performed.

In the mean time, prince Eugene at the head of the German forces, protected the electors at Frankfort from the deſigns of the enemy, and Charles was unanimouſly elected emperor.

Colonel Nicholſon, who had taken poſſeſſion of Nova Scotia, came now to England to ſubmit to the approbation of the miniſtry, a plan he had formed for the reduction of Quebec and Placentia in North America. A body of five thouſand men were embarked in tranſports, under the command of brigadier Hill, which being joined on their arrival at Boſton by two regiments of provincials, and about four thouſand irregular troops, it was propoſed that they ſhould march through Canada, while the ſhips ſailed up the river St. Lawrence. But through loſſes ſuſtained by a ſtorm, added to a ſcarcity of proviſions, the ſcheme was rendered abortive, and the whole armament returned to England.

The new miniſtry having been for ſome time diſpoſed for peace, a private meſſage was ſent by lord Jerſey to the court of France, intimating the queen's ſincere deſire of a treaty; and requeſting that Lewis would propoſe to the Dutch a renewal of the conferences. This intimation was highly agreeable to the French court, though they ſeemed averſe to renew conferences with the Dutch. Mr. Prior, well known in the literary world, was therefore ſent to Verſailles to ſignify the demands of the

Engliſh

Engliſh, receive the anſwer of the French king, and know whether Philip of Spain had tranſmitted to his grand-father a power of treating. When Prior arrived at Fountainbleau, he preſented the queen's memorial, in which ſhe demanded a barrier for the Dutch in the Netherlands, and another on the Rhine for the empire, a ſecurity for the Dutch commerce, and a general ſatisfaction to all her allies. She required, that the places taken from the duke of Savoy ſhould be reſtored, and that he ſhould poſſeſs ſuch towns and diſtricts in Italy as had been ceded to him in former treaties; that Lewis ſhould acknowledge queen Anne and the proteſtant ſucceſſion, demoliſh the fortifications of Dunkirk, and conclude a new treaty of commerce; that Gibraltar and Port Mahon ſhould be ceded to the crown of England; that the Britiſh ſubjects trading to Spain ſhould enjoy the advantages granted by that crown to the French; that queen Anne ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of Newfoundland, though the trade of Hudſon's bay might be carried on indifferently by the ſubjects of either crown, and that in America all things ſhould remain in the ſame ſituation in which they ſhould be found at the concluſion of the peace. Soon after, Meſnager, deputy of the council of trade in France, accompanied Mr. Prior to London, with full power to ſettle the preliminaries of the treaty, which were ſigned on the eighth of October, by the ſecretaries of ſtate and the French miniſter.

The emperor and ſtates general who reaped many advantages from the war, remonſtrated with queen Anne againſt theſe pacific meaſures. Her majeſty treated their repreſentations with indifference, and declared that if they did not immediately concur, all delay on their part would be regarded as a refuſal. Intimidated by this declaration, they agreed to open the general conferences at Utrecht on the firſt of January, granted paſſports to the French miniſters, and the biſhop of Briſtol and earl of Strafford were plenipotentiaries for the queen of England.

Her majeſty's, or rather the miniſtry's, reſolution of making peace was violently oppoſed by the members of the late adminiſtration, and all their partizans. A paper war was commenced of conſequence. Pamphlets, libels, and lampoons were to-day publiſhed by one faction, and to-morrow anſwered by another. They contained all the inſinuations of malice, all the malignity of reproach, and all the rancour of recrimination.

The oppoſition, however, did not cauſe the queen to alter her meaſures, for the parliament having aſſembled on the ſeventh of December, ſhe obſerved, in her ſpeech, that notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delighted in war, both the time and place were appointed for opening the treaty for a general peace; and that the ſtates general had now expreſſed their entire confidence in her conduct. She declared, her chief concern ſhould be to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown in the houſe of Hanover, to procure all the advantages to the nation of an improved commerce, which a tender and affectionate ſovereign could obtain for a dutiful and loyal people, and to procure all reaſonable ſatisfaction for her allies; and added, that the ſureſt way of procuring an advantageous treaty would be to make early preparations for a vigorous campaign.

When the queen retired, a motion was made in the houſe of lords for returning her majeſty thanks for her ſpeech, and the earl of Nottingham propoſed, that a clauſe ſhould be inſerted in the addreſs, "That no peace could be ſafe or honour-"able to Great Britain or Europe, if Spain or the "Weſt Indies were allotted to any branch of the "houſe of Bourbon." This motion occaſioned a violent debate, in the courſe of which the earl of Angleſea repreſented the neceſſity of eaſing the nation of the burthens incurred by an expenſive war. The duke of Marlborough, at whom this reflection ſeemed to be levelled, ſpoke in his own defence; he applied to the queen, who was then in the houſe incognito, whether he did not on all occaſions inform her and her council of all the propoſals offered by the enemy for a peace, and had not deſired inſtructions for his conduct on that ſubject? he declared upon his conſcience, that he was deſirous of a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace; and very far from entertaining any deſign of prolonging the war for his private emolument, as had been falſely inſinuated by his enemies. At laſt, the queſtion being repeated, which the earl of Nottingham propoſed, it was carried in the affirmative. The ſame clauſe was afterwards rejected by a very conſiderable majority in the houſe of commons.

In the mean time, the enemies of the duke of Marlborough left nothing untried to effect his ruin in the opinion of his royal miſtreſs. They cauſed a charge to be brought againſt him in parliament, by the commiſſioners for examining the public accounts, who reported that they had diſcovered that the duke had received an annual penſion of five or ſix thouſand pounds from a Jew contractor, for bread for the army. The queen, therefore, declared in council, that ſhe thought proper to diſmiſs him from all his employments, that the matter might be ſtrictly and impartially examined; and accordingly, on the thirty-firſt of December, her majeſty ſent his grace a letter written with her own hand, whereby ſhe required him to reſign all his employments.

Finding how ſtrongly the houſe of lords, (amongſt whom the duke of Marlborough had a powerful intereſt) oppoſed the meaſures for a peace, the miniſtry (determined at all events to procure a majority in that aſſembly) perſuaded the queen to venture on an expedient, which no Engliſh prince had ever before attempted. This was the creating of no leſs than twelve new peers; a proſtitution of honours, which reflects equal diſgrace on the queen who conferred them, and ſuch as received them; for, as thoſe who receive peerage for eminent ſervices performed to their country will be eſteemed and reſpected by every reaſonable, reflecting man; ſo, contempt will always attend thoſe, who accept of honours to ſerve the low purpoſe of a party.

A. D. 1712. Upon the diſgrace of the duke of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond was made commander in chief of her majeſty's forces; the duke of Northumberland was appointed captain of the ſecond troop of horſe guards; the earl of Rivers maſter of the ordinance, and the duke of Beaufort captain of the band of penſioners, in the room of the duke of St. Alban's: brigadier Hill was made lieutenant of the Tower, in the room of lieutenant general Cadogan; the duke of Somerſet was removed from his poſt of maſter of the horſe, and the counteſs of Sunderland, and the lady Rialton, two of the duke of Marlborough's daughters, reſigned their places of ladies of the queen's bed-chamber.

During theſe tranſactions, prince Eugene arrived in England with inſtructions from the emperor;

but as very little attention was paid by the miniſtry to the memorial with which the prince had been commiſſioned by his maſter, he returned to the continent highly diſguſted.

The parliament now voted the duke of Marlborough guilty of illegal and unwarrantable practices, and proceeded againſt him with a degree of rigour, which ſhould have been tempered at leaſt, by a due conſideration of the eminent ſervices he had rendered his country.

The commons proceeding to the examination of the public accounts, diſcovered, that Mr. Robert Walpole, a zealous partizan againſt the then adminiſtration, had, when ſecretary at war, been guilty of ſome clandeſtine practices with regard to the forage contract in Scotland. Mr. Walpole was therefore voted guilty of corruption, impriſoned in the Tower, and expelled the houſe. He was, however, re-choſen for the borough of Lynn Regis, which he had before repreſented; but the commons voted him incapable of ſerving in the then parliament.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the conferences for a peace were held at Utrecht: but as all the powers, except France, entertained ſentiments very different from thoſe of her Britannic majeſty, they ſeemed to retard rather than accelerate a pacification. Theſe difficulties had been foreſeen by the queen of England, whoſe principal aim was to free her ſubjects from the miſeries attending an unprofitable war, and reſtore to Europe the bleſſings of peace. The miniſtry, perſuaded they could expect nothing but ruin and proſecution for obeying their ſovereign's commands, in caſe death put a period to her exiſtence before the treaty was concluded, the kingdom appeaſed, and the people ſatisfied with their conduct; adviſed the queen to ſet on foot a private negotiation with Lewis, to ſtipulate certain advantages for her ſubjects in a concerted plan of peace; to enter into ſuch mutual confidence with that monarch, as would anticipate all clandeſtine tranſactions to her prejudice, and enable her, in ſome meaſure, to preſcribe terms for her allies. But the precipitate execution of this plan deſtroyed its merit, and fruſtrated its advantages.

The whole tranſaction had well nigh proved abortive by the intervention of unforeſeen occurrences. The dauphin had died of the ſmall pox in the courſe of the preceding year, and his title had been conferred on the duke of Burgundy, who reſigned his breath on the laſt day of February, ſix days after the demiſe of his wife Mary Adelaide of Savoy. Theſe were ſoon followed to their laſt peaceful manſion by their eldeſt ſon the duke of Britany, then in the ſixth year of his age; ſo that none remained alive, except the duke of Anjou, who was then a ſickly infant. As in caſe of his death, the king of Spain might become heir to the crown of France, it was neceſſary he ſhould renounce his right to that crown before queen Anne concluded the treaty, of which the articles had been ſettled between the courts. Gualtier was, thererefore, ſent to Paris with a memorial couched in the ſtrongeſt terms, repreſenting the danger to which the liberties of Europe muſt inevitably be expoſed, if Philip ſhould aſcend the thrones of France and Spain; and demanding, that in conſequence of his pure, ſimple and voluntary renunciation, the title might be transferred to his brother the duke of Berry.

Philip granted what neceſſity demanded of him. Anne agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, and ſent orders to the duke of Ormond her general in Flanders to ceaſe hoſtilities. Lewis delivered Dunkirk to the Engliſh, as a ſecurity for performing his engagements, and expected with anxiety the event of ſo critical a campaign. But in conſequence of the deſertion of the Engliſh, or rather their refuſing to act offenſively, prince Eugene's ſchemes were defeated, and the French general Villars retook ſeven towns, and gained many important advantages. Such, however, was the fury of the allies againſt the power of France, that they reſolved with obſtinacy to proſecute the war.

On the ſixth of June her majeſty went to the houſe, and communicated the plan of the peace to her parliament. She firſt obſerved, that the making peace or war was the undoubted prerogative of the crown, and hinted, that the difficulties which aroſe from the very nature of this affair had been increaſed by artful contrivances to obſtruct it.

With regard to the the treaty, ſhe told them, that the proteſtant ſucceſſion, as eſtabliſhed by law in the houſe of Hanover, had been ſecured, and not only acknowledged by France in the ſtrongeſt terms, but, as an additional ſecurity, the pretender was to be removed from the French dominions; that the duke of Anjou ſhould renouce for himſelf and his deſcendants, all claim to the crown of France, ſo that the two monarchies could never be united. She gave them to underſtand, that a treaty of commerce between England and France had been begun; but the exceſſive duties laid on ſome goods, and the prohibition of others, had rendered it impoſſible to put the laſt hand to that treaty; that proviſion was made, that England ſhould enjoy the privileges granted by France to the moſt favoured nations; that the king of France agreed to make an abſolute ceſſion of the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, which had hitherto been divided between the two nations; that he had alſo conſented to reſtore to England the whole bay and ſtreights of Hudſon; and the electoral dignity of the houſe of Hanover would be acknowledged on the part of France.

As ſoon as the queen retired, a violent debate aroſe in the upper houſe upon taking the ſpeech into conſideration; the majority however agreed to an addreſs, which the commons immediately voted. On the twenty-firſt of June, her majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which ſhe obſerved, that ſhould the treaty be broken off, the burthens of the nation would be at leaſt continued if not increaſed; that the preſent opportunity would be irrecoverably loſt of Britain's eſtabliſhing a real balance of power in Europe, and improving her own commerce; and that, if any of the allies might gain by ſuch a proceeding, the reſt would ſuffer in the common calamity.

During theſe tranſactions prince Eugene inveſted Queſnoy, and the trenches being opened, the ſiege was vigorouſly proſecuted under cover of the duke of Ormond's forces, till that general declared to prince Eugene and the deputies of ſtates attending the army, that he had received orders from the queen his miſtreſs, to publiſh within three days, a ſuſpenſion of arms for two months, between his army and that of the French.

The duke of Ormond propoſed alſo, that the like ſuſpenſion of arms ſhould be publiſhed in the confederate army; adding, that if they perſiſted in their

operations againſt Queſnoy, they muſt take care themſelves to oppoſe the attempts of the enemy, as he could cover the ſiege no longer. The deputies deſired he would delay his march five days, that they might have time to conſult their principals; and prince Eugene obſerved, that his marching off with the Britiſh troops, and the foreigners in the queen's pay, would leave the allies at the mercy of the enemy, but hoped the latter would not obey the duke's orders. This was refuſed by the principal officers, who alledged, that being commanded to act againſt the French they could not recede without expreſs directions from their maſters.

The town of Queſnoy ſurrendered on the third of July, and the garriſon being made priſoners of war, were ſent to Holland. Prince Eugene, having thus reduced Queſnoy, and being deſirous of undertaking ſome bold enterprize, detached major general Groveſtein with fifteen hundred cavalry, to penetrate into the heart of France. Accordingly, this officer, about the middle of July, advanced into Champagne, paſſed the Noire, the Maeſe, the Moſelle, and the Saar, and retired to Treabach with a rich booty and a great number of hoſtages, after having extorted contributions as far as the gates of Metz, ravaged the country, and reduced a great number of villages and towns to aſhes. This irruption ſpread conſternation to the very gates of Paris, and the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were aſſembled about the palace at Verſailles, Lewis not thinking himſelf ſafe with his ordinary guards.

During theſe atchievements the Britiſh miniſters at the congreſs endeavoured to influence the allies to join in the ſuſpenſion of arms, but without the leaſt effect. Secretary St. John, now created lord viſcount Bolingbroke, was ſent to Paris, in order to remove the obſtructions which retarded the concluſion of the treaty between England and France. Mr. Prior and the abbe Gualtier accompanied him to the court of Verſailles, where he adjuſted with the marquis the principal intereſts of the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Bavaria; and concluded a ſuſpenſion of arms for three months by ſea and land, between the crowns of France and England. Bolingbroke, having finiſhed his negotiation, returned to England, leaving Mr. Prior as reſident at the court of France.

The duke of Marlborough, perceiving his enemies grow daily more implacable, thought proper to retire to the continent. He had already loſt his boſom friend the earl of Godolphin the late treaſurer, who left behind him the character of an upright ſtateſman, as well as a moſt valuable and ornamental member of ſociety.

The earl of Strafford, who had been particularly active in projecting means for terminating the war, now preſented a new plan of peace, in which the queen promiſed to procure to the ſtates general the city of Tournay, and ſome other places, which, on her concluding a ſeparate treaty, they would certainly never poſſeſs.

Their high mightineſſes having conſidered the new plan, and ſenſible of the circumſtances to which they had reduced themſelves by haughtily contemning former propoſitions, determined to comply with the ſolicitations of her majeſty's miniſter, and accordingly acquainted her, "that they held themſelves bound to acknowledge her majeſty's candour in cauſing the overtures to be laid before them by the earl of Strafford, and then declared they were ready to join with her majeſty in the meaſures ſhe had taken, and to conclude and ſign the peace at the ſame time jointly with her, alſo to enter into a new treaty with her majeſty about the ſucceſſion and barrier, and to conclude and ſign it before the peace."

A. D. 1713. The queen cauſed an anſwer to be tranſmitted to the ſtates, wherein ſhe expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction in the reſolution they had taken to act in concert with her; and on the nineteenth of January, a new treaty of barrier and ſucceſſion was ſigned at the Hague. By this treaty, the ſtates engaged to aſſiſt and defend the ſucceſſion of the crown of Great Britain according to the act of ſettlement againſt all oppoſers, and her majeſty ſtipulated, that in conſideration of the ſtates garriſoning ſeveral principal towns in Flanders, the revenues of thoſe towns, over and above what was neceſſary for the ſupport of the civil government, ſhould belong to the ſtates for the maintenance of their garriſons. It was alſo agreed, that the Engliſh and Dutch ſhould hold themſelves reciprocally obliged to aſſiſt each other with their whole force, naval and military, in caſe of an attack.

A remonſtrance was ſoon after preſented to the Britiſh miniſters at Utrecht, by the plenipotentiaries of the reſpective confederates, importing, that, in compliance with the requeſt of king William, they had entered into the grand alliance, by a ſolemn treaty concluded at Nimeguen, and afterwards ratified by the then queen of England: that, on their parts, they had punctually performed all the conditions of that treaty, and chearfully borne all the calamities of a bloody and ruinous war, from an entire confidence, that, as ſhe had always declared her ſatisfaction with their conduct and firmneſs, ſhe would not fail remembering them at the concluſion of a peace, but would endeavour to procure them thoſe advantages, which, conſidering the ſervice they had done to the common cauſe, they had a right to expect: that, notwithſtanding theſe juſt expectations, and the repeated aſſurances her majeſty had given them, they had the mortification to hear, that ſhe perſiſted in the opinion, that a general peace might be concluded, without granting them the leaſt benefit from the alliance; that, ſhould this ſcheme take effect, it would involve them in utter ruin: they, therefore, begged leave to addreſs themſelves to the juſtice and goodneſs of her majeſty, to the wiſdom and goodneſs of her miniſters, and to the honour and humanity of the whole Britiſh nation; humbly beſeeching them not to abandon ſuch faithful and zealous allies, nor leave them in their preſent unhappy ſituation.

The anſwer of the Britiſh miniſters to this repreſentation imported, that if they ſhould not obtain what they deſired, they ought to blame themſelves alone, as the authors of their diſappointment: that they had been deficient in furniſhing their proportion of troops and other neceſſaries; and left the whole burden of the war, in the Netherlands, to lie upon the queen, and the ſtates general: that, when a ceſſation was judged neceſſary, they had deſerted her majeſty, to follow the chimerical projects of prince Eugene: that, while ſhe proſecuted the war with the utmoſt vigour, they had acted with coldneſs and indifference; but, when ſhe inclined to peace, they began to exert themſelves in proſecuting hoſtilities with the utmoſt eagerneſs: that, nevertheleſs, ſhe would not abandon their intereſts, but endeavour to procure for them better conditions than, by their abſurd conduct, they had any right to expect.

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The import of this reply, together with the acquieſcence of the Duch, ſeems to have had a conſiderable influence upon the other powers, for even the emperor's plenipotentiary ſeemed to talk in more moderate terms. Count Zinzendorf declared that his maſter was very well diſpoſed to a peace, and no longer inſiſted on the ceſſion of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria. Philip's plenipotentiaries, together with thoſe of Bavaria and Cologne, were admitted to the conferences; and the Britiſh miniſters began to conſider themſelves as mediators between the ſeveral parties.

But notwithſtanding the apparent acceſſion of the ſeveral parties, the terms of peace were not fully adjuſted. The French raiſed many objections to the offers they had formerly made, and notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Britiſh miniſtry, who exerted uncommon diligence on the occaſion, the matter was compromiſed, greatly to the diſadvantage of England. This circumſtance was ſo apparent, that even the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht refuſed to ſign the treaty, until they were furniſhed with a new commiſſion; and this they no ſooner received, than they declared to the miniſters of the other powers, that, on the eleventh of April they, and the other plenipotentiaries, would willingly ſign the reſpective treaties.

A delay of as much time as migh be neceſſary for him to conſult his maſter, was now requeſted by count Zinzendorf, who even threatened, that, if the ſtates ſhould ſign the peace contrary to his deſire, the emperor would immediately recall his troops ftom the Netherlands. The miniſters of France agreed with thoſe of England, that his imperial majeſty ſhould have time to conſider whether he would embrace the propoſals, and allowed only a ſhort time for his anſwer.

On the twelfth of April, the peace was ſigned at Utrecht. Many perſons affirm that this tranſaction was clandeſtine, while others aſſert the contrary. It appears, upon the whole, that the treaty was ſigned privately, firſt by the earl of Strafford and the biſhop of Briſtol on the part of her Britannic majeſty, and afterwards by the plenipotentiaries of Savoy, Portugal, Pruſſia, and the States General.

On the ninth of April the parliament met, when the queen, in her ſpeech, informed them that the treaty was ſigned, and the ratifications would in a few days be exchanged.

Addreſſes of thanks and congratulation were immediately preſented by both houſes, and the ratifications of the treaty being exchanged on the fifth of May, peace with Franc was proclaimed in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, with the uſual ceremonies. The commons having preſented an addreſs, entreating her majeſty to communicate to the houſe, in due time, the treaties of peace and commerce with France, the chancellor of the exchequer, delivered the following accordingly:

The French had agreed, by the treaty of peace, to abandon the pretender; to acknowledge the queen and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede Newfoundland, Hudſon's Bay, and St. Chriſtopher's, to England; but the French were to be allowed to dry fiſh on the coaſt of Newfoundland, and to keep cape Breton.

The emperor was, by ſtipulation, allowed to poſſeſs the Spaniſh Netherlands, the kingdom of Naples, and the dutchy of Milan; it was agreed, that the duke of Savoy ſhould enjoy Sicily with the title of king; that the elector of Bavaria ſhould receive the ſame title, with the iſland of Sardinia, as an indemnification for his loſſes; that the ſtates general ſhould reſtorre Liſle and its dependencies; and that Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburg, Ypres, and Newport, ſhould be added to the other places they already poſſeſſed in Flanders; that the king of Pruſſia ſhould have Upper-Gueldres in lieu of Orange and the other eſtates belonging to that family in Franche Comté, and the king of Portugal was alſo ſatisfied on his part with the treaty.

A free trade was eſtabliſhed by the treaty of commerce, according to the tariff of the year 1664, except in a few commodities, which in 1699 were ſubjected to a new regulation. It was agreed, that the duties impoſed upon the productions of France imported into England, ſhould not exceed thoſe laid on the ſame commodities from other countries; and that matters relative to commerce ſhould be adjuſted by commiſſioners to meet at London.

The treaty being laid before parliament, after many violent debates, was approved, and a public thankſgiving appointed, which was celebrated with great ſolemnity. On the ſixteenth of July the queen put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which ſhe thanked both houſes for the ſervices they had done the public; recommended to them the making her ſubjects truly ſenſible of what they had gained by the peace; and the endeavouring to diſſipate thoſe groundleſs jealouſies which had been ſo induſtriouſly fomented among the people.

About this time the magiſtracy of Dunkirk ſent a deputation with an addreſs to the queen, imploring her majeſty to ſpare the port and harbour of that town, which they repreſented might be uſeful to her own ſubjects. The memorial was printed and diſperſed among the people; but the arguments it contained were ſoon anſwered and confuted by Meſſrs. Addiſon, Steele, and Manwaring; commiſſioners were therefore ſent to Dunkirk to ſee the fortifications demoliſhed, and the harbour filled up.

On the diſſolution of the parliament, the miniſtry managed the elections in ſuch a manner, as to retain the legiſlative power in their own hands; but in conſequence of diſſentions among the miniſtry, the meeting of the new parliament was delayed until the tenth of December.

Her majeſty, who had retired to Windſor, was ſeized with a dangerous inflammatory fever. This accident revived the hopes of the Jacobites; the public funds fell immediately, and ſo great a run was made upon the bank, that the directors ſent one of their members to repreſent to the treaſurer the danger that threatened the public credit. But the recovery of the queen which happened in a few days after, baniſhed thoſe fears that had alarmed the principal perſons in the nation.

A. D. 1714. During the adjournment of the parliament the peace between Great Britain and Spain was proclaimed in London, by which treaty the kingdoms of France and Spain were for ever ſeparated. Philip acknowledged the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and renounced the pretender; agreed to renew the treaty of commerce and navigation concluded in 1667; granted an excluſive privilege to the Engliſh for furniſhing the Spaniſh Weſt Indies with negroes; ceded Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca to Great Britain, on condition that the Spaniſh inhabitants of the latter ſhould enjoy their eſtates and religion; yielded the kingdom of Sicily to the duke of Savoy, and granted a full pardon to the Catalonians.

Her majeſty, in her ſpeech, on the ſecond of March, in the houſe of lords, acquainted the parliament, that ſhe had obtained an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people, and concluded with ſaying, "I have done, and ſhall "continue to do, my beſt for the good of my "ſubjects. Let it be your endeavour, as it ſhall "be mine, to unite our differences, not by relax-"ing from the ſtricteſt adherence to our conſtitu-"tion in church and ſtate, but by obſerving the "laws yourſelves, and enforcing a due obedience "on others."

The rancour of party now univerſally prevailed, and the ferments of the people were daily inflamed by pamphlets and papers. Sir Richard Steele was brought to the houſe, tried and condemned as the author of two pamphlets, which being voted ſcandalous and ſeditious libels, Steele was accordingly expelled. He was defended by Mr. Addiſon, general Stanhope, and Mr. Walpole, and oppoſed by Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Foley, and the Attorney-general.

A general removal of the friends to the proteſtant ſucceſſion from all offices of ſtate, and the introduction of ſuch as were ſuſpected of attachment to the prerender, greatly alarmed the people. The former maintained a correſpondence with the duke of Marlborough; and the health of the queen being now ſo much impaired, that her life was deſpaired of, they concerted meaſures that might oppoſe all efforts made againſt the proteſtant ſucceſſion on her demiſe.

The ſubject of the ſucceſſion was warmly agitated in the upper houſe, and ſeveral peers, ſpiritual as well as temporal, obliquely hinted their readineſs to concur in bringing to condign puniſhment thoſe miniſters who might be found to have adviſed meaſures repugnant to the civil and religious rights of the people.

Baron Schutz, about this period, demanded of the chancellor a writ for the electoral prince of Hanover to ſit in the houſe of peers as duke of Cambridge. But as the deſign of his coming to England was diſagreeable to the queen, ſhe wrote a letter to the princeſs Sophia, ſignifying her diſapprobation of ſuch a ſtep, At the ſame time her majeſty wrote to the electoral prince, complaining of his having formed ſuch a reſolution without knowing her ſentiments on the ſubject; and aſſuring him, that nothing could be more dangerous to the tranquillity of her dominions, and the right of ſucceſſion in his line, and conſequently more diſagreeable to her, than ſuch a proceeding at this juncture. Theſe letters were printed and publiſhed in England, with a view to inform the friends of the Hanoverian family, why the duke of Cambridge had laid aſide his deſign of reſiding in Great Britain. The publiſher of theſe letters was taken into cuſtody, by command of the queen, who conſidered this ſtep as a perſonal inſult, and an attempt to injure her in the good opinion of her ſubjects.

The princeſs Sophia did not long ſurvive this event, for on the 8th of June ſhe was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, and expired in the arms of the electoral princeſs before any aſſiſtance could be procured. She was the fourth and youngeſt daughter of Frederic, elector Palatine, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of king James the firſt of England.

Her majeſty's conſtitution was now entirely impaired, the anxiety of her mind having completed the ruin of her health. The diſſentions among her miniſters were arrived to ſuch a height, that they ſeemed to meet in council meerly with a view of oppoſing each other, totally regardleſs of their duty either to their country or their ſovereign.

In the mean time the adherents to the Stuart family held frequent conſultations both in Great Britain and Ireland. They reſolved to improve the public diſſentions to the advantage of their party. They had even the preſumption to inliſt men for the ſervice of the pretender.

The earl of Wharton, having diſcovered theſe practices, ſounded the alarm. A proclamation was immediately iſſued, offering a reward of five thouſand pounds for apprehending the pretender, whenever he ſhould land or attempt to land in Great Britain. The commons reſolved upon an addreſs of thanks for the proclamation, and aſſured her majeſty, that they would chearfully aid and aſſiſt her, by granting the ſum of an hundred thouſand pounds, as a further reward to any who ſhould perform ſo great a ſervice to her majeſty and her kingdoms.

In the upper houſe a motion was made for an addreſs on the ſame occaſion, and ſeconded by the earl of Wharton, who, holding the queen's proclamation in his hand, moſt pathetically lamented her majeſty's owning, that her endeavours to remove the pretender from Lorrain had proved ineffectual. "Unhappy princeſs!" ſaid he, "how "much is her condition altered! will poſterity "believe, that ſo great a queen, who reduced "the exorbitant power of France, gave a king "to Spain, and whoſe very miniſters have made "the emperor and the ſtates-general to tremble, "ſhould yet want power to make ſo petty, ſo in-"conſiderable a prince as the duke of Lorrain "comply with her juſt requeſt of removing out of "his dominions the pretender to her crown?" The houſe, approving the motion, voted the addreſs accordingly.

Lord Bolingbroke propoſed a bill, denouncing the penalty of high-treaſon againſt thoſe, who ſhould liſt or be inliſted in the pretender's ſervice. Lord Hallifax obſerved, that ſuch a bill was altogether needleſs, as both the pretender, and all his adherents were already attainted of high-treaſon: and as the pretender was of himſelf inconſiderable, and not to be feared, but only as he was countenanced and protected by the French king, whoſe intereſt and conſtant deſign it was to impoſe him on theſe kingdoms. He therefore moved, that it ſhould be high treaſon for any of her majeſty's ſubjects to liſt or be inliſted in the ſervice of any foreign prince or ſtate, without a licence under the ſign manual of her majeſty, her heirs or ſucceſſors. The bill paſſed with this amendment, and the commons concurred in it.

To foment the animoſities which ſubſiſted between the oppoſite parties, the upper houſe brought on the tapis the treaty of commerce with Spain, and ſeveral merchants being examined at the bar of the houſe, declared, that, unleſs the explanations of the third, fifth, and eighth articles, which had been made at Madrid after the ſigning of the treaty, were reſcinded, they muſt neceſſarily loſe twenty-five per cent. by a continuation of that trade.

After long and vehement debates, they came to a reſolution to addreſs her majeſty, that ſhe would be pleaſed to give orders for all papers relative to the negotiation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the names of the perſons who adviſed her majeſty to that treaty, to be laid before the

houſe. To this addreſs the queen anſwered, that, underſtanding the three explanatory articles of the treaty were not detrimental to the trade of her ſubjects, ſhe had conſented to their being ratified with the treaty.

Lord Wharton having taken occaſion, from the above circumſtance, to infer the neglect of attention in the miniſtry to the ſenſe of that auguſt aſſembly, moved for a remonſtrance to her majeſty, to lay before her the inſuperable difficulties that attended the Spaniſh trade on the footing of the late treaty, and the houſe approved of the motion. It was likewiſe moved, that the houſe ſhould inſiſt that the perſons who had adviſed her majeſty to ratify the three explanatory articles ſhould be named. But the queen as well as the miniſtry ſeemed to have prevaricated in this matter, as the houſe obtained no ſatisfaction relative to the Spaniſh treaty, nor were indulged with the ſpecification of the names of thoſe perſons who adviſed the ratification of the articles in queſtion.

On the 9th of July her majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, on which, after thanking them for granting the neceſſary ſupplies, ſhe declared, that her conſtant endeavours were to preſerve the proteſtant religion, the liberty of her ſubjects, and to ſecure the tranquillity of her kingdom; but that ſhe muſt tell them plainly, that theſe deſirable ends could never be attained, unleſs they brought the ſame diſpoſition on their parts; unleſs all groundleſs jealouſies, which created and fomented diviſions among them, were laid aſide, and unleſs they ſhewed the ſame regard for her juſt prerogative, and for the honour of her government, as ſhe had always expreſſed for the rights of her people.

The queen's diſorder was greatly encreaſed by the cabals of the court. Lord Bolingbroke had inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the favorite lady Maſham, and artfully undermined the credit of Oxford. The earl wrote in ſevere terms againſt a rival whom he painted to the queen as a man equally turbulent and dangerous.

Bolingbroke defended himſelf by accuſing Oxford of a clandeſtine correſpondence with Marlborough, who had left the kingdom. Her majeſty was herſelf witneſs to a diſpute in which Oxford forgot the reſpect he owed her.

The earl was deprived of all his employments, and Bolingbroke ſeemed to triumph in the victory he had gained.

Such confuſion and animoſity, together with the fatigue of attending a long cabinet council, had ſo violent an effect on the ſpirits of the queen, that ſhe was immediately ſeized with a lethargic diſorder. Every aſſiſtance that the healing art could afford was applied in vain. The diſorder gained ground ſo faſt, that the very next day the phyſicians deſpaired of her life. As ſoon as the dangerous ſituation of her majeſty was made known to the privy-council, a committee of that board met at the cock-pit, and thence adjourned to Kenſington. The dukes of Argyle and Somerſet repaired to the palace, and, without being ſummoned, entered the council chamber. The duke of Shrewſbury thanked them for their readineſs to give their aſſiſtance in ſuch a critical juncture, and deſired they would take their places. They then propoſed that the phyſicians ſhould be examined concerning the ſtate of the queen's health, that they might act with propriety on any emergency.

The phyſicians ſoon after declaring that her majeſty was ſenſible, the duke of Shrewſbury was recommended as a nobleman duly qualified to fill the important office of lord high treaſurer. Her majeſty approved the choice, and delivered the white ſtaff to his grace, deſiring he would uſe it for the good of her people. This poſt being filled, the dukes of Argyle and Somerſet propoſed, that all privy counſellors, in an about London, ſhould be invited to attend, without diſtinction of party. The motion was approved, and the lord Somers, with many other friends of the family of Hanover, repaired to Kenſington.

Their firſt conſideration was the ſecurity of the kingdom, and orders were immediately iſſued for four regiments of horſe and dragoons, quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Weſtminſter. Seven of the ten Britiſh battalions in the Netherlands were directed to embark at Oſtend for England, with all poſſible diſpatch: an embargo was laid upon all ſhipping, and directions were given for equipping all the ſhips of war that could ſooneſt be got ready for ſervice.

Nor did the elector of Brunſwick eſcape the notice of the council: a letter was diſpatched to that prince, informing him of the danger of the queen's life, and deſiring him with all ſpeed to repair to Holland, where a Britiſh ſquadron ſhould be ready to convoy him to England immediately on the queen's demiſe.

Inſtructions were alſo ſent to the earl of Strafford, to require the ſtates-general to prepare for performing their guarantee of the proteſtant ſucceſſion. Meaſures were taken to ſecure the ſea-ports, and overawe the jacobites in Scotland; the command of the fleet was beſtowed on the earl of Berkley, and the heralds at arms were kept in readineſs to proclaim the new king, as ſoon as the vacancy of the throne ſhould happen. While theſe precautions employed the care of the council, the queen, after having dozed in a lethargic inſenſibility for near thirty-ſix hours, paid the great debt of nature on the firſt of Auguſt, in the fiftieth year of her age, and thirteenth of her reign.

Few ſovereigns have merited greater praiſe, or left to ſucceſſors brighter examples, than this princeſs. Without giving proofs of ſhining talents, cultivated by a finiſhed education; without that vigour of mind, neceſſary to prevent the too great aſcendancy of favorites, to which muſt be aſcribed all the defects of her reign; ſhe diſtinguiſhed herſelf by the qualities of the heart, a tender affection for her people, and a mildneſs of diſpoſition as well in the affairs of ſtate, as the familiar concerns of life: ſhe paid particular attention to the advancement of religion, and with the pureſt zeal promoted the deſign of erecting churches for that purpoſe. She gave every encouragement to charity ſchools for the ſupport of the indigent youth of her populous capital, that the ſeeds of religion and virtue might be early ſown in their tender minds, and even the univerſities, thoſe celebrated ſeats of learning, always found her an indulgent patroneſs. In ſhort, ſhe was a pattern of conjugal affection, a warm friend, a munificent patron, and a mild and merciful princeſs; and if it is recorded to the honour of the duke of Marlborough, that he made France tremble, the glory of Anne, queen of Great Britain, is memorized as having given peace to Europe, and ſtopt the effuſion of human blood.

Remarkable

XIV.
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Remarkable

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

GEORGE I.

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born at Osnaburg May 28. 1660. | *Crowned at Westminster October 20. 1714.* | *Died at Osnaburg June 11. 1727.*

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of Queen Anne.

A. D.

1702 *Semper Eadem* firſt uſed as a motto to the arms of England.

1703 Kit-kat-club (a ſociety, conſiſting of about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed abilities) eſtabliſhed, for the purpoſe of promoting the proteſtant ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover both in parliament and out of it; which they effected by ſpirited publications, as well as other meaſures. Dr. Garth was one of the firſt members of this famous club, which took its riſe from one Chriſtopher Kat, a paſtry-cook, who lived near the tavern, where they met, in King-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, and who ſerved them with paſtry.

This year there happened a moſt violent ſtorm, which deſtroyed the greateſt part of a fleet of men of war returning home, beſides a great number of merchant ſhips. Upwards of 1500 ſeamen periſhed on the Engliſh coaſts, and in London only the damage was computed at 1,000,000l.

1709 This year there was a ſevere froſt, which laſted from December to March, and was attended with very heavy ſnows.

1707 Sun-fire office inſtituted, which was the firſt introduction of inſurance from fire in England.

1711 This year a proclamation was iſſued, offering a reward of one hundred pounds for apprehending any of the Mohawks. Theſe were a ſet of diſorderly people, who went about the ſtreets of London in the night, and took an inhuman pleaſure in cutting and diſfiguring the men, and indecently expoſing the women.

1712 Apothecaries exempted from ſerving ward and pariſh offices, or ſitting on juries.

During the reign of queen Anne, the greateſt improvements were made in learning and the polite arts. Many of the great men, who had figured in the reigns of the Stuarts and William were ſtill alive, and in the full exerciſe of their faculties, beſides which a new race ſprung up in the perſons of Pope, Swift, lord Bolingbroke, lord Shafteſbury, Arbuthnot, Congreve, Steele, Rowe, and many other excellent writers, both in proſe and verſe, whoſe names need but be mentioned to be admired.

BOOK XV.

From the Acceſſion of GEORGE I. to the Death of GEORGE II.

CHAP. I.

GEORGE I.

Acceſſion of George I. His arrival in England. Total change in the adminiſtration. Revenue of the crown. The former miniſtry impeached. Oxford and Bolingbroke proſcribed. Rebellion in Scotland and England. Fate of the rebel lords. Septennial parliaments. Rage of party zeal. Attempts of Charles XII. of Sweden againſt George I. of England. The king goes over to the continent. Forms an alliance with France and Holland. Machinations of Sweden defeated. South-ſea, bank, and general fund acts. Quadruple alliance. Mutiny bill. Sir George Byng defeats the Spaniards. War declared againſt Spain. Projects of cardinal Alberoni. Gallant exploits of Sir George Byng. Spain accedes to the quadruple alliance. South-ſea ſcheme. Conſpiracy detected. Parliamentary debates. Trial of the lord chancellor Macclesfield. Treaty of Hanover. Oppoſition in the houſe of lords. Riots in Scotland. Remonſtrance of the Imperial miniſter. Siege of Gibraltar, &c. &c. Death and character of George I.

A. D. 1714. ON the death of queen Anne, the crown devolved, purſuant to act of parliament, on George Lewis, elector of Brunſwick, then in the fifty-fifth year of his age. He was a prince of an extenſive capacity and eſtabliſhed reputation, joining military merit to political ability, and wiſely adopted this memorable maxim, worthy of every potentate upon earth; "never to abandon "his friends, to do juſtice to all mankind, and to "fear no man."

As ſoon as the late queen's death was known, the members of the privy council met, and immediately iſſued orders for proclaiming George Lewis king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the earl of Dorſet, was ſent to Hanover with the news of his majeſty's acceſſion, and to attend him to England.

The lords juſtices finding the fleet and army had been much neglected, ordered ſuch officers as they could truſt to their reſpective ports, and appointed Mr. Addiſon their ſecretary, giving him orders to receive all the diſpatches directed to the ſecretaries of ſtate, whereby lord Bolingbroke was deprived of his power and authority.

Purſuant to the act for regulating the ſucceſſion, the parliament met on the 5th of Auguſt, and the lord chancellor made a ſpeech to both houſes, importing, that the privy council had proclaimed the elector of Brunſwick under the name of king George, as the lawful and rightful ſovereign of theſe kingdoms; that they had taken the neceſſary care to preſerve the public peace; that he hoped they would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the eſtabliſhing and advancing public credit; and added, that he would only take the freedom to exhort them, with the greateſt earneſtneſs, to a perfect unanimity, and a firm adherence to the intereſt of their ſovereign, as the method by which the public tranquillity would be moſt effectually preſerved.

Addreſſes were immediately drawn up by both houſes, containing condolances on the death of the late queen, congratulations on his majeſty's happy acceſſion, and the warmeſt expreſſions of duty and affection.

Theſe addreſſes being tranſmitted to his majeſty were moſt cordially received and graciouſly anſwered.

The parliament, in conſequence of his majeſty's expreſſing

expreſſing his ſatisfaction at the loyalty and affection of his ſubjects, reſolved upon an addreſs of thanks, and the commons having voted the neceſſary ſupplies for the ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and the dignity of his crown, both houſes adjourned to the 23d day of September.

On the 24th of Auguſt the body of the deceaſed queen was buried wtih great ſolemnity, in the ſame vault with her late huſband, prince George of Denmark, in Henry the ſeventh's chapel, in Weſtminſter Abbey.

King George, having committed the government of his dominions in Germany to the care of a council, ſet out with the electoral prince from Herenhauſen, on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, and in four days arrived at Utrecht, from whence he repaired to the Hague, where he had ſeveral conferences with the ſtates-general. On the ſixteenth of September he embarked for England under convoy of an Engliſh and Dutch ſquadron commanded by the earl of Berkeley, and next evening arrived at the Hope. On the 18th he landed with the prince at Greenwich, where they were attended by all the great officers of ſtate, and a prodigious number of the nobility and gentry.

On the 20th his majeſty made his public entry through the city to St. James's in the moſt magnificent manner, and amidſt the acclamations of innumerable crouds of ſpectators.

A total change in the miniſtry now took place. The great ſeal was committed to lord Cowper, the privy ſeal to the earl of Wharton, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. The duke of Marlborough was made generaliſſimo, the duke of Devonſhire ſteward of the king's houſhold, and lord Townſend and Mr. Stanhope appointed ſecretaries of ſtate. The former privy council was diſſolved, and a new one appointed. Mr. Pulteny was made ſecretary at war, and Mr. Walpole paymaſter both to the army and Chelſea hoſpital. The treaſury and admiralty were put into commiſſion, and the title of prince of Wales was given to the prince royal.

Theſe principal changes in the government having taken place, the king aſſembled his council, and made a declaration to the following effect: "That it was his firm reſolution to do every "thing in his power to ſupport and maintain the "churches of England and Scotland as ſeverally "by law eſtabliſhed, and earneſtly endeavour to "render property ſecure, the good effects of which "were ſoon moſt happily experienced."

His majeſty was crowned with the uſual ſolemnities on the twentieth of October, the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke attending the ceremony. The occaſion was diſtinguiſhed by popular rejoicings throughout the kingdom, except in a few places, where the rabble ſhewed their averſion to the proteſtant ſucceſſion by tumults and riots.

The demolition of Dunkirk appearing not to have been compleated, the Engliſh reſident of Paris was ordered to preſent a memorial to haſten that work, as alſo to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finiſhed. This miniſter receiving an equivocal anſwer, and the council thinking he did not ſufficiently exert himſelf, he was recalled, and the earl of Stair ſent as ambaſſador to Paris, where he proſecuted the affair with becoming vigour.

The ſpirit of rebellion already prevailed in the kingdom. Several cities and principal towns were filled with tumult and diſorder. To animate the people, the cauſe of religion was joined to that of faction. The party cry was, "Down with the "whigs, Sacheverel for ever." At the ſame time, a printed manifeſto was ſent by the pretender to the dukes of Shrewſbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the firſt diſtinction. The copies of the repreſentation being delivered to the ſecretaries of ſtate, the king refuſed an audience to the marquis of Lamberti, miniſter from the duke of Lorrain, convinced that his maſter was acquainted with and countenanced this tranſaction.

A. D. 1715. His majeſty having, on the 5th of January, diſſolved the parliament, another was ſummoned by a very extraordinary proclamation, in which the king complained of the pernicious deſigns of ſome men diſaffected to his ſucceſſion, and of their having miſrepreſented his principles and conduct. He mentioned the perplexed ſituation of public affairs, the interruption of commerce, the heavy debts of the nation, and expreſſed his hope that his loving ſubjects would elect ſuch perſons as had ſhewn their attachment to the proteſtant religion when it was moſt in danger.

Mr. Spencer Compton was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, on the fourteenth of March, at the meeting of the new parliament. On the twenty-firſt the king came to the houſe of peers, and delivered to the chancellor a written ſpeech, which was read in preſence of both houſes. The following are the moſt intereſting particulars: "That the happineſs, eaſe, and proſperity of his "people ſhould be the chief care and ſtudy of "his life. That thoſe who aſſiſted him in carrying on thoſe meaſures he ſhould always eſteem "his beſt friends, and that he did not doubt but "he ſhould be able, with their aſſiſtance, to diſappoint the deſigns of thoſe, who would deprive "him of that bleſſing he moſt valued, namely, the "affection of his people."

The commons, in their addreſs, referred particularly to the manifeſto lately publiſhed by the pretender, and declared they would ſtrictly enquire into the nature and cauſes of thoſe pernicious meaſures, and bring the authors to condign puniſhment.

The houſe of commons having reſolved to augment the allowance before granted to his majeſty, for the better ſupport of his houſhold and family, ſo as to make up the yearly ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, appointed a committee of ſecrecy to enquire into the conduct of the late miniſtry, ordered their report to be printed, and ſent to the returning officers of every city and borough; and came to a reſolution of impeaching Henry viſcount Bolingbroke, (who had ſome time withdrawn to the continent) Robert earl of Oxford, James duke of Ormond, and Thomas earl of Strafford, of high treaſon and other crimes and miſdemeanors. They prepared bills accordingly, which ſoon after paſſed the houſe of lords and received the royal aſſent, and as tumultuous aſſemblies were now become very frequent in London and other places, a bill was prepared to prevent them.

On the 20th of July his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and having required the attendance of the commons, acquainted them that he had received certain advices of an attempt preparing abroad in favour of the pretender; at the ſame time he gave the royal aſſent to the bill for preventing tumultuous aſſemblies, and that concerning the quaker's affirmation inſtead of an oath.

By this time the committee of ſecrecy were ready to deliver their report, and Mr. Walpole the chairman impeached Henry lord viſcount Bolingbroke of high treaſon, as author of the ſeparate treaty with Lewis XIV. Lord Coningſby then roſe up and impeached Robert earl of Oxford: ſome of the members objected to theſe proceedings, but the majority declaring in their favour, a bill of attainder paſſed againſt Bolingbroke and Oxford, and their names were accordingly eraſed from the liſt of peers.

A rebellion was, by this time, actually begun in Scotland under the earl of Mar. This nobleman, at the death of queen Anne, was ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, and was one of the firſt who made profeſſion of loyalty and attachment to his majeſty. But not meeting with the encouragement he expected, he retired in diſguſt to his own country, where, prompted by reſentment and ambition, he reſolved to make an effort in favour of the pretender. He proſecuted his deſign with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that the pretender's ſtandard was ſet up on the ſixth of September, and ſoon after he was proclaimed in form at Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, and ſeveral other places, and the number in arms to ſupport his title amounted to about ſix thouſand.

The rebels had formed a reſolution of ſurprizing the caſtle of Edinburgh, but a ſeaſonable diſcovery having been made, the conſpirators were taken in the fact.

This diſappointment, together with the news of the death of Lewis XIV. ſo greatly diſcouraged the rebels, that ſome of them propoſed to defer any further attempts till the pretender ſhould be actually landed in Scotland; but the majority, depending on an inſurrection in England in their favour, reſolved to proſecute the enterprize at all events.

The precautions, however, taken by government, had rendered abortive the deſigns formed by the rebels in the Weſt of England; but that was far from being the caſe in the north. The earl of Derwentwater, Mr. Forſter, and about two hundred and fifty more appeared in rebellion, and rendezvouſed at Plainfield, near Rothbury, being ſoon after joined by the lord Widdrington, with about thirty horſemen, and a party of horſemen from Scotland. They proclaimed the pretender at Warkworth, Morpeth, and Hexham. Upon the approach of general Carpenter, who was ordered to march into thoſe parts with ſeveral regiments of horſe and foot, the enemy was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, and at Hardwick it was debated whether they ſhould ſtand their ground, or march off. Mr. Mackintoſh was for the firſt, urging the ſuperiority of their number, and that the longer they deferred an engagement, the greater oppoſition they were likely to meet with: but Mr. Forſter, who was then their general, was againſt fighting, till they ſhould be joined by a ſtrong body of horſe, and moſt of the other principal officers being of the ſame opinion, they marched to Langholm Brampton, and to Penrith, Appleby, Kendal, Kirby, Langſdale and Lancaſter, in moſt of which towns they proclaimed the pretender king of England.

At Lancaſter they had ſeized ſeveral pieces of cannon, and conveyed them to Preſton, where being reinforced conſiderably, and not knowing what rout to take, they barricadoed the place, determined to engage the king's forces under the command of general Wills, who coming up to them three days after, and having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for ſecuring the ſeveral paſſages to the town, began to attack the enemy in form. The king's troops at firſt were much galled by the enemy's ſhot from the windows of the houſes; but upon orders being given by the general to ſet fire to the houſes at each end of the town, and the arrival of a reinforcement to the king's forces, they were ſo diſpirited, that they deſired a ceſſation of arms, and ſoon after ſubmitted themſelves to mercy. About one hundred and thirty men were ſlain on the king's ſide, but how many on the enemy's is uncertain.

The very day on which the rebels were ſubdued at Preſton, the duke of Argyle, with about four thouſand men, engaged the rebel army under the earl of Mar, conſiſting of between eight and nine thouſand men at Sheriff Muir, near Dumblain, about four miles from Stirling. The battle was obſtinate, and both ſides claimed the victory; but from the conduct of the earl of Mar after the action, it ſeems as if the royaliſts had the juſteſt claim to the title of conquerors; for he immediately retreated to Perth, and the deſign he had formed of croſſing the Firth to join his ſouthern friends was entirely fruſtrated.

The rebels now ſuſtained a terrible blow in the loſs of Inverneſs, from which Sir John Mackenzie was driven by Simon Frazer, lord Lovat, who had hitherto adhered to the pretender's intereſt, but now declared in favour of government. By this means a free communication was opened with the north of Scotland, where the earl of Sunderland had raiſed a ſtrong body of vaſſals. The marquis of Huntley and the earl of Seaforth were obliged to abandon the rebel army, in order to ſecure their own territories, and in a little time ſubmitted to the king: a great number of the Frazers, influenced by the example of their chief, lord Lovat, declared againſt the pretender: the marquis of Tullibardine withdrew from the army to defend his own country, and the clans began to diſperſe, as there was no proſpect of another action.

The reſt of November and the whole of the following month, both parties remained in their quarters; the duke of Argyle at Stirling, and the earl of Mar at Perth.

In the mean time, the pretender, notwithſtanding the deſperate ſituation of his affairs in Scotland, reſolved to viſit that kingdom. With this view, he poſted through France in diſguiſe, and embarking in a ſmall veſſel at Dunkirk, landed on the twenty-ſecond of December at Peterhead, with ſix gentlemen in his retinue, one of whom was the marquis of Tinmouth, ſon to the duke of Berwick. He paſſed through Aberdeen incognito to Feteroſſe, where he was met by the earls of Mar and Mariſchal, with about thirty noblemen and gentlemen of quality.

A. D. 1716. From Feteroſſe he repaired Dundee, and from thence to Scone, near Perth, into which he made his public entry on the 9th day of January. Here he publiſhed ſeveral proclamations, one for convening the ſtates, another for his coronation, and exerciſed ſeveral other acts of royalty, which were hardly aſſumed before they were terminated; for about the end of January the duke of Argyle aſſiſted by lieutenant general Cadogan, and other principal officers, a large train of artillery and ſix thouſand Dutch troops, marched from Stirling to attack the rebels at Perth. But the inſurgents at length de-

termined to abandon the place on the approach of the king's army. They retired with the pretender to Dundee, and thence to Montroſe, where, finding they were cloſely purſued, it was reſolved, in a council of war, that the pretender ſhould retire in the evening. There being a ſmall ſhip in the harbour, he accordingly embarked, attended by the earls of Mar and Milford, the lord Drummond, and ſome other chiefs, and through favour of a dark night eluded the vigilance of the enemy, and arrived ſafely at Graveline in France. The rebels no ſooner found that their prince had left them to ſhift for themſelves, than they deſpiſed all order and diſperſed, and returned to their ſeveral habitations. Such was the iſſue of a rebellion that proved fatal to many noble families, and which, inſtead of promoting the intereſt of the Stuart race, ſerved only to ſtrengthen the proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of Hanover.

Addreſſes of thanks were ſeverally preſented by both houſes on the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms in the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, and the commons determined to proſecute in the moſt rigorous manner, the authors of thoſe deſtructive counſels, which had drawn down ſuch miſeries upon the nation. They began by expelling Mr. Forſter. They impeached the earls of Derwentwater, Nithſdale, Carnwath, and Wintoun; the lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn. They all pleaded guilty, except the earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for time to prepare for his defence.

On the 24th of January the king went to the houſe, and gave the royal aſſent to a bill for continuing the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act. He told the two houſes, that the pretender was actually in Scotland, and aſſuming the ſtate and title of theſe realms, and demanded from the commons ſuch ſupplies as might effectually diſcourage any foreign power from giving him aſſiſtance.

The lords who had pleaded guilty had ſentence of death paſſed upon them on the 9th of February by the lord chancellor Cowper, who was created lord high ſteward on this occaſion.

While the peers continued under ſentence of death, ſeveral applications were made both to the throne and the parliament for extending to them the royal mercy. The counteſs of Nithſdale, lady Nairn, lady Derwentwater, with her ſiſter, accompanied by the dutcheſſes of Cleveland and Bolton, and ſeveral other ladies of the firſt diſtinction, were introduced, by the dukes of Richmond and St. Albans, into the king's bedchamber, where they implored his majeſty's clemency for their unfortunate conſorts; but no regard was paid to the petition. Next day they went to Weſtminſter, with a ſtill greater train than ever, and petitioned both houſes of parliament, but their ſuit was rejected.

In the houſe of lords, the duke of Richmond delivered a petition from the earl of Derwentwater, to whom he was nearly related, declaring, that himſelf ſhould oppoſe his ſolicitation. The earl of Derby expreſſed ſome compaſſion for the numerous family of lord Nairn. Petitions from the reſt were preſented by other lords, influenced by motives of humanity.

The reading of the petitions was violently oppoſed by lord Townſend and others; but the earl of Nottingham thinking this indulgence might be granted, his opinion had a conſiderable weight: the majority aſſented to the propoſal, and agreed to an addreſs, praying his majeſty would reprieve ſuch of the condemned lords as ſhould deſerve his mercy. To this petition, he anſwered, that, on this and all other occaſions, he would do what he thought moſt conſiſtent with the dignity of his crown and the ſafety of his people. The lords were, however, executed, and the miniſtry, in revenge for Nottingham's interfering in this buſineſs, procured his lordſhip to be diſmiſſed from his poſt of preſident of the council, and ſeveral of his friends and relatives from their reſpective offices.

The 17th day of April was fixed for trying the inferior claſs of rebels in the court of common pleas, when bills of high treaſon were found againſt upwards of twenty in that court: two and twenty were condemned at Liverpool, and more than that number executed at Preſton, Wigan, and Mancheſter: about a thouſand priſoners ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned for tranſportation.

Several were hanged at Tyburn, particularly colonel Oxburgh, William Paul, a clergyman, and Mr. Hall. The earl of Mar, the marquis of Tullibardine, and ſome others, who fled from Scotland, were attainted by act of parliament.

Though the rebellion was now effectually ſuppreſſed, yet the rigour exerciſed upon the delinquents, rendered the government obnoxious to a very conſiderable part of the people. The miniſtry ſoon perceived the effects their conduct (however neceſſary it might be deemed) had produced. They apprehended ſome troubles and embarraſſments at the meeting of a new parliament, and therefore reſolved, if poſſible, to eſtabliſh their adminiſtration beyond the power of oppoſition, by a ſtep which, though bold, cannot be admitted as ſtrictly conſtitutional.

The duke of Devonſhire repreſented in the upper houſe, that triennial parliaments ſerved to keep up party diviſions, to raiſe and foment feuds in private families, to produce ruinous expences, and give occaſion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes. That it became the wiſdom of that auguſt aſſembly to apply a proper remedy to an evil which might be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences eſpecially in the then temper of the nation, as the ſpirit of rebellion ſtill remained unconquered. He therefore propoſed a bill for lengthening the duration of parliaments.

This bill produced long and very warm debates in both houſes. The independent and unprejudiced members, as well as the public, oppoſed it with all their might: they ſpoke, they wrote againſt it, and by their arguments and diſcourſes proved the danger that might reſult from it beyond all contradiction: the moſt plauſible arguments adduced in the houſe of lords were to the following effect. "The fundamental laws of the kingdom "(ſaid ſome peers) required frequent parliaments; "they were eſtabliſhed by the practice of ſeveral "ages, they intereſted the liberty and glory of the "citizens; what confidence could foreign powers "have in a nation which ſo flagrantly ſacrificed its "moſt precious rights? would not the expences of "elections, and the cabals which they occaſioned, "far from diminiſhing by this new and dangerous "ſyſtem, increaſe with the intereſt individuals "would have in procuring ſeats in a parliament of "ſo long continuance? would not the miniſtry "have both ſtronger motives, and more extenſive "means to corrupt the members? and might not "the parliament after having prolonged its duration, aſpire to render itſelf perpetual, which "would annihilate the privileges of the people and "the conſtitution of the ſtate?"

Not-

Notwithſtanding the force of this manner of reaſoning, it could not prevail againſt the influence of the court. The miniſtry were ſure of a majority; they ſuffered their adverſaries to exhauſt their rhetoric, and when the queſtion came to be finally put in the upper houſe, it was carried by a majority of ſixty-nine voices againſt thirty-ſix. Twenty-four proteſted againſt it. The majority in the lower houſe was two hundred and ſixty-four againſt one hundred and twenty-one. Thus paſſed and received the royal aſſent, the famous ſeptennial act, whereby this and future parliaments were continued ſeven years (unleſs ſooner diſſolved by prerogative of the crown) inſtead of three, to which they were limited by the triennial act paſſed in the reign of William III.

The rebellion being now entirely quelled, and the public tranquillity reſtored, his majeſty reſolved to viſit his German dominions; but as he was reſtricted from leaving the kingdom by the act for the farther limitation of the crown, this clauſe was repealed in a new bill, which paſſed through both houſes without oppoſition. On the twenty-ſixth day of June his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he told them, that he was highly ſatisfied with the proceedings of the parliament; that he hoped the wholeſome and neceſſary laws they had made would anſwer the great and important ends, which it was evident they had in view, namely, thoſe of defeating the deſigns and ſubduing the ſpirit of the diſaffected, and encouraging the friends of the preſent eſtabliſhment and the proteſtant ſucceſſion; that he deſigned to make uſe of the approaching vacation to viſit his German dominions, and that the better to provide for the ſecurity of the kingdom, he had conſtituted his beloved ſon, the prince of Wales, guardian of the realm during his abſence. Such were the proceedings of the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, which, by its vigorous and reſolute meaſures, in a great degree defeated the hopes of his enemies, and eſtabliſhed his majeſty on the throne.

The diſaffected party diſtinguiſhed themſelves, by wearing white roſes on the tenth of June, the anniverſary of the pretender's birth day. The Oſonians, too, could not let ſlip ſuch a favourable opportunity of diſplaying their principles. They had even the inſolence to attack ſome officers of the army who were peaceably celebrating the king's birth day; and they drew up a remonſtrance, which they preſented to parliament, becauſe the officers repulſed them in a ſpirited manner.

Soon after the prorogation of parliament, his majeſty embarked at Graveſend, and proceeded directly to Pyrmont to drink the waters. But he had ſcarce left England, before the two parties that divided the nation broke out into freſh animoſities. The diſorderly multitude, always ready to follow the example of their ſuperiors, formed themſelves into ſocieties, and became the abettors and partizans of what were then denominated "High Church and Low Church." They were guilty of the moſt flagrant outrages, murder not excepted; till at length ſome of them were apprehended by a party of the guards, tried, convicted, and executed as examples to the reſt.

The king was induced to make a voyage to the continent, in order to ſecure his German dominions from the king of Sweden, and Great Britain from the deſigns of the pretender. Charles was highly incenſed at his Britannic majeſty for having joined in the confederacy, which deprived him of Bremen and Verden, and for having afterwards purchaſed theſe dutchies of the king of Denmark. The pretender, laying hold of this opportunity, prevailed upon the Swede to eſpouſe his intereſt, and even to form a regular deſign of advancing him to the Britiſh throne.

To prevent the effects of this gathering ſtorm, his majeſty determined to form new alliances abroad. He knew the duke of Orleans cheriſhed the ambition of aſcending the throne of France, in caſe the young king, who was very ſickly, ſhould die without iſſue. He was ſenſible, at the ſame time, that Philip of Spain would powerfully conteſt that ſucceſſion, notwithſtanding his renunciation; and he believed the regent would think an increaſe of his intereſt with England and Holland worthy his notice.

George therefore had the addreſs to conclude a private treaty with the duke of Orleans, regent of France, and the States-general. By this treaty, which was known by the name of the triple alliance, the duke of Orleans engaged that the pretender ſhould be immediately removed from Avignon to the other ſide the Alps, and never be permitted to return to Lorrain or France, on any pretence whatſoever; that no refuge ſhould be given to the rebellious ſubjects of either of the parties; that the treaty of Utrecht, with reſpect to the demolition of Dunkirk, ſhould be fully executed, to the ſatisfaction of his Britannic majeſty. The treaty contained a guarantee of all places poſſeſſed by the contracting powers, of the proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of England, as well as that of the family of Orleans to the crown of France, and a defenſive alliance, aſcertaining the proportion of ſhips and forces to be furniſhed to that power, if it ſhould be diſturbed by invaſions from abroad, or commotions at home.

This treaty was no ſooner made public, than it excited great diſcontents both in France and England; but theſe clamours were little regarded by the king and the regent, who had each ſecured their principal point.

In the mean time negotiations were endeavoured to be carried on with Charles of Sweden, but as he inſiſted as peremptorily on the reſtoration of Bremen and Verden, as George claimed them from purchaſe, the breach between thoſe monarchs became wider, and of courſe more prejudicial to the trade of England. Indeed, it had nearly been attended with an invaſion, much more formidable that which had ſo lately been defeated. The Swediſh miniſters at London, Paris, and the Hague, maintained a correſpondence with the diſaffected party in England. A ſcheme was laid for Charles's landing on this iſland with a body of twelve thouſand men, where he was to be joined by the malecontents of the united kingdoms. The Swede reliſhed the project, which flattered his vanity and revenge; nor was it diſagreeable to the Czar of Muſcovy, who was provoked at king George's offer to join Charles againſt the Ruſſians, provided he would renounce all pretenſions to the dutchies of Bremen and Verden.

A. D. 1717. But notwithſtanding the ſecrecy with which theſe negotiations were carried on, the king was informed of the deſigns of his enemies: he therefore returned to England about the latter end of January, and ordered colonel Blakeney, with a detachment of foot guards, to ſecure count Gyllenburgh, the Swediſh ambaſſador, with all his papers. At the ſame time, Sir Jacob Banks, formerly a member for Minehead, and Charles Cæſar, late treaſurer to the navy, were taken into cuſtody.

Theſe

These proceedings alarmed the foreign miniſters, who complained of it to the miniſtry as an outrage committed againſt the law of nations. They received a general anſwer that, in a day or two, they ſhould be fully informed why the court had taken this ſtep. Accordingly, the ſecretaries of ſtate wrote circular letters to them, giving an account of the motive which led to theſe meaſures. Orders were alſo diſpatched to the Britiſh envoy at the Hague to apply, with the utmoſt ſecrecy, to the ſtates for leave to arreſt baron Gortz the Swediſh reſidentiary in Holland. The baron owned, and even boaſted, that he had planned the invaſion: a deſign, he pretended, which was juſtified by the conduct of king George, who had aided the princes in confederacy againſt the king of Sweden, who had aſſiſted the king of Denmark to reduce Bremen and Verden, and then purchaſed theſe dutchies of the conqueror, and who had, in the courſe of this very ſummer, ſent a ſquadron of ſhips to the Baltic, where it joined the Danes and Ruſſians againſt the Swediſh fleet.

On the 20th of February the parliament of Great Britain aſſembled, when the king, in a ſpeech from the throne, informed them "that the inveterate rancour of a faction had again prompted the ſtirring up foreign powers to diſturb the peace of their native country, inſomuch that it ſeemed they choſe rather to make Britain a ſcene of blood and confuſion, than give over their darling deſign of impoſing a popiſh Pretender." The letters of baron Gortz and count Gyllenburg were laid before the houſe, and ſoon after publiſhed by his majeſty's command.

Both houſes addreſſed the king upon this occaſion, and, in ſuitable terms, expreſſed their loyalty and affection for his perſon and government, as well as reſentment at the late flagrant meaſures of a diſappointed and diſaffected party. All commerce with Sweden was prohibited, a ſquadron of thirty-two ſail was immediately fitted out, which blocked up the Swediſh fleet in their own harbours, and prevented the execution of their long projected deſign.

The commons voted twenty ſeven thouſand pounds for the payment of four battalions of Munſter, and two of Saxe-Gotha, which the king had taken into his ſervice, to ſupply the place of ſuch as, during the rebellion, might be drawn from the garriſons of the States-general, to the aſſiſtance of England. The tax on malt, and a land tax of three ſhillings in the pound were voted to raiſe the ſupplies.

The ſums given being deemed inſufficient for the ſervice of the current year, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope brought a meſſage from his majeſty, demanding an extraordinary ſupply, that he might be the better enabled to ſecure his kingdoms againſt the danger with which they were threatened from Sweden; and he moved that a ſupply ſhould be granted to his majeſty for this purpoſe.

This unexpected meſſage occaſioned violent debates. It was ſtrenuouſly urged, that to aſk money for alliances, without firſt acquainting the houſe with the particulars, was no ways agreeable to the methods of parliament, and many courtiers, who had before diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a remarkable manner by their zeal for the intereſt of his majeſty, convinced that this method was unparliamentary, argued againſt it. Mr. Robert Walpole was ſilent upon the occaſion; at length, however, it was voted by a majority of only four voices, that a ſum not exceeding two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſhould be granted to his majeſty on this occaſion.

It appeared from the earneſtneſs with which this meaſure was oppoſed that the miniſtry was divided within itſelf. A ſhort time, however, produced an almoſt total change. Lord Townſhend was removed from the viceroyſhip of Ireland, and the duke of Bolton appointed to that high office. The duke of Devonſhire was removed from being preſident of the council; new commiſſioners were nominated for the management of the treaſury and admiralty, and the earl of Sunderland and Joſeph Addiſon, Eſq. were appointed principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

On the 26th of April the lower houſe of convocation took under conſideration ſome poſitions advanced by Dr. Hoadley, biſhop of Bangor, in a pamphlet entitled "A preſervative againſt the principles and practices of the Non-jurors." The work was cenſured as tending to ſubvert the authority of the church, and call in queſtion the royal ſupremacy and legiſlative authority in matters eccleſiaſtical. But government prudently interpoſed and thereby prevented the iſſue of their determinations.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the ſixth of May, and informed the parliament, that the fleet under Sir George Byng, which had ſailed to the Baltic to obſerve the motions of the Swedes, was ſafely arrived in the Sound; an event, which he hoped, would effectually ſecure the kingdom againſt any immediate danger of an invaſion; that this likewiſe afforded him an opportunity of making a conſiderable reduction in his land forces; an opportunity which he embraced with the greateſt pleaſure, having eſtabliſhed it as a rule with himſelf, to conſult, in every thing, the eaſe of his people, as far as was conſiſtent with their ſafety; and, for his own part, as he ſhould always place his greatneſs in the proſperity of his ſubjects, ſo ſhould he ever deſire that his power might be founded in their affections; that, for theſe reaſons, he had given orders for the ſpeedy diſbanding of ten thouſand men; that he had likewiſe given directions to prepare an act of grace, and, however this favour might be received by thoſe who were obſtinately bent upon the ruin of their country, he flattered himſelf it would raiſe a due ſenſe of gratitude in all ſuch as had been artfully miſled into treaſonable practices againſt his perſon and government, and preſerve them from ſtanding in need of the like mercy for the future, when ſuch an inſtance of clemency might not be ſo conſiſtent with the public welfare, as it would be agreeable to his own inclinations; and added, that he hoped they would take proper meaſures for reducing the public debts, with a juſt regard to parliamentary credit, and compleat the public buſineſs with unanimity and diſpatch.

The grand object of reducing the national debt had already occupied the thoughts of the principal financiers in the kingdom. It was comprehended under the two heads of redeemable and irredeemable incumbrances. The firſt had been contracted with a redeemable intereſt; and theſe the public had a right to diſcharge; the others conſiſted of long and ſhort annuities, granted for a greater or leſſer number of years, which could not be altered without the conſent of the proprietors. Mr. Robert Walpole, when at the head of the treaſury, had projected a ſcheme for leſſening the intereſt, and

and paying the capital of these national debts. He proposed, in the house of commons, to reduce the interest of redeemable funds, and offer an alternative to the proprietors of annuities. Walpole's plan had met with approbation; but on his resignation, the new ministers thought proper to make some alterations in it, with which he was by no means satisfied.

The South-sea company and the Bank having agreed to provide money for such creditors as should be willing to receive their principal and interest, the house came to the following resolutions: that all the public funds redeemable by law, which did not exceed five pounds per cent. per annum should be redeemed, according to their respective provisoes or clauses of redemption, contained in the acts of parliament for that purpose, or (with the consent of the proprietors) should be converted into an interest or annuity, not exceeding five pounds per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament: that his majesty should be enabled to borrow of any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, such sum or sums of money, as should be requisite to redeem the said redeemable funds, at any rate not exceeding five pounds per cent. per annum, or to secure the same upon the funds so to be redeemed: that the annuity of one hundred and six thousand, five hundred and one pounds, thirteen shillings and five pence, payable to the governor and company of the bank, by virtue of several acts of parliament which had been passed in that behalf, for the principal sum of one million, five hundred and seventy-five thousand, twenty-seven pounds, seventeen shillings, and ten pence halfpenny, by them advanced, should be redeemed, or (by consent of the said governor and company) be converted into an interest or annuity, not exceeding five pounds per cent. redeemable by parliament: that so much of the fund, commonly called the Aggregate fund, settled by an act of parliament in the first year of his present majesty, as is applicable to the interest, circulation, exchanging, or cancelling the present exchequer bills, should also be redeemed: that his majesty should be enabled to authorize the high treasurer, or the commissioners of the treasury, for the time being, to treat and agree with any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, for circulating such a number of exchequer bills, at a rate not exceeding four pounds ten shillings per cent. per annum, for interest, exchange, and circulation, as might be charged and secured upon that part of the Aggregate fund so to be redemed: that the annuities of six hundred thousand pounds, and eight thousand pounds, payable to the governor and company of merchants of England, trading to the South-sea, should likewise be redeemed: that the annuities payable by an act of parliament of the reign of king William the third, to certain patentees therein named, their heirs and assigns, out of the weekly sum of three thousand seven hundred pounds charged on the excise, should also be redeemed: that the several terms of years remaining on the duties appropriated by the two lottery acts, passed in the ninth year of the reign of her late majesty queen Anne, and by the two lottery acts, passed in the tenth year of her said late majesty, should be made perpetual: that the said duties comprehended in the said four lottery acts should be made one fund for the future: that the proprietors of the orders, grounded on the said lottery acts, should, within a limited time, make their election, either to accept annuities after the rate of five pounds per cent. per annum, redeemable by parliament, out of such general fund, or to be paid so much as remained due to them upon their orders respectively: that in all cases where the proprietors should choose to have their principal, the five per cent. per annum thereby saved should be established as another fund towards answering such sums of money as should be advanced (for discharging the principal) by loans, or such other securities as should be thought proper: that his majesty should be enabled to give power for receiving voluntary subscriptions from any person or persons, intitled to any of the annuities issuing out of the public funds, for the residue of the respective terms of 99, 96, 89, or 32 years formerly purchased therein, (not being subject to redemption,) who should be willing to accept, in lieu thereof, perpetual annuities redeemable by parliament, and to agree to some other regulations mentioned in the resolution of the house: that all savings, which should arise upon any of the present funds by the proposed redemption and reduction, should, after all deficiencies that might happen upon any of the said funds were made good, be reserved and applied towards discharging and reducing the national debt: and that all the said duties now in being, or to be continued, should immediately cease and determine, after the said national debts should be discharged and paid off. The three bills, called the South-sea-act, the Bank-act, and the General-fund-act, were founded on these resolutions.

The original-stock of the South-sea company did not exceed nine millions four hundred and seventy-one thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds; but, as the funds granted were sufficient to answer the interest of ten millions at six per cent. the company made up that sum to the government, for which they received an interest or annuity of six hundred thousand pounds, and eight thousand pounds a year for management. By this act, they declared themselves willing to receive an annuity of five hundred thousand, and eight thousand pounds a year for management. It was enacted, that the company should continue a corporation, until the redemption of their annuity, towards which not less than a million should be paid at a time. They were likewise required to advance a sum not exceeding two millions towards discharging the principal and interest due on the four lottery funds of the ninth and tenth years of her late majesty.

The substance of the bank act was as follows: the governor and company declared themselves willing to accept an annuity of eighty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-one pounds, seven shillings and ten pence halfpenny, or the principal of one million, seven hundred, and seventy-five thousand, twenty-seven pounds, thirteen shillings and ten pence halfpenny, in lieu of the present annuity, amounting to one hundred and six thousand five hundred and one pounds, thirteen shillings, and five-pence. They likewise declared themselves willing to discharge, and deliver up to be cancelled, as many exchequer-bills as amounted to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of one hundred thousand pounds, being after the rate of five per cent. redeemable after one year's notice; to circulate as many of the remaining exchequer-bills as amounted to two millions, and to accept of an annuity of one hundred thousand pounds, being after the rate of five per cent. redeemable after one year's notice; to circulate the remaining exchequer-bills at three per cent. and one penny per

day. It was enacted, that the former allowances ſhould be continued to the enſuing Chriſtmas; after which, the bank ſhould have for circulating the two millions five hundred and ſixty-one thouſand twenty-five pounds remaining exchequer-bills, an annuity of ſeventy-ſix thouſand eight hundred and thirty pounds fifteen ſhillings, at the rate of three pounds per cent. till redeemed, over and above the one penny per day for intereſt. By the ſame act the bank was required to advance a ſum not exceeding two millions five hundred thouſand pounds, towards diſcharging the national debt, if wanted, on condition that they ſhould have five pounds per cent. for as much as they ſhould advance, redeemable by parliament.

The general fund act recited the ſeveral acts of parliament, that had paſſed for eſtabliſhing the four lotteries in the reign of the late queen, mentioned the terms of years for which theſe revenues were granted, and ſtated the annual produce of the ſeveral funds, amounting in all to ſeven hundred twenty-four thouſand eight hundred forty-nine pounds, ſix ſhillings and ten-pence halfpenny. This was the general fund, the deficiency of which was to be made good, annually, out of the firſt aids granted by parliament. For the regular payment of all ſuch annuities as ſhould be made payable by this act, it was ordained, that all the duties and revenues mentioned therein ſhould continue for ever; with the proviſoe, however, that the revenues rendered by this act perpetual, ſhould be ſubject to redemption. This act contained a clauſe, by which the ſinking fund was eſtabliſhed. The reduction of intereſt to five per cent. producing a ſurplus or exceſs upon the appropriated funds, it was enacted that all the monies ariſing from time to time, as well from the ſurplus by virtue of the acts for redeeming the funds of the bank and of the South-ſea company, as alſo from the ſurplus of the duties and revenues by this act appropriated to make good the general fund, and the overplus monies of the ſaid general fund, ſhould be appropriated and employed for the diſcharging the principal and intereſt of ſuch national debts as were incurred before the twenty-fifth of December of the preceeding year, in ſuch manner as ſhould be ordered or appointed by any future act of parliament, to be diſcharged out of the ſame, and for none other uſe, intent, or purpoſe whatſoever.

The earl of Oxford, who had been confined in the tower about two years, took advantage of the diſputes which prevailed among parties, and cauſed a petition to be preſented to the houſe of peers, praying that his impeachment might not be indefinite, but that he might be admitted to trial. The moſt violent debates took place in both houſes on the manner in which it was proper to proceed. The upper houſe inſiſted on their right to regulate the matter of trial both as to time and form; but the commons found means to protract the term for ten days longer than the ſpace preſcribed by the lords.

On the twenty-fourth of June the earl was brought to the bar of the court in Weſtminſter-hall, where, after an introductory ſpeech from the lord high ſteward, Mr. Hampden recapitulated the charge againſt the priſoner, but was interrupted by lord Harcourt, who carried a motion for adjournment to the houſe of peers. His lordſhip there obſerved, that, as much time would be required to diſcuſs the ſeveral articles, he deemed it expedient to move, that the commons be not permitted to proceed any farther in their charge againſt the earl of Oxford, till judgment ſhould be given as to the article of high treaſon.

The peers having agreed to this motion, a more violent debate than ever enſued between the two houſes, each claiming their reſpective rights and privileges. At length, however, the lords ſent a meſſage to the commons, peremptorily informing them, that they intended forthwith to proceed to the trial of the earl of Oxford. The commons paid no regard to this intimation, but adjourned to the third of July. The lords, therefore, repairing to Weſtminſter-hall, took their places, ordered the earl to be brought to the bar, and made proclamation for his accuſers to appear. Having waited a ſhort time, and the commons not appearing, they returned to their houſe, where the queſtion being put, whether the earl ſhould be acquitted? it paſſed in the affirmative, the lord high ſteward made a formal declaration of the ſame, and Oxford was immediately diſcharged. But the lower houſe, fired with reſentment, preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring he might be exempted from the intended act of grace. His majeſty complied, and the earl was forbid the court.

On the 15th of July his majeſty went to the houſe and gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, among which was the act of grace, from which Prior and ſome others were excepted by name; after which his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

An unforeſeen event now delivered the king of England from all apprehenſions on the part of Sweden. Charles the XIIth, who was on the point of entering into an alliance with the Czar, was killed at the ſiege of Frederickſhall in Norway, and the dominions, which had been taken from him, remained with the then poſſeſſors. King George had not yet received the inveſtiture of the duchies of Bremen and Verden. This induced him to preſerve meaſures with the emperor Charles the VIth, and offer to ſupport him againſt the efforts of Spain. Philip invaded and conquered Sardinia on pretences rather ſpecious than ſolid. His miniſter, cardinal Alberoni, ever forming immenſe projects, drew on the Spaniſh monarchy a ſtorm, which good policy would rather have endeavoured to avert. The emperor, France, England and Holland concluded a treaty, and this quadruple alliance regulated the partition of ſome diſputed territories. Philip was diſſatisfied, and all parties prepared for war.

The parliament fixed the number of troops at ſixteen thouſand men, and paſſed a bill to puniſh mutiny and deſertion. This bill, by reſtoring martial law, took from the civil magiſtrate the cognizance of crimes committed by the ſoldiers and officers of the army; and, however contrary it might be to the genius of the Engliſh, it then appeared neceſſary to the maintenance of military diſcipline.

On the 2d of November the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a prince, who on the 28th, was baptized by the name of George William. This affair was unhappily productive of a difference between the king and the prince of Wales. The cuſtom, it ſeems, on ſuch an occaſion, was, that, when the child was a boy, and the king ſtood godfather, the place of ſecond god-father was ſupplied by one of the principal lords of the court, commonly the lord-chamberlain for the time being. The prince, who was ignorant of the cuſtom, intended, that his uncle, the biſhop of Oſnaburgh, ſhould

ſhould ſtand god-father. The king, who had been at the pains to inform himſelf of the matter, appointed the duke of Newcaſtle, then lord-chamberlain, to ſtand, not as repreſenting the biſhop of Oſnaburgh, but in his own proper name and perſon. As ſoon as the ceremony was ended, the prince expreſſed the higheſt reſentment againſt the duke.

His majeſty commanded the prince to confine himſelf within his own apartments, and afterwards ſignified his pleaſure that he ſhould quit the palace of St. James's. The prince immediately complied, and took up his reſidence at Leiceſter houſe, whither he was accompanied by the princeſs his conſort. Notice was given to all peers and peereſſes, and all privy counſellors and their wives, that in caſe they viſited the prince and princeſs, they ſhould forbear coming into his majeſty's preſence; all who enjoyed poſts and places under both king and prince, were left to their choice which they choſe to relinquiſh, and after this affair, when his majeſty went abroad, he committed the adminiſtration of government to the power of lords juſtices.

On the 21ſt of November the parliament met, when the king, in his ſpeech, informed them, that he had reduced the army to very near one half ſince the beginning of laſt ſeſſion; that he heartily wiſhed all thoſe, who were friends to the then happy eſtabliſhment, might unanimouſly concur in ſome proper method for the greater ſtrengthening the proteſtant intereſt; of which, as the church of England was unqueſtionably the main ſupport and bulwark, ſo would ſhe reap the principal benefit of every advantage accruing from the union and mutual charity of all proteſtants; and that as none could recommend themſelves more effectually to his favour and countenance, than by a ſincere zeal for the juſt rights of the crown and liberties of the people, he was firmly determined to encourage all thoſe, who acted agreeable to the principles on which his government was founded, and to the conſtitution of Great Britain.

Both houſes of parliament having preſented addreſſes of thanks, the commons proceeded to take into conſideration the eſtimates and accounts, in order to ſettle the eſtabliſhment of the army, navy, and ordnance. Ten thouſand men were voted for the ſea ſervice; and the ſum of two hundred and twenty-four thouſand, eight hundred and fifty-ſeven pounds, fourteen ſhillings and eleven pence, was granted for defraying the expences of the navy.

When the commons came to take into conſideration the ſupply neceſſary for the army, high debates aroſe on the number of troops that ought to be maintained. Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Shippen, and Mr. Walpole endeavoured to prove that twelve thouſand men were fully ſufficient. They were anſwered by Mr. Craggs, ſecretary at war, and Sir David Dalrymple, who affirmed, that ſixteen thouſand were abſolutely neceſſary.

In the courſe of the debate, Mr. Shippen, among other vehement and unguarded expreſſions, ſaid, "that the ſecond paragraph of the king's ſpeech ſeemed more calculated for the meridian of Germany than of Great Britain; and that it was a great misfortune the king was a ſtranger to our language and conſtitution." Theſe words gave offence to ſeveral members, ſome of whom affirmed, that part of his ſpeech was a ſcandalous invective againſt the king's perſon and government, and moved, that the member who uſed it ſhould be ſent to the Tower. Mr. Shippen refuſing to retract, or excuſe what he had ſaid, was voted to the Tower by a great majority.

A. D. 1718. In the beginning of this year, one James Shepherd, a youth of eighteen, by frequenting diſaffected aſſemblies, and reading inflammatory productions, was worked up to ſuch a height of enthuſiaſm, that he actually wrote to Mr. Leake, a nonjuring miniſter, propoſing a ſcheme for aſſaſſinating the king. He was immediately apprehended, brought to his trial, and owned the deſign of which he was accuſed, declaring he had harboured it for three years paſt, nor did he think there was any ſin in carrying it into execution. He was accordingly condemned and hanged at Tyburn, upon his own confeſſion.

The marquis of Paleotti, an Italian nobleman, brother to the ducheſs of Shrewſbury, underwent the ſame fate. He had, in a tranſport of paſſion, killed his own ſervant, and ſeemed, indeed, to be diſordered in his intellects. After ſentence of death had been paſſed upon him, ſtrong applications were made to the king for a pardon, as well by his ſiſter the ducheſs, as by many other people of the firſt diſtinction; but the common people became ſo clamorous for juſtice, that it was thought dangerous to ſave him, and he, therefore, ſuffered the puniſhment of the law.

Several changes in the miniſtry took place at this time. Lord chancellor Cowper, who had been advanced to the dignity of an earl, reſigned the great ſeal, which was at firſt put into commiſſion, but afterwards given to lord Parker, as high-chancellor. The earl of Sunderland was conſtituted preſident of the council and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. The earl of Holderneſs was placed at the head of the board of trade. The lord Stanhope and Mr. Craggs were appointed ſecretaries of ſtate; and the title of earl was ſoon afterwards given to lords Stanhope and Cadogan.

One grand object of the quadruple alliance was to oblige the king of Spain to make peace with the emperor, to whom the duke of Savoy was to cede Sicily, in exchange for Sardinia. This treaty, too advantageous to the houſe of Auſtria, was rejected by the court of Spain, and cardinal Alberoni having equipped a formidable armament, the king of England, to ſupport his mediation, ordered a fleet of twenty ſail of the line to the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng.

The admiral arrived at Cape St. Vincent on the thirtieth of June, when he diſpatched his ſecretary to Cadiz, with a letter to colonel Stanhope, the Britiſh miniſter at Madrid, deſiring him to acquaint his moſt Catholic majeſty with the admiral's arrival in thoſe parts, and ſubmit to his inſpection the following articles of inſtructions.

"As a ſuſpenſion of arms is abſolutely neceſ-
"ſary for opening conferences and conducting
"the negotiations, you are to make inſtances with
"both parties to ceaſe from uſing any further acts
"of hoſtility; but, in caſe the Spaniards do ſtill
"inſiſt, with their ſhips of war and forces, to at-
"tack the kingdom of Naples, or other the ter-
"ritories of the emperor in Italy, or to land in
"any part of Italy, which can only be with a de-
"ſign to invade the emperor's dominions, againſt
"whom they have declared war by invading Sar-
"dinia; or, if they ſhould endeavour to make
"themſelves maſters of the kingdom of Sicily,
"which muſt be with a deſign to invade the king-
"dom of Naples; in ſuch a caſe, you are, with
"all your power, to hinder and obſtruct the ſame.

"If

" If it ſhould ſo happen, that, at your arrival, " with the fleet under your command, in the Me- " diterranean, the Spaniards ſhould already have " landed any troops in Italy, in order to invade " the emperor's territories, you ſhall endeavour " amicably to diſſuade them from perſevering in " ſuch an attempt, and offer them your aſſiſtance " to help them to withdraw their troops and put " an end to all farther acts of hoſtility. But in " caſe theſe your friendly endeavours ſhould prove " ineffectual, you ſhall, by keeping company with, " or intercepting their ſhips or convoy, or, if it " be neceſſary, by openly oppoſing them, defend " the emperor's territories from any further at- " tempt."

On the peruſal of theſe inſtructions, cardinal Alberoni told colonel Stanhope, with ſome warmth, that his maſter would run all hazards, and even ſuffer himſelf to be driven out of Spain, rather than recall his troops, or conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms. Mr. Stanhope having put into his hands a liſt of the Britiſh ſquadron, the cardinal, with evident emotion, threw it on the ground. Mr. Stanhope then intreated him to conſider the ſincere regard which the king his maſter had always ſhewn for the honour and intereſt of his Catholic majeſty, of which it was impoſſible to give ſtronger proofs than he had done by his unwearied endeavours, through the whole courſe of the preſent negotiation, to procure for Spain the moſt advantageous conditions poſſible; and that in theſe endeavours he had ſucceeded beyond the expectations of any reaſonable, unprejudiced perſon: that though, by the treaty of Utrecht, his majeſty was obliged to defend the emperor's dominions, when attacked, he had hitherto acted only as a mediator; that even now, when it was impoſſible for him to delay any longer the ſending his fleet into the Mediterranean, it appeared, by the admiral's inſtructions, which he had communicated to his excellence, and by the orders which he himſelf had received, that his majeſty had nothing more at heart than that the fleet might be employed in promoting the intereſts of the king of Spain: and therefore he hoped his Catholic majeſty would not, by refuſing to recall his troops, or conſent to a ſuſpenſion of arms, put it out of his power to give him ample proof of the undoubted ſincerity of his friendſhip.

The cardinal, at length, promiſed he would lay the admiral's letter before the king, and let the envoy know his majeſty's reſolution. This, however, he thought proper to delay for more than a week, probably with a view of giving the Spaniſh forces time to ſecure a firm footing in Sicily. At laſt, he ſent back the admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note, importing, that the chevalier Byng might, if he pleaſed, proceed agreeable to his inſtructions.

The Britiſh admiral's inſtructions having no weight with the Spaniſh monarch, and being treated with the moſt haughty contempt by his prime miniſter, Sir George took his departure and proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garriſon of Port-Mahon. From thence he ſailed for Naples, where he arrived on the firſt day of Auguſt, and had an interview with the vice-roy, count Daun, by whom he was treated with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſpect, and informed that the Spaniſh army, amounting to thirty thouſand men, commanded by the marquis de Leda, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Meſſina, and was then employed in the ſiege of the citadel belonging to this laſt city: that the Piedmonteſe garriſon would ſoon be obliged to ſurrender, if not relieved: and that an alliance was on the carpet between the emperor and the king of Sicily, which laſt had deſired the aſſiſtance of the Imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel of Meſſina.

The admiral, hereupon, came to an immediate reſolution of ſailing thither, and took under his convoy a reinforcement of two thouſand Germans for the citadel, under the command of general Wetzel. He forthwith departed from Naples, and on the ninth day of Auguſt, came in ſight of the Faro, off Meſſina. Sir George Byng, purſuant to orders, then propoſed a ceſſation of arms, but that being abſolutely refuſed, he immediately ſailed in queſt of the Spaniſh fleet, which, from intelligence received, he knew was departed from the harbour of Meſſina, and about noon came in ſight of them. This fleet conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſail of the line, with fire ſhips, bombs, gallies and veſſels laden with ſtores and proviſions. The commander in chief was Don Antonio de Caſtaneta, under whom were four rear admirals.

As ſoon as they deſcried the Engliſh ſquadron, they ſtood away at large, but in order of battle. Sir George gave chace all that day and the ſucceeding night. In the morning, being the eleventh of Auguſt, the marquis de Mari, with ſix ſhips of war, the gallies, fire ſhips, bomb-ketches, and ſtore ſhips, ſeparated from the main fleet, and ſtood in for the Sicilian ſhore. The Engliſh admiral detached captain Walton, with ſix ſhips, in purſuit of them; and they were ſoon engaged. He himſelf continued to chace their main fleet; and, about ten o'clock, the battle began. The Spaniards ſeemed to be diſtracted in their councils, and acted in confuſion. They made a running fight, and their commanders behaved with reſolution, in ſpite of which they were all taken except Cammock, who, with three ſhips of war, and three frigates, eſcaped to Malta.

On the eighteenth a letter was brought to the admiral from captain Walton, importing, that he had taken four Spaniſh ſhips of war, together with a bomb ketch, and a veſſel laden with arms; and that he had deſtroyed two ſhips of war, a fire ſhip, and a bomb veſſel.

But notwithſtanding this victory, the Spaniards continued the ſiege of the citadel of Meſſina with ſuch vigour, that the governor ſurrendered the place by capitulation, on the twenty-ninth day of September; and the garriſon was tranſported to Syracuſe and Reggio. A treaty was now concluded at Vienna, between the emperor and the duke of Savoy. They agreed to form for the conqueſt of Sardinia in behalf of the duke, who, in the mean time, engaged to evacuate Sicily; but until his troops could be conveyed from that iſland, he conſented that they ſhould co-operate againſt the common enemy, with the German forces.

During the greateſt part of the winter, Sir George Byng continued to aſſiſt the Imperial forces in Sicily, by clearing the ſeas of the Spaniards, and preſerving a free communication between the German forces and the Calabrian ſhore, from whence they were ſupplied with proviſions. He conferred with the viceroy of Naples, and the other Imperial general, about the operations of the enſuing campaign; and count Hamilton was diſpatched to Vienna, to acquaint the emperor with the reſult of their deliberations. The admiral then ſet ſail for Mahon, that his ſhips might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the ſea in the ſpring, while

while his ſon remained at Naples to manage his affairs with the viceroy, and communicate to the court of England any thing remarkable that might happen.

The king of Spain, enraged at the late victory obtained over his grand fleet, which had, in a degree, deſtroyed the naval force he had been at ſo much trouble and expence to raiſe, did not fail to ſhew his reſentment. In the beginning of September, rear admiral Gulvara, with ſome ſhips under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made a ſeizure of all the Engliſh veſſels in that harbour, which was no ſooner known here, than repriſals were made on our part. As war was not declared, Spain exclaimed againſt the attack of the Spaniſh fleet as a violation of the right of nations. But whatever irregularity there might be in the proceedings, or whoever commenced hoſtilities, the action was not only beneficial to the common cauſe, but abſolutely neceſſary to diſappoint the deſigns of cardinal Alberoni, who aimed at nothing leſs than exciting a general war in Europe, which had been ſo lately delivered from that dreadful calamity.

At the meeting of parliament on the 11th of November, his majeſty informed them, that the court of Spain, having rejected all amicable propoſals, and violated the moſt ſolemn engagements, he was perſuaded a Britiſh parliament would reſent ſuch treatment. An addreſs of congratulation on the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms being moved for by lord Carteret, it occaſioned warm debates, but at length being carried in the affirmative, was accordingly preſented. The commons voted thirteen thouſand five hundred ſailors, and twelve thouſand four hundred and thirty-five men for the land ſervice. The whole eſtimate amounted to two millions, two hundred and fifty-ſeven thouſand, five hundred and eighty-one pounds, nineteen ſhillings. The bills for the land and malt tax were preſented and paſſed in one day; an inſtance of diſpatch, which no other parliament ſince the revolution had equalled.

A rupture with Spain had, for ſome time, been conſidered as inevitable. His majeſty therefore ſent a maſſage to both houſes, intimating, that it became neceſſary to declare war againſt Spain, as his endeavours to procure redreſs for the injuries his ſubjects had received were ineffectual.

A motion was hereupon made for an addreſs to aſſure his majeſty, that they would chearfully ſupport him in the proſecution of the war, till Spain ſhould be obliged to accept of reaſonable terms of peace, and agree to ſuch conditions of trade and commerce, as the Engliſh were entitled to expect by virtue of their ſeveral treaties. Some members of the lower houſe, and Mr. Walpole in particular, who was not then in favour, cenſured with the utmoſt warmth, the meaſure propoſed by his majeſty, alledging the injury which ſo precipitate a rupture muſt do to trade in general. But their arguments had little effect, the addreſs was carried, and ſoon after a declaration of war againſt Spain was publiſhed with the uſual ceremonies.

In the interim, Alberoni uſed his beſt endeavours to provide againſt the impending ſtorm. He cauſed new ſhips to be built, the ſea ports to be put in a poſture of defence, ſuccours to be ſent to Sicily, and proper meaſures to be taken for the ſafety of Sardinia. Conſcious, however, that with all his preparations, he ſhould be utterly incapable to reſiſt the united efforts of the three greateſt princes in Europe, he reſolved to have recourſe to ſtratagem and intrigue. By means of the prince de Cellamare, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at Paris, he caballed with the malecontents of that kingdom, who were numerous and powerful. A ſcheme was actually laid for ſecuring the perſon of the young king, ſeizing the regent, and entirely changing the face of government. Every thing was in readineſs for executing this plot, and the conſpirators only waited for their laſt orders, when intimation was given to the Engliſh monarch, who immediately appriſed the duke of Orleans of the tranſaction, and ſuch meaſures were taken at the French court as ſoon brought the whole intrigue to light. The prince de Callamare, ambaſſador from Philip V. to the court of Verſailles was put under an arreſt, and Cardinal Alberoni, the projector of this ſcheme, had the mortification to find that he had, without deriving any advantage from it, violently offended a power, whoſe reſentment could not but prove exceeding prejudicial not only to himſelf but the whole Spaniſh monarchy. The regent declared war againſt Spain on the twenty-ninth of December, and an army of thirty thouſand men, commanded by the duke of Berwick marched towards that kingdom in the month of January.

This failure, however, did not prevent the ambitious and perfidious cardinal from purſuing another ſcheme, which he had formed for placing the Pretender on the throne of Great Britain. The duke of Ormond, repairing to Madrid, held conferences with his excellence, and meaſures were concerted for raiſing another rebellion in England.

The chevalier de St. George left Rome in a private manner, and embarking at Netuno, landed at Cagliari in the beginning of March. From thence he took paſſage to Roſes in Catalonia, and proceeded to Madrid, where he was received with great expreſſions of friendſhip, and treated as king of Great Britain. An armament had been equipped of ten ſhips of war, and a great number of tranſports, having on board ſix thouſand regular troops, and arms for twelve thouſand men.

The duke of Ormond took the command of this fleet, with the title of captain-general of his moſt Catholic majeſty's forces. He was furniſhed with a declaration in the name of that king, importing, that, for many good reaſons, he had ſent part of his land and ſea forces into England and Scotland, to act as auxiliaries to king James; that what had induced him to take this ſtep, was the certain intelligence he had received, that many inhabitants of the two kingdoms, notwithſtanding their ſtrong inclination to acknowledge that prince for their ſovereign, durſt not openly declare for him, becauſe they did not ſee him ſupported by any of the ſtates of Europe that had either the will or power to aſſiſt him; that, in order to remove this difficulty, he declared he was determined to exert his utmoſt endeavours for his reſtoration to the throne of a kingdom, which, he ſaid, belonged to him by undoubted right.

A. D. 1719. No ſooner was information received at the court of London of this deſign, than the moſt effectual means were taken for defeating it. A fleet was immediately ordered to be got ready: a proclamation was iſſued for apprehending James Butler, late duke of Ormond, with a promiſe of five thouſand pounds and an embargo was alſo laid upon all ſhipping. On the 10th of March his majeſty went to the houſe, and acquainted his parliament with the repeated advices

he had received touching the projected descent, whereupon they promised to support him against all his enemies, desired him to augment his forces by sea and land; and assured him they would make good the extraordinary expence. Two thousand men were landed from Holland, and six battalions of Imperialists from the Austrian Netherlands. The regent of France made an offer of twenty battalions; but these it was not thought proper to accept, and, indeed, as it fortunately happened, there was but little occasion for those already arrived.

Ormond sailed from Cadiz, and proceeded with a fair wind as far as Cape Finistere, where his fleet was dispersed and disabled by a violent storm, which entirely defeated the purposed expedition. Two frigates, however, which had sailed from Port-Passage, arrived on the coast of Scotland, with the earls of Marischal and Seaforth, the marquis of Tullibardine, some field officers, three hundred Spaniards, and arms for two thousand men. They took possession of Donan castle, being joined by about sixteen hundred highlanders.

General Wightman, with a small body of regular troops, marched against them from Inverness. They made themselves masters of the pass of Glenshiel, but at the approach of the king's forces, retired to the pass at Strachell, which they resolved to defend. They were attacked and driven from one eminence to another till night, when the rebels dispersed; and next day the Spaniards surrendered prisoners of war. Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with some other officers, retired to one of the western isles, leaving their followers to provide for themselves.

The extraordinary promotion of peers in the late reign so greatly offended the lords, that they had long been exercising their invention, in order to find out some effectual remedy against the like evil for the future.

The duke of Somerset represented in the upper house, that the number of peers being very much encreased, especially since the union of the two kingdoms, it was absolutely necessary to take some steps for preserving the dignity of the peerage, and therefore moved, that a bill might be brought in to settle and limit the peerage to a certain number. The motion was supported by the duke of Argyle, then lord steward of the household, and the earls of Carlisle and Sunderland. It was opposed by the earl of Oxford, who said, that as it tended to take away the brightest gem from the crown, it was matter of wonder to see it supported by those, who, by the great employments they enjoyed, seemed under the strictest obligation to take care of the royal prerogative: that he therefore apprehended there must be some secret meaning in this motion; but, for his own part, though he expected nothing from the crown, yet he would never give his vote for lopping off so valuable a branch of the prerogative, as such a restriction would prevent the king from rewarding merit in a proper manner.

So compliant was the king with the desire expressed in the motion of the noble duke, that, on the day set apart for the debate, earl Stanhope delivered a message to the house, importing that, as they had under consideration the state of the British peerage, his majesty had so much at heart the settling it upon such a foundation as might secure the freedom and constitution of parliaments in all future ages, that he desired the consideration of his prerogative might not be suffered to have any weight in the arguments.

But the debates now ran higher than before. Earl Cowper affirmed, that part of the bill relating to the Scottish peerage was a manifest violation of the treaty of union, as well as a flagrant piece of injustice. He urged, that the Scottish peers, if excluded from a certain number, would be ina worse condition than any other subjects in the kingdom: and that a species of oppression, which must certainly inflame them with the highest resentment and indignation, might prove the occasion of some dangerous commotion. These objections, however, were over-ruled: resolutions were taken agreeable to the motion; and the judges were ordered to prepare and bring in the bill.

The generality of the Scottish peers were greatly alarmed at this proceeding, as well as many English commoners, who saw themselves precluded from the hopes of ever arriving at dignity and title; and they did not fail to exclaim against it, as a violent encroachment upon the constitution of the kingdom. A national clamour began to arise, when earl Stanhope observed in the house, that as the bill had raised strange apprehensions, he thought it adviseable to delay the further consideration of it till a more proper opportunity. It was accordingly dropped, and the parliament prorogued to the eighteenth day of April, when his majesty made a speech to both houses, thanking them for every instance of their loyalty, zeal and affection.

On the eleventh of May his majesty set out for his German dominions, where, being arrived, he concluded a peace with Sweden, for the queen and her council having consented to the cession of Bremen and Verden to the elector of Hanover, the objection to a ratification was effectually removed. During his continuance abroad, the king offered his mediation between Sweden, the Danes, the Russians and the Poles.

But his mediation was rejected by the Czar, who, determined to pursue his schemes of conquest, sent his fleet to the Scheuron or Batses of Sweden, where his troops landed to the number of fifteen thousand men, and committed dreadful ravages; but Sir John Norris, who commanded the fleet in those seas, having orders to support the negotiations, and oppose any hostility that might be committed, the Czar recalled his fleet, fearing the same fate that had befel the Spanish navy.

Sir George Byng continued in the Mediterranean, powerfully assisting the imperialists in finishing the conquest of Sicily. The court of Vienna had resolved to send a strong body of forces to compleat the reduction of that island; and the command of this fleet was entrusted to the count de Merci, an experienced and gallant officer.

The Spanish forces, under the command of the marquis de Leda, were attacked in their camp at Villa Franca by the imperial commander, who was repulsed with the loss of eight hundred men killed, and two thousand four hundred wounded, himself having received a musquet ball in the reins. Here his army was reduced to great straits for want of provision, and had it not been for the assistance received from the English navy, they must have perished.

As soon as admiral Byng was apprized of the misfortune at Villa Franca, he sent two battalions under convoy through the Faro, to reinforce the Imperial army. He afterwards assisted at

at a council of war with the German generals, who, in conſequence of his advice, laid ſiege to the town of Meſſina.

Sir George Byng therefore went back to Sicily, and aſſiſted at the ſiege of Meſſina. The town ſurrendered on the eighth day of Auguſt, the garriſon retired into the citadel, and the remains of the Spaniſh navy, which had eſcaped at Paſſaro, were now deſtroyed in the Mole.

The emperor, having acquainted the Britiſh admiral that he had diſpatched orders for ſending the troops deſigned for Sardinia to Vado, in order to be tranſported into Sicily, Sir George took upon himſelf the conduct of this important affair. After encountering numberleſs difficulties, he ſailed for Vado, ſaw the troops embarked, and convoyed them to Meſſina, the citadel of which ſurrendered about ten days after their arrival; but the Germans paid dearly for this conqueſt in the loſs of five hundred of their men.

The admiral, to ſecure the imperialiſts in the iſland of Sicily during the winter, undertook to convey them by ſea to Trapani, where they could enlarge their quarters in a plentiful country, and be better able to annoy the enemy. It was the ſecond of March before the laſt embarkation of the Imperial troops was effected. The whole army being brought together, amounted to fourteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand cavalry, beſides the garriſons of Meſſina, Melazzo, Syracuſe, and the adjacent towns.

The approach of the Germans alarmed the marquis de Leda, who retreated to Alcamo, from whence he ſent his mareſchal du camp to the count de Merci and the Engliſh admiral, with overtures for evacuating Sicily. But Sir George Byng declared, that not a Spaniard ſhould quit the iſland till the concluſion of a general peace, and accordingly continued hoſtilities till he received advice from the earl of Stair at Paris, that the marquis de Beretti Landi, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at the Hague, had ſignified his diſpoſition to accede to the quadruple alliance, the conſequence of which was that the negotiations immediately began, and a convention was ſigned in leſs than a week. The Germans were put in poſſeſſion of Palermo on the tenth of May, and the Spaniſh army marched to Termin, a town on the ſea coaſt, from whence they were tranſported to Barcelona.

The Britiſh admiral, however, continued in the Mediterranean until he had ſeen the iſlands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, the emperor eſtabliſhed in the ſecure poſſeſſion of the former, and the duke of Savoy in that of the latter. Upon the whole, the admiral's conduct during the war in Sicily was ſuch as entitled him to the general admiration of the victors and the vanquiſhed, ſo that when he waited on his majeſty at Hanover, he met with a very gracious reception, and, in reward for his ſervices, was appointed to the treaſurerſhip of the navy, and made rear-admiral of Great Britain. Soon after he was enobled by the title of viſcount Torrington, declared a privy counſellor, and made knight of the Bath.

During theſe tranſactions the duke of Berwick advanced to Port-Paſſage, on the frontiers of Spain, where he burnt ſix Spaniſh men of war on the ſtocks, together with naval ſtores to an immenſe value, and ſoon after inveſted and reduced ſeveral places belonging to the Spaniards in the Bay of Biſcay.

The miniſtry, having propoſed the conqueſt of Corunna, and alſo of Peru in South America, four thouſand men, under the command of lord Cobham, were embarked at the iſle of Wight, and ſailed on the twenty-firſt day of September, under convoy of five ſhips of war, conducted by admiral Mighels, who was to be joined by captain Johnſon, then cruizing off Fontarabia.

But as that officer was detained by ſome accident, and it was dangerous to continue on the coaſt at this ſeaſon, Cobham, embracing the opportunity of a fair wind, determined to attempt the reduction of Vigo. The ſcheme ſucceeded, for in five days the citadel capitulated. Here they found a great quantity of braſs artillery, ſmall arms and military ſtores, which had been intended for the invaſion of England, and the very troops that garriſoned theſe places were a part of thoſe to have made the deſcent.

The Spaniſh monarch, who had found himſelf unable to reſiſt the united efforts of ſo many powerful enemies, and acceded, from compulſion, to the terms of the quadruple alliance, at the inſtance of the ſeveral parties, diſmiſſed his miniſter Alberoni, whoſe ambitious projects had engaged and urged him to a continuance in ſo fatal a war, which, however, was thus at length happily terminated.

On the fourteenth of November, the king returned to England, and on the twenty-third opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech, wherein he expreſſed his ſatisfaction in meeting them ata juncture when negotiations abroad had, in general, met with ſucceſs; hinted at the many troubles he had encountered during the ſhort courſe of his reign; obſerved, that our diviſions at home had been ſo managed abroad that ſome foreign powers were encouraged to treat us in ſuch a manner as the crown of Great Britain ſhould never ſubmit to while he filled the throne; that the trouble and expence which this had brought upon the nation had been loudly complained of by thoſe who were the occaſion of them, and concluded with declaring, that all his views had, and ever ſhould, center in the intereſt and happineſs of his people.

Addreſſes were made in the moſt grateful, and received in the moſt affectionate terms; and his majeſty concluded the ſeſſion on the eleventh of June, with a ſpeech in which he ſignified his intention of viſiting his German dominions.

His majeſty having earneſtly recommended to the commons the conſideration of proper means for reducing the national debt, ſeveral propoſals were laid before the parliament by the directors of the Bank and South ſea companies. The commons, at length, determining in favour of the latter, their ſtock had ſo rapid a riſe that the public at large reſorted to Exchange-alley from an illuſive idea of inſtantaneouſly acquiring fortunes. Under various pretences the infamous herd of ſtock-jobbers drew in unguarded perſons to part with their money, ſo general was the inclinations of the public to deal in the funds. Their inſidious ſcheme went by the name of bubble, a proper appellation for ſuch deteſtable practices, for it was computed that near one million and a half ſterling was won or loſt by theſe unwarrantable means.

The firſt hint of theſe injurious plans ſeems to have been taken from the famous Miſſiſſippi ſcheme, which juſt before ruined France. But as avarice, like all other paſſions, is too blind to profit by example, the event of the French bubble did not warn our wiſe countrymen from being gul-

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led by a fantaſtic deluſion which originated in their own clime.

On the 11th of June the king cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, and on the 15th ſet out for his electoral dominions. A few days before his departure, he was reconciled to the prince of Wales, which deſirable event was brought about chiefly by the mediation of the duke of Devonſhire and Mr. Robert Walpole, who were received into favour and re-aſſociated with the miniſtry.

A. D. 1720. While his majeſty was in Germany, the South ſea ſcheme produced a kind of national phrenzy, and nothing now claimed the attention of the nation but ſtock-jobbing.

The company cauſed a report to be propagated that Gibraltar and Port Mahon would be exchanged for ſome places in Peru; by which means the Engliſh trade to the South ſea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffuſed with great induſtry, inſpired the people with the moſt ſanguine and extravagant hopes. In five days after the paſſing of the bill, the directors opened their books for a ſubſcription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for every hundred pounds capital. Perſons of all ranks crowded to the houſe in ſuch numbers, that the firſt ſubſcription amounted to above two millions of original ſtock. In a few days the ſtock advanced to three hundred and fifty pounds, and the ſubſcriptions were ſold for double the price of the firſt payments.

This infatuation continued to prevail till the 8th of September, when ſtock began to fall faſter than it had riſen, ſo that by Michaelmas day it had ſunk to one hundred and fifty. Some of the leading men of the nation, who were deeply concerned in theſe fraudulent practices, employed all their intereſt with the bank to ſupport the South-ſea. This the directors were, at firſt, inclined to do; but finding, at length, that inevitable ruin muſt attend the ſcheme, they renounced their agreement, and the South-ſea company, being deprived of this ſupport, ſunk under its own weight.

Dire though natural were the effects. Their projects, the offſpring of an avaricious and fraudulent diſpoſition were totally defeated, the payments ceaſed, the public credit diſſolved in air, families without number ſaw themſelves plunged in indigence, and the cries of deſpair ſucceeded to the intoxication of a light and ſenſeleſs joy.

Succeſſive expreſſes having been diſpatched to Hanover, repreſenting to the king the ſtate of affairs, and earneſtly preſſing him to haſten his return, he accordingly ſhortened his intended ſtay in Germany, and arrived in England on the eleventh day of November.

When the parliament aſſembled on the eighth of December, his majeſty, after having acquainted them with his negotiations abroad, expreſſed his concern for the unhappy turn of affairs which had ſo deeply affected the public credit at home; and earneſtly deſired them to conſider of the moſt effectual and ſpeedy methods to reſtore and ſecure the credit of the nation.

A. D. 1721. After the uſual addreſſes, it was moved in the lower houſe, that the directors of the South-ſea company ſhould lay before them an account of their proceedings. A committee of ſecrecy was likewiſe choſen by ballot to examine all books, papers and proceedings relative to the execution of the South-ſea act. A ſufficient diſcovery being made to convince the world that a ſcene of the deepeſt villainy had been tranſacted; the commons came to ſeveral ſevere, though juſt, reſolutions againſt the delinquents, and a bill was prepared for the relief of the unhappy ſufferers from the confiſcation of their eſtates. The creditors being by theſe means indemnified as far as the conjuncture admitted, the outrages of the people were appeaſed, and the public credit in ſome degree reſtored.

On cloſing the ſeſſion, on the tenth of Auguſt, his majeſty declared, that he entertained a moſt ſincere concern for the ſufferings of the innocent, and a juſt indignation againſt the guilty, in the affair of the South-ſea ſcheme: that he had readily given his aſſent to ſuch bills as they had preſented to him, for puniſhing the authors of the late misfortunes, and for obtaining reſtitution and ſatisfaction to thoſe who had been injured by them in ſo notorious a manner: that they could not fail to have obſerved, that the diſcontents, occaſioned by this unhappy event, had been induſtriouſly fomented and inflamed by wicked and ſeditious libels; but he doubted not, but by their prudent conduct in their ſeveral counties, they would diſappoint the enemies of the government in their ſeditious views and intentions.

A. D. 1722. When the new parliament met at Weſtminſter, the king, in his ſpeech, informed them of freſh deſigns againſt his government; and that the conſpirators had made, by their emiſſaries, the ſtrongeſt ſolicitations to foreign powers for aſſiſtance, but were diſappointed in their expectations; notwithſtanding which, confiding in their numbers, and not diſcouraged by their former ill ſucceſs, they reſolved once more upon their own ſtrength to attempt the ſubverſion of government, and that ſome of the conſpirators had been taken up and ſecured, and endeavours uſed for the apprehending of others.

On this occaſion, both houſes preſented addreſſes expreſſive of their firm attachment to his majeſty, and their indignation againſt the authors of the preſent conſpiracy.

The parliament gave attention to concerting meaſures for defeating the intended conſpiracy. A bill was introduced into the upper houſe for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus act for a whole year, and paſſed both houſes by a conſiderable majority, but not without violent oppoſition.

The earl of Orrery, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and the lord North and Grey were committed to the Tower for high treaſon, and the duke of Norfolk, who had been apprehended by his majeſty's order, was, with the conſent of the houſe of peers, ſent to the ſame place.

A bill was prepared by the commons for raiſing one hundred thouſand pounds upon the real and perſonal eſtates of all papiſts, or perſons educated in the popiſh religion, towards defraying the expences occaſioned by the late rebellion and diſorders. This bill was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the friends of the papiſts, as a ſpecies of perſecution; but, notwithſtanding all their objections, it was carried by a conſiderable majority, and ſent up to the lords, together with another, obliging all perſons, being papiſts, in Scotland, and all perſons in Great-Britain, refuſing and neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the ſecurity of the king's perſon and government, to regiſter their names and real eſtates. Both bills paſſed through the upper houſe without amendment, and received the royal aſſent ſoon after.

On the twenty-firſt of November, Mr. Layer was tried in the court of king's bench, and convicted

victed of having enliſted men for the pretender's ſervice, in order to ſtir up a rebellion, and received ſentence of death. He was reprieved for ſome time, and examined by a committee of the houſe of commons; but, as he refuſed to make any diſcovery, he was executed at Tyburn, and his head fixed on Temple bar.

This conſpiracy was ſo artfully carried on under fictitious names, that it required much application to come to the true knowledge of ſome of the perſons concerned. The committee of the houſe of commons, however, at length delivered it as their opinion, that a deſign had been formed by perſons of figure and diſtinction at home, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for placing the pretender upon the throne of theſe realms; that his firſt intention was to have procured a body of foreign troops to invade the kingdom at the time of the late elections; but the conſpirators being diſappointed in this expectation, reſolved to make an attempt at the time, when it was generally believed the king intended to go to Hanover, by the help of ſuch officers and ſoldiers as could paſs into England unobſerved from abroad, under the command of Ormond, who by agreement was to have landed in the river with a great quantity of arms, provided in Spain for that purpoſe; at which time the Tower was to have been ſeized: that this ſcheme being alſo defeated by the wiſe and vigorous meaſures of government, they deferred their enterprize till the breaking up of the camp; and, in the mean time, employed their agents to corrupt and ſeduce the officers and ſoldiers of the army, and depended ſo much on this defection, as to entertain hopes of placing the pretender on the throne, though they ſhould obtain no aſſiſtance from abroad, which, nevertheleſs, they continued to ſolicit.

After mature conſideration of theſe ſeveral particulars, the commons reſolved, that a deteſtable and horrid conſpiracy had been formed and carried on by perſons of diſtinction at home, and their agents and inſtruments, in conjunction with traitors abroad, for raiſing a rebellion, ſeizing the Tower and city of London, laying violent hands upon the perſons of his moſt ſacred majeſty and the prince of Wales, and to place a popiſh pretender on the throne, with a view to ſubvert the eſtabliſhment in church and ſtate.

Bills were brought in, and paſſed, for inflicting pains and penalties upon John Plunket and George Kelly, who were, by theſe acts, to be kept in cloſe cuſtody, during his majeſty's pleaſure, in any priſon in Great-Britain; and, if they attempted to eſcape, were liable to ſuffer death.

A motion was made for a ſimilar bill againſt Dr. Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter. This was immediately brought into the houſe, though oppoſed by Sir William Wyndham, who affirmed there was no other evidence againſt him, than what was founded on conjecture. The biſhop denied the juriſdiction of the lower houſe, and declared, he would make his defence only before his peers. Council being heard for the bill, it was laid before a grand committee on the ſixth day of April, when it was moved, that the biſhop ſhould be deprived of his office and benefice, baniſhed the kingdom, be guilty of felony if he returned, and that it ſhould not be in the king's power to pardon him without conſent of parliament, but that his effects ſhould not be confiſcated.

This bill occaſioned a warm conteſt in the houſe of lords. Earl Pawlet ſaid, "that ſwerving in ſuch an extraordinary manner from the maxims of juſtice could not fail being attended with fatal conſequences to the conſtitution."

The biſhop of Saliſbury, in reply, affirmed, "that as deſperate diſeaſes required deſperate remedies, ſo, when the ſtate was in danger, the legiſlature ſhould exert itſelf againſt ſuch offenders as the common law could not reach."

Lord Bathurſt declared, "if ſuch extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he ſaw nothing for him and others to do, but to retire to their country houſes, and there, if poſſible, quietly enjoy their eſtates with their own families, ſince the leaſt correſpondence, the leaſt intercepted letter, might be made criminal."

In ſupport of this argument he quoted a paſſage from De Retz's memoirs, relating to cardinal Mazarine, who boaſted, that, if he had but two lines of any many man's writing, he could, by means of a few circumſtances atteſted by witneſſes, deprive him of life at pleaſure.

The duke of Argyle, the earl of Seafield, and lord Lechmere, ſpoke in ſupport of the bill, the laſt of whom, though he had, on ſeveral other occaſions, expreſſed his diſlike of ſuch extraordinary proceedings, declared, he thought the evidence was ſufficient.

Earl Cowper obſerved, neceſſity was the beſt argument that could be urged in behalf of the bill; but he ſaid, he ſaw no neceſſity that could juſtify ſuch an unprecedented and dangerous proceeding, as the conſpiracy had, above twelve months before, been happily diſcovered, and the effects of it prevented: that the known rules of evidence, as laid down at firſt, and eſtabliſhed by the laws of the land, were the birth-right of every ſubject in the nation, and ought to be conſtantly obſerved, not only in the inferior courts of judicature, but alſo in both houſes of parliament, till altered by the legiſlature: he commended the biſhop's noble deportment in declining to anſwer before the houſe of commons, whoſe proceedings, in this unprecedented manner, againſt a lord of parliament, was ſuch an encroachment on the prerogative of the peerage, that, if they ſubmitted to it, by paſſing this bill, they might be termed the laſt of Britiſh peers, for giving up their ancient privileges. After a violent debate, the queſtion was carried in the affirmative by a majority of forty voices, though a proteſt was entered againſt the proceedings by ſeveral of the peers.

Francis Atterbury, biſhop of Rocheſter, was hereby deprived of all offices, benefices, and dignities, and rendered incapable of enjoying any for the future; he was baniſhed the realm, and ſubjected to the pains of death, in caſe he ſhould return, as were all perſons that ſhould correſpond with him during his exile. Doctor Friend, who was a member of the houſe, and had exerted himſelf with great zeal in the biſhop's favour, being ſuſpected of treaſonable practices, was taken into cuſtody.

A. D. 1723. On the 23d of February the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a daughter at Leiceſter houſe, who was baptized by the name of Mary. On the 27th of May the king cloſed the ſeſſion, and in conſideration of the ſervices of Mr. Robert Walpole, created his ſon a peer; he alſo made a number of other promotions, admitted the impriſoned lords and gentlemen to bail, granted a pardon to lord Bolingbroke, ordered the biſhop of Rocheſter to be conveyed to the continent, and

then ſet out for Hanover on the third day of June, leaving the government in the hands of a regency, from which the prince of Wales was ſtill excluded. Lord Harcourt, a warm friend of the late miniſtry, was one of the number of regents.

The parliament of Ireland, which aſſembled this year, paſſed an act for accepting the affirmation of Quakers inſtead of an oath; and granted three hundred and forty thouſand pounds towards diſcharging the national debt.

A. D. 1724. The death of Philip duke of Orleans and regent of France, which happened at this time, gave his majeſty great concern, as a mutual eſteem had long ſubſiſted between them. Apprehenſive that this event might produce an alteration in the ſentiments of the French court prejudicial to the intereſts of England, the king determined to return as ſoon as poſſible, but being detained ſome time at Helvoetſluys by contrary winds, he had the ſatisfaction of receiving the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the diſpoſition of the French miniſtry to confirm the union between the two crowns upon the plan which had been fixed by their late regent.

On the nineteenth of December his majeſty arrived in London, and the parliament meeting on the ninth of January (A. D. 1724) he congratulated them on the ſucceſs of their endeavours during the laſt ſeſſion to promote the ſafety, intereſt, and honour of the kingdom. He recommended to the commons the care of public debts; and expreſſed his ſatisfaction at ſeeing the ſinking fund improved and augmented, ſo as to afford a proſpect of diſcharging the national debt.

Both houſes having addreſſed his majeſty, the commons proceeded to conſider the eſtimates for the enſuing year. They voted ten thouſand ſeamen; and the majority, though not without violent oppoſition, agreed to maintain four thouſand additional troops, which had been raiſed in the courſe of the preceding ſummer, the whole number of effective men amounting to eighteen thouſand two hundred and ſixty-four. The malt tax and a land tax of two ſhillings in the pound, were appropriated to defray the expences.

The truſtees appointed to ſecure and diſpoſe of the eſtates and effects of the late South-ſea directors delivered in their accounts to the parliament this ſeſſion, by which it appeared, that the ſum of nine million, four hundred and ſeven thouſand, two hundred and eighty pounds, and upwards, had been raiſed by them. The commiſſioners of the forfeited eſtates in Scotland alſo delivered in their accounts amounting to ſixty thouſand, two hundred and thirty-ſix pounds. The public buſineſs being finiſhed, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech on the twenty-fourth day of April, and on the 3d of June ſet out for his German dominions.

At the meeting of parliament on the twelfth of November, they continued the former eſtabliſhment of the land and ſea forces, and readily granted the neceſſary ſupplies. The chief object, which engaged their attention during this ſeſſion, was the trial of the earl of Macclesfield, lord chancellor of England, whoſe venal practices excited the murmurs of the nation. Loaded with the public odium, he voluntarily reſigned the ſeals. But this ſtep did not protect him. He was impeached for having wronged the widow, and the orphan, ſold places in chancery, and ſuffered his officers to retain in their hands large ſums belonging to ſuitors, to enable thoſe officers to gratify his own rapacity. Convicted of thoſe and other fraudulent practices, he was ſentenced to pay a fine of thirty thouſand pounds, and to remain in priſon till it was paid.

A. D. 1725. The king now entered into a new treaty. This tranſaction was in conſequence of two treaties, one of peace, the other of commerce, concluded between the emperor and Philip V. who, on the demiſe of his ſon, had reſumed the ſovereign rule. The treaty of commerce was deemed highly prejudicial to the intereſt of Great Britain, as the Oſtend company, which the emperor had eſtabliſhed, was to be ſupported by it. Another probable conſequence was the giving up Gibraltar and Port Mahon to the Spaniards. Theſe conſiderations alarmed his majeſty, who, in order to counteract the deſigns of the new allies, projected the defenſive treaty between England, France, and Pruſſia, known by the name of the treaty of Hanover. This alliance was limited to the term of fifteen years, and contained a mutual guarantee of the dominions poſſeſſed by the contracting parties, their rights and privileges, thoſe of commerce in particular, with an agreement to procure ſatisfaction for the proteſtants at Thorn in Poland, who had been oppreſſed by the papiſts, contrary to the conditions of a former treaty.

Guy's hoſpital in Southwark was built at this time at the ſole expence of Mr. Thomas Guy, formerly a bookſeller of London, afterwards member of parliament for Tamworth, who left a benefaction of two hundred thouſand pounds for its ſupport.

On the fifth day of December the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a princeſs, who was chriſtened by the name of Louiſa, and afterwards married to the king of Denmark.

The order of the knights of the Bath was revived; their fixed number was thirty-eight, including the ſovereign. Sir Robert Walpole, who had been one of the revived knights of that order, was now honoured with the badge of the garter.

The famous duke of Wharton having, by his extravagancies, ruined his fortune, repaired to the court of Vienna, from whence he proceeded to Rome, and offered his ſervice to the pretender, where he received the order of the garter, and the title of duke of Northumberland. He was ſent by the pretender with credentials to the court of Madrid, where king George was no ſooner informed of his arrival, than he diſpatched a meſſenger with a letter under the privy ſeal, commanding him, upon his allegiance, to return immediately to England. This letter being delivered to him, he loudly exclaimed againſt the inſolence of a Britiſh officer of juſtice, in executing a ſummons upon him within ſight of his Catholic majeſty's palace. He even threatened to preſent a memorial on the ſubject to the court of Spain, and demand juſtice againſt the Engliſh meſſenger; but Philip, being privately acquainted with the matter, abſolutely refuſed to interpoſe his authority. The duke afterwards abjured the proteſtant religion, married a lady of the queen of Spain's bedchamber, and was made a lieutenant colonel in the army of his Catholic majeſty.

The king, having taken all neceſſary precautions for the ſecurity of his German dominions, ſet out on his return to England in the middle of December, and, after having encountered a moſt furious ſtorm, landed with great difficulty at Rye, from whence he proceeded by land to London.

A. D.

A. D. 1726. The parliament being aſſembled on the twentieth day of January, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, informed them, that the diſtreſſed condition of ſome of their proteſtant brethren abroad, and the negotiations and engagements contracted by ſome foreign powers, which ſeemed to have laid the foundation of new troubles and diſturbances in Europe, and to threaten his ſubjects with the loſs of ſeveral of the moſt advantageous branches of their trade, had obliged him to concert, with other powers, ſuch meaſures as might give a check to the ambitious views of thoſe, who were endeavouring to render themſelves formidable, and put a ſtop to the further progreſs of ſuch dangerous deſigns; that, with this view, he had entered into a defenſive alliance with the kings of France and Pruſſia, to which ſeveral other powers, and particularly the ſtates-general, had been invited to accede; that the enemies to his government were already very buſy, by their inſtruments and emiſſaries, in thoſe courts, whoſe meaſures ſeemed moſt to favour their purpoſes, in ſoliciting and promoting the cauſe of the pretender; but he perſuaded himſelf, notwithſtanding the countenance and encouragement they might either have received, or expect to receive, that the proviſion made by his parliament for the ſafety and defence of his kingdoms, would effectually ſecure them from all danger of foreign invaſion, or domeſtic inſurrection; that, when the world ſhould ſee, that they would not ſuffer the Britiſh crown and nation to be inſulted with impunity, thoſe, who moſt envied the tranquillity and happineſs of this kingdom, and were endeavouring to make it ſubſervient to their ambitious projects, would have ſome regard to their own intereſt and circumſtances, before they preſumed to make any attempt upon ſo brave a people, ſtrengthened and ſupported by powerful alliances, and, however deſirous of peace, able and ready to defend themſelves againſt all aggreſſors; that ſuch reſolutions, and ſuch meaſures, if timely taken, would, he was ſatisfied, be the moſt effectual means of preventing a war, and ſecuring to his people all the bleſſings of peace."

The treaty of Hanover being laid before the houſe of commons, occaſioned very warm debates, the iſſue of which was, a conſiderable majority in its favour, and an addreſs was preſented to his majeſty on the occaſion.

On the 24th of May the king went to the houſe of peers, gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, and then put an end to the ſeſſion.

When the tax upon malt in Scotland was firſt laid, it had been apprehended that the collection of it would be attended with ſome difficulty; and it ſoon appeared that theſe apprehenſions were but too well founded.

The exciſemen at Edinburgh, indeed, were ſuffered to take an account of the ſtock of malſters; but thoſe at Glaſgow were obliged to apply to the commiſſioners of exciſe for protection and aſſiſtance, the malſters threatening their lives if they preſumed to enter their houſes.

Major general Wade, who commanded the forces in Scotland, being applied to by the commiſſioners, ordered captain Buſhel with two companies of foot to march to Glaſgow, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth day of June. At their entrance into the town, they were met by a great mob of men, women, and boys, who loaded them with the moſt opprobrious epithets, and ſaluted them with repeated vollies of ſtones, exclaiming all the while, "no malt tax, no malt tax." The rabble having locked the guard room, and carried off the key, the captain was obliged to hire a public houſe by way of guard room.

Being informed, about eleven at night, that a great crowd of people, amounting to ſeveral thouſands, had ſurrounded the houſe of Mr. Daniel Campbell, member of parliament for Glaſgow, and threatened to plunder and raze it to the ground, he immediately acquainted the provoſt, and offered his aſſiſtance to quell the rioters.

In anſwer thereto, the provoſt alledged that his men were too few in number, and that he could not think of employing them with any regard either to their own ſafety or that of the citizens. The rabble, meeting with no reſiſtanee, nor even the leaſt appearance of oppoſition, forced open the doors, broke into the houſe, turned out the ſervants, (the gentleman and his lady having the day before retired into the country) and totally deſtroyed and carried off whatever they could find.

The mob remained quiet till next day about four in the afternoon, when they began to re-aſſemble. The captain, ſuſpecting their intention, ordered the ſoldiers to keep near the guard-room, of which he had now taken poſſeſſion; and he ſoon found that this was a prudent and neceſſary precaution. In a little time the rabble began to advance againſt the ſoldiers, exclaiming all the way, "drive "the dogs out of town; we will cut them to "pieces."

Having therefore ordered the ſoldiers under his command, to hold themſelves in readineſs, he requeſted the inſurgents to abſtain from violence, obſerving that if they continued to act in that manner he ſhould not be able to reſtrain his men from firing upon them. Perceiving, however, that his advice was diſregarded, and that the rabble ſtill continued to preſs forward on the ſoldiers, ſeveral of whom were deſperately wounded, he ordered his men to fire over the crowd, hoping to terrify them ſo as to make them deſiſt.

The mob paying no regard to the firing, but ſtill perſiſting to attack the guard-room, and repeating their vollies of ſtones with redoubled violence, the ſoldiers were induced to fire among them, in conſequence of which three or four were killed and ſeveral others wounded. The populace, incenſed by the death of their companions, began to collect all the arms that could be found in the place, and the captain, conſcious of his own inability to reſiſt ſuch a numerous and enraged multitude, thought proper to retreat to Dunbarton, the rabble purſuing him ſix miles towards that place.

As ſoon as general Wade was acquainted with theſe proceedings, he got together a conſiderable body of forces, and, being accompanied by Duncan Forbes, lord advocate, took poſſeſſion of Glaſgow. The magiſtrates were apprehended and conveyed priſoners to Edinburgh, where the lords-juſticiary having taken cognizance of the affair, declared them innocent. Some of the rabble, however, were puniſhed for the riots, and ſentence of whipping and tranſportation paſſed againſt four of them.

A petition being preſented to the commons by Mr. Daniel Campbell, praying that he might be indemnified for the damage he had ſuſtained from the mob, a bill paſſed in his favour, granting him a certain ſum to be raiſed by an impoſition of two pennies Scots upon all beer and ale brewed within the city of Glaſgow. Nevertheleſs, the malt-tax

was

was ſo ſenſibly felt in Scotland, that the convention of the royal boroughs preſented an addreſs by the hands of John Campbell, member for Edinburgh, wherein, though they diſavowed the conduct of the Glaſgow rioters, they ſtrongly remonſtrated againſt that tax, as a heavy burthen which the country could not bear: and the ſeveral ſhires throughout the kingdom preſented petitions of the like kind.

Peter the Great, Czar of Muſcovy, was now dead, and ſucceeded on the throne by the empreſs Catherine, who, having conceived a diſtaſte to the Britiſh court, was perſuaded, by ſome minions about her, that it would be no difficult matter to ſet up the ſon of the late king James, and ſo overturn the government of Britain. The Britiſh court was no ſooner informed of this ſcheme than it was reſolved to ſend a fleet into the Baltic under the command of Sir Charles Wager. A Daniſh ſquadron having joined the Engliſh fleet at Copenhagen, Sir Charles directed his courſe towards Stockholm, where, having had an audience of his Swediſh majeſty, he ſailed for Revel, and ſent a lieutenant to Cronſlot with a letter to the empreſs from the king of Great Britain.

In his letter to the Czarina, the king expoſtulated very freely on the ſubject of the armament by ſea and land, which ſhe had been for ſome time preparing, and likewiſe on the intrigues which her miniſters had lately entered into with the agents of the Pretender.

The Ruſſian court, enraged at the appearance of a Britiſh fleet upon their coaſts, was at firſt inclined to reſent it; but, upon ſerious reflection, waving their determination, the empreſs wrote an anſwer to his Britannic majeſty, in which ſhe expreſſed her ſurprize, that ſhe had not received his majeſty's letter, until his fleet was at anchor before Revel, ſince it would have been more agreeable to the cuſtom eſtabliſhed among ſovereigns, and to the amity which had ſo long ſubſiſted between her and the crown of Great Britain, to expoſtulate with her on her armament, and expect her anſwer before he had proceeded to ſuch a violent and offenſive meaſure. She aſſured him, that nothing was further from her thoughts, than to diſturb the repoſe of the north; that, on the contrary all her care and attention was employed in its ſecurity and preſervation; and that with regard to the Pretender, it was a frivilous and ſtale accuſation, which had frequently been uſed as a pretext to cover all the unkind ſteps lately taken againſt the Ruſſian empire. Sir Charles Wager continued in his ſtation till October, when, having received intelligence that the Ruſſian gallies were laid up in their winter quarters, he returned to England.

That our attention might not ſeem to be wholly directed towards the north, two other ſquadrons were fitted out this year, one of which was deſtined for the Weſt Indies, under admiral Hoſier, the other under Sir John Jennings, having on board a body of land forces, ſailed from St. Helens on the twentieth day of July, entered the Mediterranean, alarmed the coaſts of Spain, and cruized for ſome time between Cadiz and cape St. Vincent, but carefully abſtained from committing any act of hoſtility.

Admiral Hoſier, who had ſailed in April for the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, with orders to block up the galleons in the ports of that country, or, ſhould they preſume to come out, ſeize and bring them to England, arrived at the Baſtimentos, near Porto Bello, in the beginning of June; but, before he reached that place, an advice boat having given notice of his deſtination, the treaſure, amounting to twenty-ſix millions of pieces of eight, had been unloaded and carried back to Panama.

This admiral lay inactive on that ſtation, till from the terror he rather became the jeſt of the Spaniards, when, towards the cloſe of the year, he ſailed to Jamaica, where he reinfored his crew and then ſtood over to Carthagena. The Spaniards had, by this time, ſeized the Engliſh South ſea ſhips at La Vera Cruz, together with all the effects belonging to that Company. Hoſier, finding it in vain to demand reſtitution, took ſome Spaniſh ſhips by way of repriſal; after which he continued cruizing in thoſe ſeas, until the greater pars of his men periſhed by the diſeaſes of that unhealthy climate, and his ſhips were entirely ruined through want of repair.

A. D. 1727. His majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, which met on the ſeventeeth of January, took notice of the diſagreeable ſituation of affairs at this juncture; and obſerved that, however difficult and hazardous the enterprizes formed againſt them might appear, their being aſſured that they were really projected, would, he was perſuaded, be ſufficient to induce them to put themſelves in a condition to reſiſt and defeat ſuch daring deſigns: that, if preſerving a due balance of power in Europe; if defending the poſſeſſions of the crown of Great Britain, was of infinite advantage to her trade and commerce, againſt dangerous and unlawful encroachments; and if the then eſtabliſhment, the religion, liberties and properties of a proteſtant people were any longer conſiderations worthy the care and attention of a Britiſh parliament, he need not ſay more to incite his loyal and faithful houſes of parliament to exert their beſt abilities in defence of them.

Addreſſes of thanks were preſented by both houſes, expreſſive of the utmoſt reſentment at the inſolent deſigns of his majeſty's enemies, and the moſt entire approbation of the meaſures he had taken in order to defeat and diſappoint them. The commons voted twenty thouſand ſeamen, and twenty-ſix thouſand men for the land ſervice, during the current year.

The debates this ſeſſion ran very high in the houſe of lords, concerning the letters and memorials between the miniſters of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the papers relating to the treaty of Hanover. Lord Bathurſt, after having pointed out the inconveniences of the war, obſerved, that in ſome papers laid before the houſe mention was made of great ſums diſtributed in divers places to bring certain meaſures to bear; he ſaid that, for his own part, he had touched neither Spaniſh nor Engliſh gold; he was neither a Spaniard nor a Frenchman, but a true Engliſhman; and as long as he had the honour to ſit in that houſe, he would ſpeak and act for the good of his country: that, therefore, he would ſum up all with earneſtly deſiring their lordſhips ſeriouſly to conſider the matter before them, which was one of the laſt conſequence to the nation. "What, ſaid he, can we "get by war, if it be ſucceſsful? I will ſay it in "one word, *Nothing*. What can we loſe, if it "be unproſperous? I will ſay it in a ſyllable, "*All*."

Lord Townſend, in anſwer to this ſpeech, ſaid, "that as the treaty of Hanover was purely defenſive, it had made no alteration in the treaties ſubſiſting before, either between the contracting parties,

ties, or other ſtates and princes: that the ſole aim and intention of that alliance, was a reciprocal guarantee, for maintaining the dominions and countries, both in Europe and the Indies, of which each of the allies were actually poſſeſſed at the ſigning the treaty: that, notwithſtanding high provocations, his majeſty ſhewed his inclination and diſpoſition to an accommodation; and, with this view, it was intimated to the courts of Vienna and Madrid, that, if the emperor would remove the Oſtend company to Trieſte, or any other place in his dominions, which did not formerly belong to the Spaniſh monarchy, Great Britain would quietly acquieſce; but, inſtead of agreeing to this propoſal, thoſe two courts not only ſeemed reſolved to ſupport the Oſtend trade, but Spain, in the memorial preſented by their ambaſſador, inſiſted on the ſpeedy reſtitution of Gibraltar, by virtue of a pretended promiſe, that no where exiſted: and that, from theſe and many ſuch circumſtances, he hoped it would evidently appear, that his majeſty was under an abſolute neceſſity of purſuing the reſolutions he had already adopted."

After long debates it was reſolved, that the meaſures, which his majeſty had thought fit to take, were honourable, juſt, and neceſſary, for preventing the execution of the dangerous engagements entered into in favour of the Pretender; for preſerving the dominions belonging to the crown of Great Britain by ſolemn treaties; particularly of Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca; and for maintaining to his people their moſt valuable rights and privileges of commerce, and the peace and tranquillity of Europe. A proteſt againſt this reſolution was entered by ſeveral of the peers.

In the houſe of commons ſeveral objections were raiſed by the oppoſite party, who obſerved that, as his majeſty's ſpeech contained many points of the higheſt moment, ſo he expected not only the ſupport but likewiſe the advice of that houſe; that they ought maturely to deliberate on theſe ſeveral heads, which could not be done before ſome papers were communicated to them, as they ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary to ſtate ſeveral facts relating to theſe important matters. But theſe objections were ſet aſide by the majority, and the houſe concurred in an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, in which they approved of the ſteps he had already taken, and promiſed to ſupport him in all his meaſures to promote the welfare of his ſubjects.

The king's ſpeech drew on him a kind of public challenge to prove the truth of his aſſertions. The count de Palms, the emperor's miniſter at London, had orders to publiſh a remonſtrance, in which the king was charged with having advanced as certain ſeveral matters that were either wreſted, miſrepreſented, or void of all foundation. He declared the article relating to the Pretender was no offenſive alliance between the emperor and Spain, and, finally, he demanded, in the name of his Imperial majeſty, that ſuitable reparation might be made to his honour, for the injury it had ſuſtained by theſe groundleſs imputations.

The parliament in an addreſs to his majeſty expreſſed their indignation and reſentment at this affront, and the count de Palms was ordered to leave the kingdom. Virulent declarations were preſented by the miniſters of the emperor and the kings of Great Britain and France to the diet of the empire at Ratiſbon; and ſuch perſonal reflections retorted between theſe potentates, that there appeared to be no proſpect of a reconciliation.

His majeſty contracted new engagements with France, Sweden, Denmark, and the Prince of Heſſe-Caſſel. He procured allies in Germany, but at an immenſe expence to England.

The king having obtained all he aſked of parliament, what remained to be conſidered was the application of the ſupplies, a point on which they had ever ſhewn an extreme caution.

The ſecretary to the treaſury moved in the lower houſe; "that they ſhould inſert a clauſe in the malt bill, impowering the king to apply ſuch ſums as ſhould be neceſſary for defraying the expences and engagements, which had been or ſhould be made before the 25th of December enſuing, and in concerting ſuch meaſures as he ſhould think moſt conducive to the ſecurity of trade and navigation, and reſtoring the public peace.

Violent debates enſued upon this motion. It was alledged on the one hand, that his majeſty was ſo unwilling to put his ſubjects to any extraordinary expence, that he had aſked no more ſupplies in this ſeſſion than what he judged neceſſary for the ſervice of the year; but, in the then poſture of affairs, ſome unforeſeen accidents might require a further expence, for which no eſtimates could then be made, becauſe ſome treaties, which his majeſty had thought fit to enter into were not yet fully completed: that, therefore, they ought to enable him to anſwer ſuch contingencies: that the houſe had frequently repoſed in him ſuch a confidence, which he had never abuſed: and that the time was very ſhort to which the preſent demand was limited.

The members in oppoſition did not fail to obſerve, "that the wiſdom of parliament had always taken precaution againſt the miſapplication of the public money; that ſuch an unlimited and conſequently dangerous power, ought never to be given in a free government; that the conſtitution could not be preſerved but by a ſtrict adherence to theſe eſſential parliamentary forms of granting ſupplies upon eſtimates, and of appropriating thoſe ſupplies to ſervices and occaſions publicly avowed and judged neceſſary: in ſhort, that if they departed from eſtabliſhed maxims and uſages, and ſuch examples became frequent, the crown and the miniſters would acquire an abſolute power to raiſe taxes, and the Engliſh conſtitution would ſoon be annihilated. This oppoſition, however powerful as it might appear, was too weak to counter-balance the court party, and the bill paſſed both houſes.

Sir William Younge, on the day following, moved, that towards the ſupply granted to the king, the ſum of three hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds, ſhould be raiſed by loans on exchequer bills, to be charged to the ſurplus of the duties on coal and culm, which was reſerved for the diſpoſal of the parliament.

Sir Joſeph Jekyll and Mr. Pulteney, in oppoſition to this motion, repreſented that, by ſeveral votes and acts of parliament, all the exceedings or ſurpluſſes of public funds were to be applied towards diſcharging the public debts or encreaſing the ſinking fund: that this diſpoſition could not be altered without wounding public credit, which was already extremely low, ſince the taking off any part of the mortgage could not but weaken the ſecurity of the debt: that it was ſomewhat ſtrange that ſuch a motion ſhould be made by thoſe very perſons who had the honour of being in the adminiſtration, and who could not have forgot what his majeſty had ſo ſtrongly recommended from the throne at the opening of the ſeſſion; "that the

" produce of the ſinking fund might be imme-
" diately applied to the uſes for which it was ſo
" wiſely contrived, and to which it ſtood at pre-
" ſent appropriated:" and finally, that this motion was ſtill the more ſurprizing after the large and unlimitted power, which his majeſty had lately received from the parliament.

To this it was replied, that the ſurplus of the duty on coals could not be conſidered as a part of the ſinking fund, ſince it had never been appropriated, but was reſerved for the diſpoſal of the parliament. This reaſon was deemed ſatisfactory, and the motion was accordingly carried without any farther oppoſition.

His majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion on the fifteenth of May, with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he thanked the parliament for the zeal, liberality and diſpatch, with which they had furniſhed the neceſſary ſupplies, obſerved that the projected ſiege of Gibraltar proved the end and deſign of the engagements entered into by the emperor and the king of Spain, but that the preparations made for the defence of that place, and the bravery of his troops, would, he doubted not, convince them of the raſhneſs and folly of that undertaking. He alſo acquainted them that the crown of Sweden had acceded to the treaty of Hanover, and that the convention between his moſt Chriſtian majeſty and the king of Denmark was actually ſigned.

During theſe tranſactions the trenches were opened before Gibraltar by the condé de las Torres, at the head of twenty thouſand men well provided with artillery and ammunition, as the Spaniards expected a deſperate reſiſtance from the garriſon. The Engliſh miniſtry, having received previous intelligence of this deſign, ordered a ſquadron to be fitted out under the command of Sir Charles Wager. The earl of Portmore, governor of Gibraltar, though far advanced in years, embarked on board the admiral's ſhip, determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity. The fleet arrived in the month of April, when the troops were landed with a great quantity of ammunition, warlike ſtores, and twenty-four pieces of cannon. About the ſame time five hundred men arrived from Minorca, ſo that the garriſon now conſiſted of ſix thouſand effective men, who, being conſtantly ſupplied with freſh proviſions from the coaſt of Barbary, ſet at defiance all the efforts of the beſiegers, who, after having inveſted the fortreſs four months and ſuſtained the greateſt loſſes, relinquiſhed the deſign as impracticable.

Some time had now elapſed ſince his majeſty viſited his German dominions; he therefore determined to embrace the preſent opportunity. Accordingly, having appointed a regency, he embarked at Greenwich on the third of June, and, landing in Holland, ſet out on the ſeventh on his journey to Hanover. On the road he was ſtruck with a paralytic diſorder, which terminating in a lethargy, he was carried in a ſtate of inſenſibility to Oſnaburg, where he expired at his brother's palace on Sunday the eleventh of June, in the ſixty-eighth year of his age and thirteenth of his reign. He was interred at Hanover among his anceſtors.

George I. had great qualities, much genius, diſcernment and political knowledge, with a happy talent for negociation. He was an enemy to pageantry, plain in his perſon, and grave in his deportment, though eaſy, familiar and facetious in his hours of relaxation; before he aſcended the throne of Great Britain, he acquired the character of a circumſpect general, a juſt and merciful prince, who perfectly underſtood, and ſteadily purſued his trueſt intereſt. He regarded civil liberties as the natural rights of mankind; though the advice of venal miniſters ſometimes led him perhaps beyond the bounds of thoſe prudent meaſures, he would, of himſelf, have purſued. In a word, George I. ſeems to have wanted nothing to make him one of the beſt kings that ever filled a throne, but a thorough knowledge of the conſtitution of the realm he was called to govern.

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of George I.

A. D.

1715 On the 22d of April, there happened a total eclipſe of the ſun, when the darkneſs was ſo great, that the ſtars faintly appeared, and the birds went to rooſt about ten o'clock in the morning.

Aurora Borealis, or the northern lights, firſt obſerved.

1716 The privileges of the two houſes of Convocation of the Engliſh clergy taken away, ſince which they have met as a matter of formality every ſeſſion, but have never ſince had any power or authority in matters of a religious nature.

The river Thames laid dry, both above and below bridge, by a ſtrong weſterly wind, which drove back the tide.

A long froſt, which was ſo ſevere, that the Thames was entirely frozen, and fairs kept on it, with a variety of diverſions.

1717 Gnineas reduced by act of parliament from 22s. and 6d. to 21s.

All papiſts obliged to regiſter their names and eſtates.

1721 Inoculating for the ſmall-pox firſt tried in England on ſeven condemned criminals.

1723 Nonjurors double taxed, and obliged to regiſter their eſtates.

1725 This year Orator Henley, the ſon of a worthy divine, ſet up a new ſect, under the title of an Oratory: to promote which he informed the public, that on the 4th of July the Oratory would be opened; that the fundamental authority of this inſtitution, conſidered as a church, would be the ſame with that of all modern churches: that is, " a legal liberty of private judgment in religion, which is the very principle of the reformation, the baſis of all the proteſtant intereſt, and the moſt valuable branch of the freedom of our conſtitution." At the ſame time, in order to prevent any diſturbance that might ariſe on account of his ſeparation from the church, in which he had been ordained a prieſt, he reſolved to place himſelf under the canon of the toleration act; for which purpoſe he took the oaths of abjuration and allegiance before the bench of juſtices at Hicks's-hall. The firſt place he adapted for his oratory was no leſs ſingular than the novelty of its inſtitution, being a ſort of wooden booth built over the ſhambles in Newport-market, near Leiceſter-fields, formerly uſed for a temporary meeting-houſe of a Calviniſtical congregation: after which he moved near the weſt entrance into Clare-market. Notwithſtanding his private fortune was greatly increaſed by money paid for admiſſion into his oratory for upwards of 35 years, yet he could never form an eſtabliſhed congregation; nor does it appear that his religion gained him one proſelyte; his whole ſyſtem and conduct for that time exhibiting nothing more than ſatire, burleſque, and grimace.

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

GEORGE II.

Wale delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Born
Oct.r 30. 1683.

Crowned
Oct.r 11. 1727.

Died
Oct.r 25. 1760.

CHAP. II.

GEORGE II.

George II. proclaimed on the demiſe of his father. Adopts his ſyſtem of government. National debt diſcuſſed in parliament. Arrival of prince Frederic in Engl nd. Treaty of Seville. Loan bill. Vehemence of parties. Treaty of Vienna. Affairs of the continent. Charter for a colony at Georgia in America. Exciſe ſcheme. Siege of Philipſburg. Nuptials of the prince of Orange with the princeſs royal. Riot at Edinburgh. Capt. Porteous dragged to execution by the populace. Breach in the royal fami'y. Death of queen Caroline. Parliamentary tranſactions. War declared againſt Spain. Hard froſt. Naval and military preparations. Sir Robert Walpole reſigns his employment, and is created earl of Orford. Changes in the miniſtry. King and prince of Wales reconciled. His Britannic majeſty heads his troops in Germany attended by the duke of Cumberland. Battle of Dettingen. The French meditate a deſcent on England. War declared againſt France. Engagement between the Engliſh fleet and the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain off Toulon. Sentence of the court-martial on the admirals Matthews and Leſtock. Return of commodore Anſon from a voyage round the globe. Battle of Fontenoy. Reduction of the Auſtrian Netherlands. Rebellion in the north. Battle of Preſton-pans. Deciſive battle of Culloden. Fate of the rebel lords nd others. Proſecution of the war on the continent. Naval ſucceſſes of England. Tre ty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Colony of Halifax in Nova Scotia planted. Death of the prince of Wales. New ſtile eſtabliſhed. Inſtitution of the royal muſeum. Changes in the miniſtry on the demiſe of Mr. Henry Pelham. Hoſtilities commenced by the French. The Engliſh make preparations for a war. Fatal conſequences of the temerity of general Braddock. Convention concluded between the kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia. Capture of Minorca. Sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders ſuperſede Byng and Weſt in the command of the Mediterranean ſquadron. Melancholy fate of the brave Fortunatus Wright. Trial and execution of admiral Byng. Fluctuations in the miniſtry. Deſcent on the coaſt of France projected. Affairs in the Weſt and Eaſt Indies. Military operations in Germany. Signal valour and ſucceſſes of the Britiſh naval commanders in the different quarters of the globe. Loſs of the Prince George by fire at ſea. Enterprizes on the coaſt of France. Plan for attacking the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa. Reduction of Senegal and Goree. Conqueſt of Cape Breton. Valour, humanity, and death of captain Tyrrel of the Buckingham. Naval ſucceſſes in the Eaſt-Indies under admiral Pocock. Campain in Germany. Vigour and unanimity of the people of England in the proſecution of the war. Attempt to invade England ſpeedily fruſtrated. Defeat of Monſ. de la Clue's ſquadron, by admiral Boſcowen. Victory obtained by Sir Edward Hawke over marſhal Conflans. Conqueſts in America, and victories by ſea and land. Siege of Quebec and fate of the gallant Wolfe. Battle of Minden. Reſignation of lord George Sackville. Fall of Thurot and defeat of his whole ſquadron. Trial and ſentence of lord George Sackville and his ſubſequent diſgrace. Trial and execution of lord Ferrers for the murder of his ſteward Mr. Johnſon. Loſs of the Ramillies. Incidents in America, &c. &c. &c. Death and character of king George II.

A. D. 1727. AS ſoon as the demiſe of his late majeſty was known in England, Sir Robert Walpole waited on the prince and princeſs of Wales at Richmond to notify that melancholy event. On their arrival at Leiceſter-houſe, where they had for ſome time kept their court, they were received by ſeveral members of the privy-council, and many other perſons of diſtinction, who ſigned an inſtrument for proclaiming his royal highneſs king of theſe realms, and the next morning the ceremony was performed with the uſual ſolemnities.

His majeſty afterwards declared in council, that he was firmly reſolved to maintain the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom, and to adhere to the alliances, which his father had contracted, and which had contributed, in a great meaſure, to reſtore the tranquillity of Europe. Next day the parliament met, in purſuance of the act of the fourth of queen Anne; but was prorogued, by commiſſion, to the twenty-ſeventh of the month. His majeſty's ſpeech, at the opening of the ſeſſion, gave an early omen of that paternal care, which he ever after exerted for the happineſs and welfare of his people, and of his tender regard for their rights, privileges, and poſſeſſions. The ſyſtem of politics eſtabliſhed in the reign of his father was firmly adhered to: Sir Robert Walpole kept poſſeſſion of the treaſury, and moſt of the other great officers of ſtate were continued in their reſpective places.

The commons having preſented their addreſſes of condolence and congratulation, took into conſideration a motion for the eſtabliſhment of the civil liſt. Sir Robert Walpole obſerved, that the annual ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, which had been ſettled on the late king, had fallen ſhort every year; that the houſe had been obliged to make up the deficiencies; and that his preſent majeſty's expences were likely to encreaſe, by reaſon of the largeneſs of his family. He therefore moved, to ſettle on the king, during life, the entire revenues of the civil liſt, producing about eight hundred and thirty thouſand pounds.

Mr. Shippon, an avowed enemy to the reigning miniſtry, and a ſhrewd, ſarcaſtic ſpeaker, oppoſed the motion with great vehemence. He launched out into high encomiums on the frugality and diſintereſtedneſs of queen Anne's adminiſtration, and drew a diſagreeable parallel between that and the preſent government.

Without a reply to the member who ſpoke laſt, the houſe agreed to the motion, and a bill for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold was brought in. A meſſage being ſent to the commons from the king, deſiring them to make farther proviſion for the queen, they reſolved, that, in caſe ſhe ſhould ſurvive his majeſty, the ſum of one hundred

dred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled upon her for life, charged upon the revenues of the civil liſt, together with his majeſty's palace of Somerſet-houſe, and the lodge and lands of Richmond Old Park. A bill was formed agreeable to this reſolution, which, as well as the other, paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent on the ſeventeenth day of July; when the king, in a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, expreſſed his ſatisfaction of their conduct; thanked them for the proviſion they had made for the ſupport of his family and houſhold, and congratulated them upon the wealth and glory of the nation, by which it had acquired ſuch weight in holding the balance of Europe. The lord chancellor then prorogued the parliament to the twenty-ninth day of Auguſt: but, on the ſeventh of that month, it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs were iſſued for calling a new parliament.

During theſe tranſactions ſome changes were made in different departments of the civil œconomy. George Ryng, lord viſcount Torrington, was placed at the head of the admiralty; the earl of Weſtmorland was appointed firſt lord commiſſioner of trade and plantations, Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of Cheſterfield, was nominated ambaſſador at the Hague. The privy council being diſſolved, another was appointed, and the duke of Devonſhire was dignified with the place of preſident, and the lord Carteret obtained the poſt of lord lieutenant of Ireland. The king and queen were crowned at Weſtminſter, with great ſolemnity, on the eleventh of October.

A. D. 1728. On the 23d of January the new parliament met, and choſe for their ſpeaker Arthur Onſlow, Eſquire, a gentleman of diſtinguiſhed abilities, and unblemiſhed integrity; grave, eloquent, venerable, and every way qualified for the diſcharge of that dignified and important office.

His majeſty, in his firſt ſpeech to the new parliament, obſerved, that he was very ſenſible of the diſagreeable and uneaſy ſituation in which their affairs were at preſent placed, and had been greatly concerned to ſee many of the inconveniencies of a war attending his ſubjects, without any opportunity of reſenting the injuries they had ſuſtained, or gaining, in return, any of thoſe advantages which the vigorous proſecution of ſo juſt a cauſe, and the ſucceſs of his arms, might probably have ſecured to them; that many difficulties had occurred to impede the execution of the preliminaries; and, though there was great reaſon to believe that the congreſs would ſoon be opened, and all obſtructions removed, yet was it abſolutely neceſſary to continue their warlike preparations, which had hitherto prevented a general rupture in Europe, and procured to the Engliſh nation many advantages, which would be entirely loſt through a diſcontinuance of their armaments: that he was extremely deſirous of reducing the national expences, and would not fail to ſet about this neceſſary and important work, as ſoon as the intereſt of his people would permit: that he begged leave to recommend to their conſideration the increaſe and encouragement of ſeamen in general, that they might be invited, rather than compelled, to enter into the ſervice of their country; a conſideration, he ſaid, well worthy the repreſentatives of a people great and flouriſhing in trade and commerce: he hoped they would make an addition to the fund of Greenwich hoſpital; and proceed in all their deliberations with ſuch unanimity, zeal, and diſpatch, as to convince the world, that none of them could be induced, from any views or motives whatever, to wiſh the diſtreſs of their country, or to fruſtrate their expectations from abroad, by exciting and fomenting jealouſies and diviſions at home.

Both houſes preſented moſt loyal addreſſes to his majeſty. The commons voted twenty-two thouſand, nine hundred and fifty-five men for the land ſervice, and fifteen thouſand ſeamen. They granted two hundred and thirty thouſand, nine hundred and twenty three pounds, for the maintenance of twelve thouſand Heſſian troops; a ſubſidy of fifty thouſand pounds to the king of Sweden; and another of half that ſum to the duke of Wolfenbuttle. The expences of the year amounted to three millions, ſeven hundred and ninety-nine thouſand four hundred and fifty four pounds, ſixteen ſhillings, raiſed by the land tax, the malt tax, and by a loan from the bank, of one million, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, for which annuities, to the amount of ſeventy thouſand pounds, were granted to the city of London, to be raiſed by the duty on coals.

The number of land forces occaſioned a debate on the danger ariſing from the military eſtabliſhment; and the Heſſian auxiliaries were not allowed without a violent conteſt. When the loan of the bank came under conſideration, Mr. William Pulteney alledged, that the ſhifting of funds was but perpetuating taxes, and putting off the evil day, and that the ſinking fund, of which ſuch mighty expectations had been formed, was no other than a pompous project, which had increaſed the national debt from its firſt beginning.

A petition was preſented by the lord mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London, ſetting forth, that the duties already laid upon coals and culm imported into London, affected the trade of that city only; that the inequality of the burden was a great diſcouragement to their manufactures, and an hardſhip upon the trading inhabitants; and praying the houſe would give them ſuch relief, as, in their wiſdom, they ſhould think proper. As a compliance with this requeſt would have entirely defeated the loan, the petition was rejected, and the tax impoſed.

On the 4th of March the commons took into conſideration the ſtate of the national debt. The houſe, having reſolved itſelf into a grand committee, examined the accounts, and interrogated the proper officers, when a court member moved for the following reſolution, "That it appears to this houſe, that the monies already iſſued and applied towards diſcharging the national debts, together with the ſum of ſix hundred and fifty-five thouſand pounds to be iſſued at Lady-day next, amount to ſix millions, ſix hundred forty-eight thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſixty two pounds, five ſhillings, and one penny farthing.

The intent of this motion was evidently to appeaſe the clamour which had been raiſed by an aſſertion of Mr. W. Pulteney, that the public debts had increaſed ſince the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund: as this was the moſt plauſible topic of declamation againſt the miniſtry, and the point in which the public were moſt deeply intereſted, the anti-courtiers attempted to defeat the motion by the utmoſt exertion of their abilities.

Their ableſt ſpeakers declaimed, in the warmeſt terms, againſt the profuſe management of the public money. They inſiſted, that notwithſtanding the very liberal grants which had been made by parlia-

parliament, during the laſt and preſent reigns; notwithſtanding the eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, the national debt was annually increaſing, even in a time of profound peace and tranquillity: that ſuch a circumſtance yielded but a very melancholy proſpect, inaſmuch as, at this rate, the public debts muſt increaſe ſtill faſter, in caſe of a foreign war or domeſtic commotion; ſo that the heavy and numerous taxes, with which the people were burthened, would be entailed on them to lateſt poſterity.

Several arguments were adduced to ſupport theſe aſſertions, notwithſtanding which the miniſterial party carried their point, and the firſt motion was agreed to without a diviſion.

Though Sir Robert Walpole had enſured a majority in parliament, yet he wiſely determined to retrieve his character and eſtabliſh his credit with the nation. In order to accompliſh this deſign, he made, as a miniſter, an appeal to the king, by cauſing a repreſentation to be drawn up, containing a particular detail of the national debt diſcharged and incurred ſince the 25th of December, 1716, with the ſtate of the ſinking fund and of the public credit. This performance began with ſome ſevere but juſt reflections againſt the inſidious arts that had been practiſed in order to miſlead the people in that important point. It ſet forth, that this prevailing miſchief called for an immediate remedy, and made it neceſſary to enter into a ſtrict diſquiſition of the truth and certainty of theſe matters, that his majeſty might be thoroughly informed of the real ſtate of affairs, and his faithful and loyal ſubjects have the ſatisfaction to ſee how groſly the world had been deceived by the artful miſrepreſentations of ill-deſigning men; and that his enemies might be convinced, that the wealth and power of Great Britain were not ſo exhauſted, as to render the nation, under his majeſty's happy government, leſs conſiderable and leſs formidable, than in the time of any of his royal predeceſſors. Having then ſtated the whole of the national debt, it inconteſtibly appeared, that, ſince the twenty-fifth day of December, 1716, two millions, ſix hundred and ninety eight thouſand, four hundred, and ſixteen pounds, nine ſhillings, and ſeven pence three farthings of theſe debts had been actually diſcharged, and concluded with this inference: If, notwithſtanding the embroiled condition of the affairs of Europe, we have been able to diminiſh the national debt ſo much already; may we not hope for a ſpeedy diſpatch in the future? An addreſs being preſented to his majeſty on this occaſion, repreſenting the facts, he told them by way of reply, "that he was highly pleaſed with this repreſentation, which could not fail to give general ſatisfaction to all his people, by removing thoſe groundleſs jealouſies and apprehenſions, which had been propagated and diſperſed throughout the kingdom: that the happy effects of the flouriſhing ſtate of the public credit were too ſenſibly felt and ſeen, not to be confeſſed and acknowledged by every impartial perſon: that the proviſion made for gradually diſcharging the national debt was now become ſo certain and conſiderable, that nothing but ſome unforeſeen event could alter or diminiſh it; a circumſtance that afforded the faireſt proſpect of ſeeing the old debts diſcharged without the neceſſity of incurring new incumbrances: and that they might be well aſſured, that it ſhould ever be his particular care and ſtudy to maintain and preſerve the public credit, to be cautious of laying new burdens upon his people, and to increaſe the ſinking fund."

During this ſeſſion the parliament were chiefly employed in examining copies of ſeveral treaties and alliances, which the king had laid before them; they likewiſe made an attempt to amend the ſtatute of limitations, which, however, miſcarried in the ſequel. They paſſed the mutiny bill, together with thoſe relating to the public ſupplies, and ſome others of a private nature. Theſe reſpective bills having received the royal aſſent, the king cloſed the ſeſſion on the twenty-eighth day of April, when he thanked the members for their zeal, unanimity, and diſpatch, and particularly for having empowered him to borrow a certain ſum for the diſcharge of wages due to ſeamen employed in the navy.

On the 3d of Auguſt his majeſty's uncle Erneſt Auguſtus, prince of Brunſwic and biſhop of Oſnaburg, died at his palace, and was ſucceeded in the biſhopric by the elector of Cologn according to the agreement by which Oſnaburg is alternately poſſeſſed by the houſe of Brunſwick, and that elector.

Prince Frederic, eldeſt ſon to his majeſty, who had hitherto lived at Hanover, arriving in England in the beginning of December, was introduced into the privy-council, and created prince of Wales. Signior Como, reſident from the duke of Parma, was ordered to quit the kingdom, becauſe his maſter had paid the honours due to the king of Great-Britain to the pretender, whom he had invited into his dominions.

On the 29th of June the congreſs had been opened at Soiſſons. Never did ſuch a numerous train of plenipotentiaries aſſemble on a ſimilar occaſion. Not a power in Europe but had an ambaſſador. But it proved eventually a meer form; for after producing their reſpective credentials, and ſpending ſix months in ceremony, pageantry and amuſement, they broke up and ſeparated without adjuſting any one material point in diſpute.

A. D. 1729. On the 21ſt of January the parliament met, when his majeſty acquainted both houſes, "that the plan of a proviſional treaty had already been approved by him and his allies; but that no ſatisfactory anſwer had as yet been returned by the courts of Vienna and Madrid: that this circumſtance created a ſtate of uncertainty, which gave him great uneaſineſs; but he hoped they would believe, that nothing but a regard for the eaſe and intereſt of his people could have prevailed upon him, rather to ſuffer ſome temporary inconveniences, with the daily proſpect of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace, than precipitately to kindle a war in Europe, and plunge the nation into ſtill greater and more enormous expences: that he was ſorry to find, that the ſtate of affairs obliged him to continue the public expences, in order to enable him, as events might require, to act with vigour, and in concert with his allies, who had all of them reſolved to make the ſame preparations, and to keep on foot all their extraordinary forces; that he had ſome reaſon to believe, that the courts of Vienna and Madrid had been encouraged in their dilatory proceedings, by the hopes, which were given them from hence, of creating diſcontents and diviſions among his ſubjects; but he was perſuaded, that their known affection for him, and a juſt regard for their own honour, and for the intereſt and ſecurity of the nation, would determine them effectually to diſcourage the unnatural and

pernicious practices of ſome few, who did all in their power to diſtreſs their native country, and then magnified the very diſtreſſes which themſelves had brought about.

The lords unanimouſly agreed to an addreſs; and the party among the commons, who were for pacific meaſures, extolled the wiſdom and prudence of his majeſty in induſtriouſly avoiding all occaſion of a war, of which the iſſue was, at the beſt, but precarious.

During theſe tranſactions the Spaniards continued their depredations on our ſhips and ſettlements in America, which greatly exaſperated the public in general. But the miniſtry, who ſeemed entirely devoted to peace, urged, that as ſomething deciſive muſt happen very ſoon, and the nation had already waited ſo long, it was thought more adviſeable to wait a little longer before they ſhould reſolve to commence hoſtilities. Taking advantage of the popular ſentiments, the oppoſition expoſed and reviled government, who, they ſaid, ſacrificed the honour and intereſt of their country.

To counteract the deſigns of the oppoſition a motion was made in the lower houſe for an addreſs to his majeſty, acknowledging his great goodneſs and wiſdom, in endeavouring to avoid all difficulties and delays, by concerting the moſt expeditious methods of bringing the negotiations at Soiſſons to a ſpeedy and honourable concluſion: expreſſing their grateful ſenſe of his majeſty's watchful care for the eaſe and intereſt of his people, in declining to plunge the nation into an expenſive war, as long as there was any proſpect of obtaining a ſafe and honourable peace; and, finally, aſſuring him, that the houſe, in an entire confidence of his majeſty's tender regard for his own honour, and that of the nation, reſted fully ſatisfied, that, as ſoon as neceſſity required, he would not fail to take the firſt opportunity of doing juſtice to himſelf and the nation, and of ſecuring the trade and commerce, on a ſolid and ſure footing.

Irritated at this motion, the members in oppoſition retorted on the miniſtry, and endeavoured to render them obnoxious to the trading part of the kingdom, by moving, that his majeſty ſhould be addreſſed not to ſecure, but to reſtore the commerce of the kingdom. This cavil was evidently below the notice of criticiſm, yet it gave the anti-courtiers an excellent handle for declaiming on the depredations of the Spaniards, a circumſtance which it was entirely out of the power of the miniſtry either to excuſe or palliate.

Sir William Younge, in anſwer to their arguments, endeavoured to prove, that the diſcrimination between reſtoring and ſecuring commerce was a diſtinction without a difference; becauſe ſuppoſing, which he did not admit, that the Britiſh commerce was ruined, it muſt be reſtored before it could be ſecured. He ſaid, that whatever was juſt in the outcry againſt the Spaniſh depredations, was, in a great meaſure owing to the intolerable avarice of ſome Engliſh interlopers, who carried on an unlawful traffic with the ſubjects of Spain in America, to the great injury of the fair Britiſh trader, and in defiance of treaties and the law of nations.

The antiminiſterial party was, on this occaſion, greatly ſtrengthened by Sir Joſeph Jekyll, maſter of the rolls, who had acquired the character of an upright judge and an uncorrupt ſenator. But the queſtion being at laſt put whether the addreſs ſhould ſtand in its original form, it was carried by a large majority.

A motion being made for continuing the ſame number of land forces which had been allowed the preceding year, it occaſioned a warm diſpute. The principal ſpeakers in oppoſition endeavoured to prove, from hiſtory and experience, the dangers into which a ſtanding army brought the conſtitution. It was alledged, that the court of Vienna, having readily agreed to the preliminaries for a pacification, there ought to be a reduction of the augmentation of the army, which the differences lately ſubſiſting between the houſe of Auſtria and the crown of Great Britain had occaſioned. It was obſerved, in reply, that, as no definitive reſolution had been taken by the courts of Vienna and Madrid, a reduction of the national troops, during ſuch a ſtate of indeciſion, would only encourage the Imperialiſts and Spaniards to inſiſt upon higher terms, and make the latter, in particular, more inſolent and outrageous in the American ſeas. The queſtion was then put for continuing the army upon the ſame footing, and carried by a great majority.

In the mean time the upper houſe, having taken into conſideration the poſitive demand made by the court of Spain, for the reſtitution of Gibraltar, founded on a letter written by the late king to his Catholic majeſty, a copy of which was laid before the houſe, they moved to reſolve, "that effectual care ſhould be taken in the treaty now depending, that the king of Spain do renounce all claim and pretenſions to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca in the plaineſt and ſtrongeſt manner."

Though the court party ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the motion, and through their influence put a negative on it, they thought it imprudent to paſs by a matter of ſuch importance. The commons were invited to a free conference on the ſubject in the painted chamber, and, in conſequence of an addreſs to the king from both houſes, his majeſty was pleaſed to promiſe them, "that he would take care to ſecure his undoubted right to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca."

The Spaniards having, about this time, ſeized ſome of our ſhips engaged in a lawful trade, the indignation of the public could not be any longer reſtrained. Petitions were preſented to the houſe of commons by the merchants of London, Liverpool, and Briſtol, complaining of the interruption they had ſuffered in their trade for ſeveral years, by the depredations of the Spaniards in the Weſt-Indies.

When the proper informations were obtained, the houſe enquired into particulars, examined evidence, and drew up an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring he would be graciouſly pleaſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours for preventing ſuch depredations, for procuring juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction, and for ſecuring to his ſubjects the free exerciſe of commerce and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America. His majeſty aſſured them, that nothing ſhould be wanting on his part to anſwer the deſires and expectations of his people.

When the commons had proceeded farther in their enquiry, and the merchants had preſented freſh petitions to them, they agreed to the following reſolutions; that ſeveral ſhips, merchandizes, and effects, belonging to the merchants of this kingdom trading to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, had been taken by the Spaniards, in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns, for which no reſtitution had, as yet, been made; and that the maſters and crews of ſeveral of the ſaid ſhips had been barbarouſly and inhumanly

humanly treated; that, in order to take the neceſſary care of the intereſts and properties of his majeſty's ſubjects, and thoſe of his allies, who were deeply concerned in the cargoes and effects belonging to the flota and galleons; and to the end that the ſaid treaſure ſhould not be employed in carrying on and ſupporting dangerous meaſures and engagements againſt his majeſty and his allies, the orders and inſtructions given to vice admiral Hoſier, to block up the flota and galleons, and to endeavour to ſecure and detain them, without embezzlement, until juſtice and ſatisfaction ſhould be given to his majeſty and his allies, were juſt, prudent and neceſſary, tending very much to prevent an open rupture, and to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of Europe. Theſe reſolutions were communicated in an addreſs to his majeſty, who was again requeſted to uſe his endeavours to procure ſatisfaction to the unhappy ſufferers; and he again promiſed that no endeavours ſhould be wanting on his part to effect their wiſhes.

The keepers of priſons, and their myrmidons, having committed the moſt cruel acts of barbarity and oppreſſion upon the unfortunate perſons under their cuſtody, a member of the houſe of commons moved for an examination into the ſtate of the gaols of this kingdom.

The firſt viſit was to the fleet priſon, whither they went in a body, and found Sir William Rich, baronet, loaded with irons, by order of Bambridge the warden, to whom he had given ſome ſlight cauſe of offence. They made a diſcovery of many inhuman barbarities committed by that ruffian, and detected the moſt iniquitous ſcenes of extortion, villainy, and fraud of every kind.

The houſe reſolved, upon a report of the committee, that Thomas Bambridge, acting warden of the fleet, had wilfully permitted ſeveral priſoners to eſcape; had been guilty of the moſt notorious breaches of truſt, great extortions, and the higheſt crimes and miſdemeanours in the execution of his office: that he had arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, and put into dungeons, priſoners for debt, under his charge, treating them in the moſt barbarous and cruel manner, in high violation of the laws of the kingdom.

A reſolution of the like kind was paſſed againſt ſeveral others, who had been their accomplices in theſe barbarities. The houſe preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring he would order his attorney-general to proſecute theſe delinquents, who were committed to Newgate. A bill was prepared for diſabling Bambridge to execute the office of warden; another for the better regulating the Fleet priſon, and for more effectually preventing and puniſhing arbitrary and illegal practices of the warden of the ſaid priſon.

A grant of one hundred and fifteen thouſand pounds being wanted to make good the deficiency in the civil liſt, it met with a warm oppoſition in both houſes. It was alledged, "that, inſtead of a deficiency in the civil liſt revenues, there was a conſiderable ſurplus; that this new grant was a new burden on the people; that by this precedent not only real deficiencies, but alſo ſupplies were to be given for arrears ſtanding out at the end of every year; that the revenues of the civil liſt were variable in their own nature, and even where there was no deficiency in the produce, there might be arrears in the receipt: theſe might eaſily be increaſed by the management of deſigning miniſters, by private directions to receivers, and by artful methods of ſtating accounts." But theſe arguments were totally rejected, and the grant was fully confirmed.

The papers relating to the Spaniſh depredations being under the examination of the lords, many ſevere reflections were thrown out againſt the conduct of the miniſtry, and a motion was made to reſolve, that the expence of the ſquadron ſent to the Weſt-Indies, under the command of vice admiral Hoſier, having been borne by this nation alone, though deſigned to prevent the Spaniards from ſeizing the effects belonging to his majeſty's allies, as well as his ſubjects, which were on board of the flota and galleons, and from applying the treaſure to diſturb the peace, and invade the liberties of Europe, had been an unreaſonable burden on this kingdom. This motion, after conſiderable debates, was likewiſe rejected, and a proteſt was entered by ſome of the peers.

The very tedious and complicated buſineſs of this ſeſſion being at length concluded, his majeſty, on the 14th of May, went to the houſe of peers, when, after a ſhort ſpeech, in which he ſignified his intention of viſiting his German dominions, he ordered the chancellor to prorogue the parliament.

The queen being appointed regent, his majeſty ſet out for Hanover on the twentieth day of the ſame month, in order to remove a ſlight miſunderſtanding, which had happened between that electorate and the court of Berlin. Some Hanoverian ſubjects had been preſſed or decoyed into the ſervice of Pruſſia, and the regency of Hanover had ſeized ſome Pruſſian officers in return.

The negotiations at Soiſſons were ſeemingly all this time at a ſtand, till at length it was agreed to open conferences at Seville between the plenipotentiaries of England, France, and Spain; and a treaty was concluded on the ninth day of November, importing, "that all former treaties and conventions between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, ſhould be as amply confirmed as if they had been expreſsly repeated: that their Britannic and Catholic majeſties ſhould guaranty to each other their reſpective dominions; and, in caſe of either of them being attacked, the other ſhould furniſh to the party ſo invaded a body of twelve thouſand men; that all ſuch engagements contracted by his Britannic majeſty, in conſequence of the treaty of Vienna, as were inconſiſtent with the treaties ſubſiſting between the crowns of England and Spain, antecedent to the year 1725, ſhould be rendered void and invalid: that the commerce of the Engliſh and French nations, both in Europe and the Indies, ſhould be reſtored to its former footing, and orders ſhould be inſtantly diſpatched on all ſides for that purpoſe; that his Catholic majeſty ſhould make reparation for all the damages that had been done by his ſubjects to thoſe of the other two parties; that commiſſaries ſhould be nominated with ſufficient powers on the part of their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who ſhould aſſemble at the court of Spain, within the ſpace of four months after the exchange of the ratifications, or ſooner, if poſſible, to examine and decide whatever concerned the ſhips and effects taken on either ſide; that the ſaid commiſſaries ſhould likewiſe examine and decide, according to the treaties, the reſpective pretenſions, which related to the abuſes that were ſuppoſed to have been committed in commerce, as well in the Indies as in Europe, and all other reſpective pretenſions in America,

America, founded on treaties, whether with reſpect to the limits, or otherwiſe; that the ſaid commiſſaries ſhould likewiſe diſcuſs and decide the pretenſions, which his Catholic majeſty might have, by the treaty of 1721, to the reſtitution of the ſhips taken by the Engliſh fleet in 1718: that the ſaid commiſſaries, after having examined, diſcuſſed, and decided the above mentioned claims and pretenſions, ſhould make a report of their proceedings to their Britannic and Catholic majeſties, who, by the preſent treaty, promiſed, that, within the ſpace of ſix months after making the ſaid report, they would cauſe to be executed, punctually and exactly, what ſhould have been ſo decided by the ſaid commiſſaries; that ſix thouſand of his Catholic majeſty's troops ſhould, without loſs of time, be ſent to garriſon Leghorn, Porto-Ferraro, Parma, and Placentia; which troops ſhould ſerve for the better ſecuring and preſerving the ſucceſſion of the ſtates, in favour of the infant Don Carlos, and ſhould be ready to withſtand any enterprize or oppoſition that might be formed to the prejudice of what had been regulated touching the ſucceſſion: that the contracting powers ſhould take the ſofteſt and moſt effectual means of perſuading the dukes of Tuſcany and Parma to admit theſe garriſons upon their promiſing to take an oath to be faithful to the reigning powers in every thing that ſhould not be contrary to the right of ſucceſſion, reſerved to the infant Don Carlos; and upon their engaging not to meddle, directly or indirectly, in the government of the places where they ſhould be garriſoned, and to pay to the dukes of Tuſcany and Parma all the honours that are due to ſovereigns in their own dominions; that his Catholic majeſty ſhould withdraw his troops from the ſaid garriſons, as ſoon as the ſucceſſion of thoſe territories ſhould be quietly ſettled in the perſon of Don Carlos: that the contracting powers ſhould become guarantees to Don Carlos for the quiet poſſeſſion and enjoyment of the ſaid ſtates of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, after he had once obtained them: that the kings of Great Britain and France ſhould ratify and guaranty all the particular regulations that ſhould be concerted between his Catholic majeſty and the two dukes of Tuſcany and Parma, relating to the ſaid garriſons; and that the States-general of the United Provinces ſhould be invited to accede to the treaty, the ratifications of which ſhould not exceed ſix months."

This is the ſubſtance of the famous treaty of Seville, which, aided by other events that ſoon after happened, produced ſuch a conſiderable change in the ſtate of affairs in Europe.

A. D. 1730. On the 3d of January his majeſty, who had returned to England in the month of September, opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech, in which he acquainted them that he had concluded an abſolute peace with Spain, and thereby prevented the miſeries and calamities inſeparable from war. He aſſured them, that the peace was agreeable to the purport and intention of former treaties, and calculated to render effectual the ſtipulations of the quadruple alliance: that ſufficient proviſion had been made for the indemnification and future ſecurity of the trading intereſt; and that he had given orders for making an immediate reduction both of his land and ſea forces. He then concluded with recommending to their conſideration the ſtate of the public credit, and the hardſhips of the manufacturing and labouring poor.

Both houſes having, after violent and unintereſting debates, voted and preſented addreſſes of thanks and congratulations to his majeſty, the lords took the treaty of peace into conſideration, and very ſevere animadverſions were paſſed upon it. It was obſerved, by thoſe in oppoſition, "that the ſubjects of Great Britain were liable to many inconveniences by being obliged to make proof of their loſſes at the court of Spain; that they thought it very extraordinary Great Britain ſhould conſent to ratify and guarantee whatever agreement ſhould be made between the king of Spain and the duke of Parma and Tuſcany concerning the garriſons once eſtabliſhed in their countries: that the treaty of Seville, ſo far from confirming other treaties, was contradictory to the quadruple alliance, particularly in the introducing Spaniſh troops into Tuſcany and Parma in the room of neutral forces, ſtipulated by the former alliance."

On the other hand the miniſterial party inſiſted, that there neither was nor could be any eſſential difference, if the emperor was ſincerely and honeſtly reſolved to fulfil the terms of the quadruple alliance, with regard to the eventual ſucceſſion of the dutchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia; that introducing Spaniſh inſtead of neutral troops into the garriſons of thoſe dominions could make no material difference, eſpecially as the treaty had, in the ſtrongeſt manner, ſtipulated the recalling thoſe troops as ſoon as the ſucceſſion to the dutchies, which was a main object of the quadruple alliance, ſhould be ſecured: and finally, that though there was an immaterial difference, which might give umbrage to the court of Vienna, between the treaty in queſtion and the quadruple alliance, yet the preſervation of the tranquillity of Europe, and the obtaining ſatisfaction and ſecurity to our commerce, were conſiderations far more worthy notice, than what the emperor's pride or ambition might induce him to ſay or do on the ſubject.

The oppoſition undertook to prove, "that the introduction of Spaniſh troops would be really prejudicial to the empire, even according to the methods of reaſoning adopted by the advocates for this meaſure, they having plainly intimated that the deſign of the treaty of Seville was to reſtrain the emperor's power in Italy; and conſequently it was his intereſt to defeat that deſign, however it might be the intereſt of others to put it in execution; and added, that his Imperial majeſty appeared to diſapprove of the meaſure by peremptorily refuſing to conſent to it."

They alſo mentioned the miniſtry's having omitted to oblige the crown of Spain to make a formal renunciation of all claim to Gibraltar and Minorca.

Every argument was adduced by the lords of the ſide of adminiſtration to confute thoſe of their opponents, till at length, after much altercation, lord Bathurſt moved, "that in the agreement of the treaty of Seville, to effectuate the introduction of Spaniſh troops into Tuſcany and Parma, was a manifeſt violation of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, tending to involve the nation in a dangerous and expenſive war, and to deſtroy the balance of power in Europe." This motion was rejected by a majority of eighty-ſix againſt thirty-one.

The ſecond motion of the oppoſition was, "that Great-Britain's right of ſovereignty, dominion, poſſeſſion, and claim to Gibraltar and the iſland of Minorca, was not aſcertained, ſo as to extinguiſh the claims and pretenſions which the Spaniards had ſet up, and which had been followed by an actual

ſiege, ſince the ceſſion of thoſe valuable places by the treaty of Seville, for repairing the loſſes of the Britiſh merchants, were inſufficient and precarious; but this alſo was rejected by a majority.

The lords in favour of the miniſtry then propoſed, "that the treaty of peace, union, and friendſhip, concluded at Seville, did contain all neceſſary ſtipulations for maintaining and ſecuring the honour, dignity, rights and poſſeſſions of the crown; and that all due care was taken therein for the ſupport of the trade of the kingdom, and for repairing the loſſes ſuſtained by the Britiſh merchants. After long debates the queſtion being put, it was reſolved in the affirmative, upon which ſeveral lords entered their proteſts.

In the acceſſion of the States general to the treaty, they were to furniſh only four thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe, and in caſe they ſhould be attacked on account of their preſent acceſſion, the other acceding powers were to lend them their aſſiſtance.

In the mean time his Imperial majeſty was not ſo paſſive as the Britiſh miniſter and his friends had repreſented him. So far from looking upon the introduction of Spaniſh garriſons into Tuſcany and Parma as a trifling variation from the quadruple alliance, he repreſented both the matter and the manner of it in the ſtrongeſt terms as an infraction of treaties, derogatory to his honour and dangerous to his intereſts, as well as the rights of the empire. Neither did he ſeem to expreſs his reſentment by words only, for he made actual preparations for ſending a number of forces into Italy, with orders to oppoſe the execution of the treaty of Seville; but being in want of money, he ſet a negotiation on foot in England to raiſe a loan of four hundred thouſand pounds.

Theſe proceedings greatly alarmed the miniſtry, who began to conſider the probable conſequences of this loan; they imagined that the money was to be employed either againſt the tranquillity of England, or, at leaſt, in a war, which muſt certainly affect his majeſty's electoral dominions. In order to prevent theſe dangerous conſequences, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons, to prevent any ſubjects of Great-Britain from advancing any ſums of money to foreign princes or ſtates, without having obtained licence from his majeſty, under his privy ſeal, or ſome greater authority. This, however, was not to extend to prohibit any ſubſcription to the public funds or trading companies of foreign kingdoms.

This bill was violently oppoſed on the ſecond reading. Mr. Daniel Pulteney, who, in foreign affairs, was conſidered as the oracle of the party, ſpoke againſt it with great vehemence. He ſaid, "that it would make Holland the market of Europe, and the mart of money to the nations of the continent: that the article of lending money was ſo advantageous, that the Dutch, when themſelves were engaged in war with the Spaniards, who treated them as rebels, lent money, arms and ammunition to the enemy: that the bill would diſable the Britiſh merchants from lending money to his Portugueſe majeſty; a reſtriction that might be attended with very bad conſequences to the nation: that the act, in any event, armed the miniſtry with too great and extenſive a power; and that the licenſing buſineſs might produce twenty, thirty, or forty thouſand pounds a year, to the miniſter."

But the moſt weighty argument againſt this bill was, that while it reſtrained the merchants from aſſiſting the princes and powers of Europe, it permitted the ſtock jobbers to trade in their funds without interruption. Mr. Pulteney, laying hold of this circumſtance, ſaid, that he well knew for whoſe benefit this compliance was intended; but jobbing abroad in the ſtocks of foreign nations was what the government ſhould leaſt encourage, and what they ought principally to prohibit; for the nation had ſuffered ſeverely by thoſe means already; nor had the miniſtry ever given them any relief or aſſiſtance; that the Engliſh had been egregiouſly deceived by the French in the affair of the Miſſiſſippi, by receiving paper inſtead of ſpecie: and the miniſtry had been inexcuſably negligent in that particular; for they had never even endeavoured to procure redreſs to the ſufferers.

In anſwer to theſe objections it was obſerved, "that if the emperor could have borrowed money in Holland at three per cent. he never would have applied for it in England where he muſt pay four; that if the Dutch, when at war with the Spaniards, had actually furniſhed them with money, arms, and ammunition, it was a very bad and a very impolitic meaſure, and could not fail of incurring the cenſure of all Europe; that as to his Portugueſe majeſty, it was ſtill in the power of the crown to enable any ſubject to lend money to a friend; nor could the licenſing trade poſſibly be attended with ſuch exorbitant profits as had been inſinuated. The chief defect in the bill, and that of which the miniſtry were moſt apprehenſive, was, that it allowed of any dealings in the funds of foreign nations; becauſe, while ſuch dealings were ſuffered, it would be eaſy for any Engliſhman, inclined to lend his money to the emperor, to elude the force of the act. The oppoſers of the bill, however, did not puſh their objection ſo far as it might have been carried; fearful, perhaps, leſt it ſhould deſtroy their popularity.

The neceſſity of the meaſure at that particular time was, therefore, the argument that Sir Robert Walpole conſtantly uſed in his ſpeeches in ſupport of this bill. An exception being propoſed, by which the prohibition ſhould be reſtricted to the emperor ſolely, without extending to other powers, Sir Robert ſaid, that the circumſtance of any prince, ſtate, or potentate, being equally intended with the emperor, was no objection to the bill in queſtion: that the deſign of it, indeed, was to prevent a war with that prince; but to name him in the preſent caſe, diſtinctly from others, would amount to a full declaration of war; and, beſides, one prince might borrow money for another, and elude the ſpirit of the law: that, with regard to the king of Portugal, or any other prince in alliance with Great Britain, his majeſty would readily grant his permiſſion for loans to his faithful allies: that after all, the law would not be put in execution, but in caſe of apparent neceſſity: if the emperor gave his majeſty reaſon to oppoſe his intentions, it might produce a future proclamation: this, however, was eventual: it might or it might not happen; and, if ever it ſhould happen, no ſubject of Great Britain, no Britiſh merchants abroad, could offend through ignorance of ſuch a proclamation: the bill was drawn with a blank, to be filled with a proper limitation of time, before the law ſhould take place; and that limitation might be ſo large and extenſive, that merchants abroad might be fully informed of the terms, which the law had preſcribed. He added,

that, for his own part, he was not ſo converſant in the law as ſome other gentlemen, who could juſtly ſupport the bill in its proviſion for a proper diſcovery of evidence by precedents; he was a ſtranger to that particular; he himſelf remembered the act to prevent the ſubjects of Great Britain from trading in the Oſtend company: that there the ſame method of diſcovery was provided; and ſhould not the public detect ſuch a criminal commerce with a powerful and national enemy, when they were allowed to do ſo againſt a little interloping company? that the bill was far from ſetting up a court of inquiſition, or laying other hardſhips or ſeverities upon any man; it was only to prevent the fraudulent conducting of concealed tranſactions: it involved the party in no other penalty than one, which he could not incur but through conſcious guilt; and at the ſame time, one which he might eaſily avoid, by purging himſelf of the crime: that this penalty, beſides, was ſtill to be limited by the authority of the houſe, and had no other end than to be ſuch a tax upon loans as might make it unprofitable to advance them for the higheſt premiums or intereſt; that the proclamation provided in the bill was the ſame as by law had been uſual in the caſe of quarantine, in apprehenſions of a peſtilence, and as a prevention of any contagious diſtempers; that, it was a reaſonable remedy on all ſuch appearances of danger: that nevertheleſs, it would not be employed, except the grievances that were dreaded rendered it neceſſary.

Mr. Plummer, a candid, diſpaſſionate, and diſintereſted ſpeaker, declared, that he was far from diſapproving of the bill: he only thought it gave too much power to the miniſtry, and that it ought not to be carried into execution by a proclamation, a method which had an arbitrary look, and had, during the reign of the Stuarts, given great diſſatisfaction.

Mr Pelham, the ſecretary at war, replied to this, that the friends to the bill had no intention to make the miniſtry judges in matters that could be decided by the houſe: that it was in tenderneſs to the people, that a proclamation was propoſed, as being a more expeditious method, than any other, to put them upon their guard: that it was to be hoped the affair might yet be adjuſted without a proclamation; and if the houſe, inſtead of making it eventual, would conſent to paſs it immediately, that method ſhould meet with no oppoſition from him.

Mr. John Barnard poſitively declared, "that he would never conſent to a bill, which he deemed a violation of our fundamental laws, and a grievous hardſhip on individuals."

At length, after a moſt obſtinate ſtruggle between the contending parties, this bill, which was ſupported by the whole weight of miniſterial influence, not only paſſed through the houſe, but was afterwards enacted into a law.

Having examined the eſtimates for the enſuing year, the commons voted ſeventeen thouſand ſeven hundred and nine men for the land ſervice. They continued the ſubſidies to the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, and the duke of Brunſwic Wolfenbuttle; and granted two millions, two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, to defray theſe and other expences.

Theſe meaſures were ſtrongly oppoſed by the anti-miniſterial party who made ſeveral motions which they were certain, if agreed to, would render the miniſter uneaſy, and, if rejected, would make him unpopular. The two following were the principal: firſt, "that an addreſs be delivered to his majeſty, humbly to repreſent, that that houſe having, in conſideration of the ſtate of public affairs, voted ſuch a number of land forces for the current ſervice of the year, aſſured themſelves, that his majeſty, from his juſt regard to the conſtitution of the kingdom, as well as his earneſt deſire to eaſe his people of every charge not abſolutely neceſſary, would take the firſt opportunity to make a farther reduction of thoſe forces, if the ſtate of affairs would admit, before the concluſion of this or the beginning of next ſeſſion of parliament. This motion was rejected by the houſe of commons without a diviſion.

The ſecond motion was to bring in a bill for making more effectual the laws in being for diſqualifying perſons from being choſen members of parliament, who had any penſion during pleaſure, or for any number of years, or any office, held in truſt for them, from the crown, and as a wiſe and neceſſary precaution it was propoſed, that every member of the houſe ſhould take the following oath:

"I do ſolemnly and ſincerely ſwear, that I have "not, directly, or indirectly, any penſion du- "ring pleaſure, or for any number of years, or "any office either in whole or in part, from the "crown, held for me, or for my benefit, by any "perſon whatever: and I do ſolemnly and ſincerely "promiſe and ſwear, that I will not receive, ac- "cept, or take, directly or indirectly, during the "time of my being a member of this preſent par- "liament, any penſion during pleaſure, or for any "number of years, or any gratuity or reward "whatſoever, or any office from the crown, to "be held for me, or for my benefit, in whole or "in part, by any perſon whatſoever, without ſig- "nifying the ſame to this houſe, within fourteen "days after I have received or accepted the ſame, "if the parliament be then ſitting, or within four- "teen days after the next meeting of parliament."

The violation of this oath was to be deemed and puniſhed as wilful and corrupt perjury; and the ſeats of all members refuſing to take it were to be vacated, as if they had been actually dead. A penalty of thirty pounds was inflicted upon every member, for every day he ſhould ſit in the houſe, without taking the oath, beſides an incapacity ever after to enjoy any place of profit or truſt under the king or his ſucceſſors, or to ſit in parliament, or ſerve the crown in any way whatever.

Theſe were the contents of this bill, which has ſince been ſo often renewed, but never enacted into a law.

The oppoſers of the bill urged, that even ſuppoſing the commons to be in good earneſt to expel the member, who thus declared he held a place or a penſion in defiance of this act, yet ſtill, this would be highly unconſtitutional and indecent, becauſe it implied a power to be lodged in one houſe of parliament, to condemn the juſt and unqueſtionable prerogative of the crown, in making a gift which it had a power to make. This muſt be attended, ſaid they, with moſt unconſtitutional conſequences, as the houſe of commons would then take upon themſelves to ſit as an inquiſition upon the proceedings and prerogative of the crown; by which, as in the laſt century, the crown itſelf would be endangered.

But theſe, it was obſerved, were not all the ill effects of this bill. The member was obliged to ſwear, that he was not, directly, or indirectly, to accept of any penſion, gratuity, or reward, or any

place in truſt, from the crown. The word indirectly might make a member liable to the penalties of the bill, if the crown ſhould think proper to extend its favour to any of his family or relations.

It was further urged, that the exerciſe of any part of the prerogative, even the moſt ſalutary and neceſſary, ſuch as granting pardon for offences; the remitting fines and forfeitures; the granting patents, and the like, ſome time or other might be conſtrued into an indirect influence. The crown had ſufficient powers which it could avow, and which were in no degree affected by the bill, to create as much influence in the houſe of commons, as a miniſter might have occaſion to employ; and, unleſs all great offices and places, as well as penſions, became diſqualifications, the end propoſed by the bill would never be effected.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrength of theſe arguments they were wholly diſregarded. The cry of corruption was become ſo general, that many, who in their hearts diſapproved of this bill, were yet induced to vote for its paſſing; a conceſſion which they thought they might make with the greater ſafety, as they had no doubt but that the houſe of peers would reject it.

The queſtion was carried in favour of the bill by a great majority, notwithſtanding which, after many debates, it was thrown out by the houſe of lords, and in conſequence of this proceeding, a proteſt was entered by twenty ſix peers.

Several acts in favour of the ſubject were paſſed this ſeſſion, among which were the following: an act for appropriating one million of the ſurplus ariſing from the ſinking fund, towards the diſcharge of the national debt. An act for aboliſhing the duties upon ſalt. A third for the better regulation of juries, and a fourth for explaining and amending an act, entitled, "An act for the relief of debtors with reſpect to the impriſonment of their perſons." An act was alſo made, allowing the inhabitants of the colony of Carolina to export rice directly to any part of Europe ſouthward of Cape Fineſterre, provided the trade was carried on in Britiſh bottoms; and they permitted ſalt from Europe to be imported into the colony of New York.

On the fifteenth of May, his majeſty went to the houſe, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, which he concluded in the following words: "My "lords and gentlemen, I am very glad, that, for "the general ſatisfaction, you entered into a par- "ticular conſideration of the ſtate of the nation; "and it is a great happineſs to ſee, after ſo many "unjuſt and unreaſonable clamours, raiſed with "all poſſible art, induſtry and malice, that, upon "mature deliberation, and the moſt ſolemn de- "bates, you were ſo far from finding any thing "worthy of blame or cenſure, that all matters "that came under your cognizance met with your "approbation. This muſt inſpire all mankind "with a juſt deteſtation of thoſe incendiaries, who, "from a ſpirit of envy and diſcontent, continually "labour, by ſcandalous libels, to alienate the af- "fections of my people, and to fill their minds "with groundleſs jealouſies and unjuſt complaints, "in diſhonour of me and my government, and in "defiance of the ſenſe of both houſes of parlia- "ment. But I entirely rely on your prudence "and concern for the peace and happineſs of your "country, to diſcountenance all ſuch ſeditious "practices, and to make my people ſenſible, "that theſe wicked proceedings have no other "view and end than to create confuſion and "diſtraction among us." The parliament was then prorogued to the fourteenth day of July.

The people of Ireland were ſtill under the government of their lord lieutenant, lord Carteret. Their parliament aſſembling in the month of September, they employed themſelves with unwearied diligence in promoting the intereſt and welfare of their country. They eſtabliſhed funds for the diſcharge of their national debt, and for defraying the expences of government; they enacted wholeſome laws for the encouragement of trade and agriculture; and regulated their civil œconomy in the moſt effectual manner.

Notwithſtanding the popular clamour, and the torrent of perſonal invective poured forth againſt the miniſter, ſuch was his influence and power, as not only to ſtem the tide of oppoſition, the moſt powerful ever known in hiſtory, but to carry all meaſures he propoſed through means of the ſucceſſion of his friends to every vacant office of government. His brother, Horatio Walpole, was made cofferer of the houſhold, in the room of the late earl of Clinton: Mr. Pelham was appointed pay-maſter of the forces in the room of Spencer Compton, now lord Wilmington, who was entruſted with the cuſtody of the privy ſeal; the lord Trevor was preferred to be preſident of the council. The earl of Cheſterfield was conſtituted ſteward, lord Hervey vice-chamberlain, and Sir Conyers D'Arcy comptroller of the houſhold. The duke of Dorſet ſucceeded lord Carteret as lord lieutenant of Ireland. The earl of Weſtmoreland was made firſt commiſſioner of trade and plantations; and lord Torrington firſt lord of the admiralty.

A. D. 1731. On the 21ſt of January the parliament met again, when his majeſty informed them, "that the then critical juncture ſeemed, in a very particular manner, to deſerve their attention; that as the tranſactions then depending in the ſeveral courts of Europe were upon the point of being determined, the great event of peace or war might be much affected by their firſt reſolutions, which were expected, by different powers, with the utmoſt impatience. That the continuance of that zeal and vigour with which they had hitherto ſupported him and his engagements muſt, at this time, be of the greateſt weight and importance both with regard to the allies and to thoſe who might be diſpoſed before the ſeaſon of action, to prevent, by an accommodation, the fatal conſequences of a general rupture."

As ſoon as the commons were retured to their houſe, a motion was made for a loyal addreſs to his majeſty; but the anti-courtiers inſiſted on reſtricting it to a ſimple promiſe to aſſiſt him only in all ſuch meaſures as ſhould be abſolutely neceſſary for procuring ſatisfaction to his allies, and providing for the intereſts of his people. After a very obſtinate diſpute the addreſs was voted in its original form, and the peers voted one of a ſimilar nature, but not without much altercation.

The Spaniards ſtill continuing their depredations in the Weſt Indies, occaſioned complaints from a number of merchants in different parts of the kingdom; and their petitions were referred to the conſideration of a grand committee. Their complaints, upon examination, appeared to be juſt. A motion was made for an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring he would be graciouſly pleaſed to continue his endeavours to prevent ſuch depredations for the future, and to procure full ſatisfaction for the damages already ſuſtained; and to ſecure to the Britiſh ſubjects the full and uninterrupted exerciſe of their

their trade and navigation to and from the Britiſh colonies in America.

This motion would not ſatisfy the minority. They, therefore, propoſed an amendment, to repreſent, that, notwithſtanding the former applications of this houſe to his majeſty, in relation to the depredations made by the Spaniards upon the effects of his majeſty's trading ſubjects, and his endeavours to procure ſatisfaction for the ſame, and to prevent the like for the future; and notwithſtanding the treaty of Seville, it appeared to the houſe, that the Spaniards had continued their depredations, and treated his majeſty's ſubjects with the utmoſt barbarity; and, therefore, moſt humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that he would effectually prevent the like for the future, by the vigour of his proceedings.

After a great debate, the amendment was rejected, and the addreſs preſented in its original form. Attention was paid this ſeſſion to the exorbitant rates exacted by the charitable corporation from the induſtrious poor, for the money with which they ſupplied them upon goods pledged, &c. This affair being referred to a committee, it appeared that the corporation had taken ten per cent. under pretence of reaſonable coſts and charges, upon which a bill paſſed the houſe for regulating the lending of money upon pledges and for preventing uſury and extortion. Such were the principal tranſactions of this ſeſſion of parliament, which was cloſed, in the month of May, by a ſpeech from tht throne.

The depredations of the Spaniards in America, and their backwardneſs in executing the treaty of Seville, had provoked the Engliſh miniſtry to ſuch a degree, that they made propoſals to the court of Vienna for a private negotiation, which was ſpeedily agreed upon.

The emperor ſtill exclaimed againſt the treaty of Seville, which he inſiſted was an inſult upon him as head of the empire. He ſaid, that Don Carlos ought to have been eſtabliſhed in Italy, and the ſucceſſion of his dominions ſecured to him, by his receiving the inveſtiture of them from the emperor, and by the conſent of the empire; both which which were ready when demanded: and he alledged, that the acceſſion of Don Carlos to the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, was not the ultimate view of the court of Madrid, which the event afterwards ſhewed to be true.

About the ſame time the duke of Parma died. In his will he declared that his dutcheſs was three months advanced in her pregnancy, for which reaſon he entreated the powers of Europe to have compaſſion upon his people, and defer the execution of their projects, until his conſort ſhould be delivered. In caſe the child ſhould be ſtill-born, prove a female, or, if a male, die after the birth, he bequeathed his dominions and eſtates to the infant Don Carlos of Spain, and left the government of his dutchy to five regents.

A body of Imperial horſe, notwithſtanding this will, took inſtant poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia, under the command of general Stampa, who declared, they ſhould conduct themſelves with all poſſible regularity and moderation; and leave the adminiſtration entirely to the regents, whom the duke had appointed. They publicly proclaimed in the market place, that they took poſſeſſion of theſe dutchies for the infant Don Carlos: and that, if the ducheſs-dowager ſhould not be delivered of a prince, the ſaid infant might receive the inveſtiture from the emperor, whenever he pleaſed, provided he came without an army.

In conſequence of theſe ſteps an immediate war was expected; but the king of Great Britain and the ſtates general interpoſed their mediation ſo effectually with the emperor, that he deſiſted from the proſecution of his deſigns: and the ſecret negotiation between London and Vienna was perfected into a treaty on the ſixteenth of May.

This agreement implied a mutual guarantee of the territories belonging to the contracting powers, and a general guarantee of the pragmatic ſanction in favour of the female heirs of the emperor. His Imperial majeſty engaged to recall his forces from the duchies of Tuſcany, Parma, and Placentia, and to conſent to the introduction of Spaniſh troops into thoſe dominions.

He alſo engaged that the Oſtend company ſhould be totally aboliſhed: and that the Engliſh, with regard to their commerce in the kingdom of Sicily, ſhould be treated on the footing of the moſt favoured nation. The ſtates general were included as one of the contracting parties in this treaty; but their acceſſion could not be immediately obtained, as the nature of their government would not admit of ſo ſpeedy a reſolution.

Such was the ſubſtance of the negotiation of Vienna, which was repreſented by the minority in England, as crude, contradictory, and inconſiſtent with former treaties.

General Stampa, having, in conſequence of a declaration made by the relict of the late duke, that ſhe was not pregnant, taken formal poſſeſſion of Parma and Placentia, and the treaty of Vienna having been acceded to by Spain and the great duke of Tuſcany, Britain engaged to furniſh an armament for conveying Don Carlos to his new dominions. Accordingly, Sir Charles Wager ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron from Portſmouth, on the twenty-ſixth day of Auguſt; and in September arrived at Barcelona. His Catholic majeſty, however, thought proper to diſcharge Sir Charles, deſiring him to convoy, together with his own admiral, the Spaniſh troops to Italy, which having done, our ſquadron returned to England.

Don Carlos paſſed through part of France, and embarking at Antibes on board the Spaniſh gallies, landed at Leghorn in December. The Imperial general was no ſooner informed of his arrival, than he withdrew his forces into the Milaneſe; and Don Carlos took quiet poſſeſſion.

A. D. 1732. The parliament met on the 13th of January, when the king, in his ſpeech, ſaid, that the general tranquillity of Europe was now reſtored and eſtabliſhed, and all his expectations on that head fully anſwered: that the ſhare of credit and influence which the crown of Great Britain had in accompliſhing that difficult and diſagreeable work, and which redounded ſo much to the honour and intereſt of the nation, as it was univerſally confeſſed abroad, would, he was confident, be agreeable to his people, and acknowledged with gratitude by his parliament: that, from the time of concluding the quadruple alliance, the ſeveral courts of Europe had been employed in finding means to execute the meaſures, which the contracting powers had concerted for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of Tuſcany and Parma in favour of the infant of Spain; but the various jarring and contending intereſts, hard to be reconciled and united, in effectuating a point of ſo much importance; the ambitious views and hopes of

of obtaining on every ſide farther advantages; and the natural jealouſies and ſuſpicions ariſing among the ſeveral powers concerned; all theſe oppoſite principles and purpoſes had kept in ſuſpence and unexecuted what the court of Spain had very much at heart, and had occaſioned ſuch troubles and diſturbances as embarraſſed the affairs of Europe for many years, and particularly affected the intereſt of this nation: that the preſent happy ſituation of affairs would, he promiſed himſelf, inſpire them with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch ardent zeal for the public welfare as became a parliament ſenſible of the great bleſſings they enjoyed; that the duty and affection of his ſubjects was all the return he deſired for his paternal care and concern for them: that his government had no ſecurity but what was equally conducive to the happineſs and to the welfare of his people, and their happineſs had no foundation but in the defence and ſupport of his government: "Our ſafety," ſaid he, "is mutual: our intereſts are inſeparable."

Addreſſes being preſented to his majeſty by both houſes, the commons immediately took the ſupplies into conſideration, when the ſecretary at war moved for ſeventeen thouſand, ſeven hundred men for the ſervice of the current year. This motion occaſioned warm and very tedious debates. Strong and powerful arguments were made uſe of by the oppoſition for a reduction of the land forces then employed in the ſervice of government; notwithſtanding which, when the queſtion was put, it was carried by a great majority, "that the ſtanding army ſhould be maintained without reduction."

In the laſt ſeſſion ſome complaints had been made to the houſe againſt the charitable corporation, which affair now became very ſerious. This company was firſt eſtabliſhed in the year 1707. Their profeſſed intention was to lend money at legal intereſt to the poor, upon ſmall pledges; and to perſons of higher rank upon an indubitable ſecurity of goods impawned. Their capital was at firſt limited to thirty thouſand pounds, but by licences from the crown, they encreaſed it to ſix hundred thouſand pounds, though their charter was never confirmed by act of parliament. In the month of October, George Robinſon, eſquire, member for Marlow, the caſhier, and John Thompſon, warehouſe-keeper of the corporation, diſappeared in one day. The proprietors, alarmed at this incident, held ſeveral general courts, and appointed a committee to examine the ſtate of their affairs. This committee, after a ſtrict ſcrutiny, reported, that for a capital of five hundred thouſand pounds, no equivalent was found; that the major part of their effects were embezzled, and what remainded were not worth thirty thouſand pounds.

Hereupon a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons by the proprietors, ſetting forth, that, by the moſt notorious breach of truſt in ſeveral perſons, to whom they had committed the management of their affairs, the corporation had been defrauded of the greateſt part of their capital: and that many of the proprietors were reduced to abſolute beggary; they, therefore, intreated, that as they were unable to detect the combinations of thoſe who had ruined them, or to bring the delinquents to condign puniſhment, without the aid and aſſiſtance of parliament, the houſe would be pleaſed to inquire into the ſtate of the corporation, and the conduct of the managers, and give ſuch relief to the petitioners, as the houſe ſhould think proper.

The commons appointed a committee to conduct the enquiry, who ſoon diſcovered a moſt iniquitous ſcene of fraud which had been acted by Robinſon and Thompſon, in concert with ſome of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Some members of parliament were deeply concerned in this infamous conſpiracy; and met with the fate which their villainy deſerved. Sir Robert Sutton and Sir Archibald Grant were expelled the houſe, as having had a conſiderable ſhare in theſe fraudulent practices; and a bill was brought in to reſtrain them, together with their accomplices, from leaving the kingdom, or alienating their effects.

The committee, in the interim, received a letter from ſignior John Angelo Belloni, a banker at Rome, informing them, that Thompſon was ſecured in that city with all his papers, and confined in the caſtle of St. Angelo; and that the papers were tranſmitted to his correſpondent at Paris, who ſhould deliver them up, on granting to the priſoner certain favourable conditions.

This letter was conſidered as an artifice to inſinuate a favourable opinion of the pretender, as if he had taken meaſures for ſecuring Thompſon from his zeal for juſtice and affection to the Engliſh nation. The propoſals were therefore rejected with diſdain, and both houſes concurred in an order, that the letter ſhould be burned by the common hangman at the Royal Exchange; and the lower houſe reſolved, "that it was an inſolent audacious libel, attempting, by falſe and inſidious inſinuations, to impoſe upon the parliament and people of Great Britain; and, by ſpecious pretences, and profeſſions of eſteem, affection, and compaſſion, to amuſe the unhappy ſufferers of the Charitable Corporation, with vain and deceitful hopes of relief; that the ſaid letter was, in itſelf, abſurd and contradictory, conceived, at the beginning, in terms, and in the ſtile of power and authority, or as proceeding from ſome extraordinary intereſt and influence, but concluding in the perſon and character of a private banker at Rome, who agreed upon certain conditions in behalf of John Thomſon to deliver certain books and papers belonging to the ſaid Thompſon; that the conditions required and demanded in favour of Thompſon ſeemed at the ſame time to be vague, evaſive, and uncertain, tending to procure advantages and indemnity to himſelf and his accomplices, without any proſpect of benefit to the corporation: and that the whole tranſaction appeared to be a ſcandalous artifice, calculated purely to delude the unhappy and to diſguiſe and conceal the wicked practices of the profeſſed enemies to his majeſty's perſon, crown and dignity."

George Robinſon, Eſq; was expelled the houſe on account of the part he had acted in the charitable corporation, as he and Thompſon had neglected to ſurrender themſelves, according to the terms of a bill which had paſſed for that purpoſe. The parliament having granted the neceſſary ſupplies, his majeſty, on the firſt of June, gave the royal aſſent to the bills that were ready, and informed both houſes that the States-general had acceded to the treaty of Vienna, that he had determined to viſit his German dominions, and to leave the queen regent in his abſence; after which he put an end to the ſeſſion, and in a few days ſet out for Hanover.

His majeſty granted his perpetual charter this year for eſtabliſhing a ſettlement at Georgia, ſituated to the ſouthward of Carolina in America; and accordingly Mr. Oglethorpe, the principal perſon who ſet this ſcheme on foot, embarked at Gravelend

with a number of poor families to plant that colony.

The friendſhip between Great-Britain and Vienna ſeemed to be ſincere; but that court carried its perſecutions againſt its proteſtant ſubjects to ſuch a height of cruelty, that the king of England was obliged to interpoſe in their behalf. France, by the bigotry of cardinal de Fleury, and the blind deference of the ſovereign to that miniſter, ſtill continued to be diſtracted with religious diſſentions, which rendered her unable to diſturb the repoſe of her neighbours, at the ſame time that they deſtroyed her own internal tranquillity.

The diſpute that had long ſubſiſted between the king of Pruſſia and the young prince of Orange, touching his ſucceſſion to the eſtates poſſeſſed by William III. as head of the houſe of Orange, was at laſt adjuſted by a formal treaty, ſigned at Berlin and Dieren. In the courſe of this year the prince royal (now king of Pruſſia) eſpouſed the princeſs of Bevern; and thus purchaſed his father's favour by a match very diſagreeable to himſelf.

A. D. 1733. His majeſty being returned from Hanover, the ſeſſion of parliament was opened on the 16th of January by a ſpeech from the throne, wherein the king declared, "that the ſituation of affairs both at home and abroad rendered it unneceſſary for him to lay before the two houſes any other reaſons for calling them together, than the ordinary diſpatch of public buſineſs, and his deſire of receiving their advice in ſuch affairs, as might require the care and conſideration of parliament. In this, as in many ſeſſions paſt, party diſputes ran very high. When an addreſs of thanks was propoſed, importing the entire ſatisfaction of the houſe with the then ſituation of affairs, the anti-miniſterial party oppoſed it, obſerving, that there was very little reaſon for the nation to be ſatisfied with the preſent poſture of affairs; as it was well known that the French were actually employed in repairing the fortifications of Dunkirk, in direct violation of the moſt ſolemn treaties; that the Britiſh merchants were ſtill left expoſed to the cruel and inſolent depredations of the Spaniards; that the commerce of England daily decreaſed, and that every ſeſſion of parliament opened a new ſcene of villainy and impoſition. The court party, however, carried the motion for the addreſs by a great majority.

This ſeſſion Sir Robert Walpole laid before the houſe his long projected ſcheme for a general exciſe. The Spaniſh depredations in America ſtill continued to encreaſe: the penſion-bill had been ſeveral times rejected in the houſe of lords: a bill for ſecuring the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the houſe of commons, had met with the ſame fate: ſuch, likewiſe, had been the iſſue of a motion to bring in a bill to repeal the act for ſeptennial parliaments, and limit their continuance to the term of three years. In a word, the miniſter was, by theſe and like methods, rendered ſo unpopular, that even without examination, all his ſchemes were condemned.

Notwithſtanding theſe concurring circumſtances in favour of the oppoſition, the miniſter entered upon his deſign by taking notice of the arts which had been uſed to prejudice the people againſt his plan before it was known. He affirmed, that the clamours occaſioned by theſe prejudices owed their riſe originally to ſmugglers and fraudulent dealers, who had enriched themſelves at the expence of the public; and that thoſe had found ſtrenuous ſupporters in another ſet of men, fond of every opportunity to ſtir up the people to mutiny and ſedition. He expatiated on the frauds committed in that part of the revenue ariſing from the duties on tobacco; upon the hardſhips to which the American planters were ſubjected by the heavy duties payable on the importation as well as by the ill uſage they received from their factors and correſpondents in England, who, from being their ſervants, were now become their maſters: upon the injury done to the fair trader, and upon the loſs ſuſtained by the public with reſpect to the revenue. He aſſerted that the ſcheme he was going to propoſe would remove all theſe inconveniences, prevent innumerable frauds, perjuries, and falſe entries, and add two or three hundred thouſand pounds annually to the public revenue. He entered into a long detail of frauds practiſed by the knaviſh dealers in thoſe commodities; and recited the ſeveral acts of parliament relating to the duties on wine and tobacco. He declared he had no intention to promote a general exciſe, and endeavoured to obviate ſome objections that might be made to his plan, the nature of which he at length explained. He propoſed to join the laws of exciſe to thoſe of the cuſtoms: that the farther ſubſidy of three farthings per pound charged upon imported tobacco ſhould be ſtill levied as formerly at the Cuſtom-houſe, and payable to his majeſty's civil liſt: that then the tobacco ſhould be lodged in warehouſes to be appointed for that purpoſe by the commiſſioners of exciſe: that the commiſſioner of each warehouſe, appointed likewiſe by the commiſſioners, ſhould have one lock and key, and the merchant importer another; and that the tobacco ſhould be thus ſecured until the merchant found vent for it, either by exportation or home conſumption: that the part deſigned for exportation ſhould be weighed at the Cuſtom-houſe, diſcharged of the three farthings per pound at its firſt importation, and then exported without farther trouble: that the portion deſtined for home conſumption ſhould, in the preſence of the warehouſe-keeper, be delivered to the purchaſer, upon his paying the inland duty of four-pence per pound to a proper officer appointed to receive it; by which means the merchant would be eaſed of the inconvenience of paying the duty on importation, or of granting bonds, and finding ſecurity for the payment before he had found a market for the commodity: that all penalties and forfeitures, ſo far as they formerly belonged to the crown, ſhould, for the future, be applied to the uſe of the public: that appeals in this as well as in all other caſes relating to the exciſe ſhould be heard and determined by two or three of the judges to be named by his majeſty, and in the country by the judge of exciſe upon the next circuit, who ſhould hear and determine ſuch appeals in the moſt ſummary manner, without the formality of proceedings in the court of law or equity.

Such was the ſum and ſubſtance of the famous exciſe ſcheme, the propoſing of which occaſioned a moſt violent debate, which was ſtrenuouſly maintained by the moſt able ſpeakers on both ſides the queſtion. The motion, however, was at length carried by a majority of ſixty-one voices. Several reſolutions were founded on the propoſal, and to thoſe the houſe at length agreed, though not without another violent conteſt.

Theſe reſolutions produced a bill, againſt which petitions were preferred by the lord-mayor, aldermen,

men, and common-council of London, as likewiſe by the towns of Coventry and Nottingham. A motion was made that council ſhould be heard for the city, but it was rejected by the majority, and the petition was ordered to lay upon the table till the ſecond reading of the bill.

The whole nation was now alarmed and clamoured againſt the exciſe bill. The populace, crouding about Weſtminſter-hall, blocked up the avenues to the houſe of commons, inſulted thoſe members who had voted in favour of the miniſtry; and Sir Robert, apprehenſive for his perſonal ſafety, thought proper to drop the deſign by moving that the ſecond reading of the bill, which was to have been on the 11th of April, might be poſtponed till the 12th of June; but it was never reſumed. The miſcarriage of this ſcheme was celebrated with public rejoicings in London and Weſtminſter, and the miniſter burned in effigy by the populace.

His majeſty had, for ſome time paſt, reflected, with the utmoſt concern, upon the low ſtate of the proteſtant intereſt in moſt of the nations of Europe. He ſaw that the French had obtained a dangerous influence in the United Provinces, and that all the alliances between England and Holland would thereby, in ſome meaſure, be rendered ineffectual, unleſs ſuch an intereſt could be raiſed among the Dutch, as might counter-balance that of the court of Verſailles. In order the better to accompliſh this, having reſolved to beſtow his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs royal, upon the prince of Orange, he ſent a meſſage to the commons on the eighth day of May, importing, that having received from the prince of Orange propoſals for a marriage between the princeſs royal and the ſaid prince, he had thought proper to communicate the affair to his faithful commons; and as he made no doubt but this match would be to the general ſatisfaction of all his good ſubjects, he promiſed himſelf the aſſiſtance and concurrence of the houſe, in enabling him to give ſuch a portion to his eldeſt daughter as ſhould be ſuitable to the occaſion; and might contribute towards ſupporting, with honour and dignity, an alliance, that would tend ſo much to the farther ſecurity of the proteſtant ſucceſſion on the throne of theſe realms, and ſupporting the proteſtant intereſt on the continent of Europe.

The commons returned a moſt warm and affectionate addreſs to this meſſage, and immediately voted, that out of the money ariſing from the ſale of the lands in the iſland of St. Chriſtopher, his majeſty ſhould be empowered to apply the ſum of eighty thouſand pounds as a marriage portion for his daughter; a reſolution, which was afterwards confirmed by act of parliament.

The public buſineſs being all brought to a concluſion, his majeſty, on the 11th of June, put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſhort, but ſevere ſpeech againſt the authors and abettors of thoſe heats and animoſities which had been ſo univerſally ſpread throughout the nation.

The vacancy which now happened in the throne of Poland involved Europe in freſh troubles. The death of Auguſtus II. threw the neighbouring powers into great commotion. Staniſlaus, whoſe daughter the French king had married, and the elector of Saxony ſon to the late king, declared themſelves candidates for the ſucceſſion. The former was ſupported by Lewis XV. the latter by the Emperor, the Czarina, and the king of Pruſſia. The Imperial and Ruſſian troops encamped on the frontiers of Poland, and the king of France ordered the duke of Berwick to aſſemble an army on the Rhine, in order to enter Germany, in caſe the Imperial forces made any attempt to diſturb the election at Warſaw.

On the 25th of June the diet of the elections was opened with the uſual ceremonies, and Staniſlaus, being unanimouſly choſen king, appeared in the electoral field, where he was received with the loudeſt acclamations. The Saxon party, however, ſoon increaſed to ten thouſand men, proteſted againſt the election, and joined the Pruſſian army. Staniſlaus, finding himſelf unable to oppoſe ſuch powerful antagoniſts, retired to Dantzick, attended by the primate and French ambaſſador, and ſoon after the elector of Saxony was proclaimed king of Poland under the title of Auguſtus III.

Lewis XV. having concluded a treaty with Spain and Sardinia, the duke of Berwick paſſed the Rhine, and reduced fort Kehl. The king of Sardinia declared war againſt the emperor, and, being joined by a body of French troops, drove the Imperialiſts out of the Milaneſe. So powerful a confederacy induced the emperor to have recourſe to his Britannic majeſty, under whoſe mediation he offered to compromiſe all differences with the court of Spain. But Philip rejected the emperor's propoſals, and at the ſame time communicated to king George the motives of his reſolutions. In the mean time he detached a powerful army into Italy, and made ſeveral important conqueſts.

In the latter end of the foregoing year the prince of Orange had arrived in England, in order to eſpouſe the princeſs royal, and the marriage, which was for ſome time delayed on account of his being taken ill, was at laſt celebrated on the fourteenth day of March with great pomp and magnificence.

Several changes happened about this time. Lord Cheſterfield reſigned his place of lord-ſteward of his majeſty's houſhold. The duke of Montroſe relinquiſhed his office of lord privy ſeal of Scotland; and his example was followed by the lord Clinton, who parted with his places as one of the gentlemen of his majeſty's bedchamber, and lord lieutenant of the county of Devon.

Mr. Talbot, ſolicitor-general, one of the moſt accompliſhed lawyers and upright judges in the kingdom, was conſtituted lord chancellor of England, and created baron Talbot of Henſoll; Sir Philip Yorke, attorney-general, was advanced to the office of lord chief juſtice of the King's-bench, and honoured with a peerage, by the title of lord Hardwick. Mr. John Willes ſucceeded the latter, and Mr. Dudley Rider the former.

A. D. 1734. On the 17th of January the parliament met, and the ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty told them, "that though he was no ways concerned in the war which had broke out in Europe, except by the good offices he had employed among the contending powers, he could not remain an idle ſpectator of the preſent events, or be indifferent about the conſequences of a war undertaken and ſupported by ſuch a powerful confederacy. He ſaid, he had thought proper to take time to examine the facts alledged on both ſides, and to wait the reſult of the councils of thoſe powers, which were more immediately intereſted in the conſequences of the rupture. He declared he would concert with his allies, more particularly with the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, ſuch meaſures as ſhould be thought

thought moſt adviſeable for their common ſafety, and for reſtoring the peace of Europe; that he ſhould order the eſtimates to be laid before them, of ſuch ſervices as demanded their immediate care: that the augmentation, which would be propoſed for the ſea ſervice, would be very conſiderable; but he was confident they would think it reaſonable and neceſſary: that he muſt particularly recommend to their care the debt of the navy, which had every year been laid before them; but, from the preſent circumſtances of the times, he believed, they would be perſuaded that it now required ſome proviſion to be made for it: a thing that could not well be longer poſtponed, without manifeſt detriment to the public ſervice: that, as theſe extraordinary charges and expences were unavoidable, he made no doubt but they would effectually raiſe the ſupplies neceſſary for defraying them, with that readineſs and diſpatch, and with that juſt regard to the true intereſt of his people, which this parliament had hitherto ſhewn upon all occaſions: that he hoped they would proceed in all their deliberations with ſuch temper and unanimity, and ſuch expedition in the public buſineſs, as might give him the ſooner an opportunity of taking the ſenſe of a new parliament: that he flattered himſelf his preſent reſolutions would meet with their hearty concurrence and approbation; and, whatever reflections might be thrown out againſt the conduct of government, he was confident a little time would effectually remove all groundleſs jealouſies, and make it appear, that Great-Britain ought to conſult its own honour and intereſt on all occaſions."

The ſame ſpirit of oppoſition ſtill prevailed: however, addreſſes of thanks, after ſome debates and trifling objections ſtarted in both houſes, were voted by a very great majority. On the 23d of January, it was agreed in the lower houſe to addreſs his majeſty for a copy of the treaty of Vienna in 1731, with the ſecret and ſeparate articles and the act of concurrence of the ſtates general. On the ſame day Sir John Ruſhout moved for another addreſs, deſiring that the letters and inſtructions of the treaty of Seville ſhould be ſubmitted to the inſpection of the houſe.

The latter motion occaſioned long and violent debates, in which the ſpeakers ſometimes exceeded the bounds of decorum: however, the queſtion being put, the motion was negatived by a great majority. This fate attended many other propoſals made by the members in oppoſition, who ſeemed induſtriouſly to have ſought occaſion for diſplaying their eloquence and embarraſſing adminiſtration.

Sir Robert Walpole, on the twenty-eighth day of March, delivered a meſſage to the houſe, importing, "that, as the war, which had lately broke out in Europe, ſtill continued to rage, his majeſty hoped he might be enabled to augment his forces, if ſuch augmentation ſhould be found neceſſary, between the diſſolution of this parliament and the election of another." This meſſage was received with great ſurprize by a part of the houſe, but all oppoſition was vain, for an addreſs was voted and preſented to his majeſty, ſignifying the compliance of his faithful commons with his royal requeſt; and, in conſequence of another meſſage, the houſe prepared and paſſed a bill, impowering his majeſty to ſettle an annuity of five thouſand pounds for life on the Princeſs Royal.

It had been conſtantly aſſerted by the oppoſition, that the miniſter exerted an undue influence in the election of the Scottiſh peers. In order, therefore, to remedy this evil three ſeveral motions were made and defended with great ability; but, as all of them ſeemed to reflect upon the conduct of the adminiſtration, they were rejected by the majority, but conſtantly proteſted againſt.

On the ſixteenth of April, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and having given his aſſent to ſuch bills as were ready, made a ſhort ſpeech to both houſes, importing, that it would be a great ſatisfaction to him, to ſee a perfect harmony reſtored among thoſe, who were guided by one and the ſame principle: that he wiſhed there might be no other diſtinction, but of ſuch as meant the ſupport of the then happy conſtitution in church and ſtate, and ſuch as wiſhed to ſubvert both: that this was the only diſtinction, which ought to prevail in this country, where the intereſt of the king and people were inſeparably connected, and where they could not ſubſiſt, but by being kept in that cloſe relation: that if religion, liberty and property, were never at any time more fully enjoyed, without not only an attempt, but even the ſhadow of a deſign, to alter or invade them, he begged thoſe ſacred names might not be employed as artful and plauſible pretences to undermine the then eſtabliſhment, which alone could preſerve them ſafe and inviolate: that he had nothing to wiſh, but that his people might not be ſeduced or miſguided: he appealed to their own conſciences for the regularity of his conduct; and hoped, that his people would make choice of ſuch repreſentatives as were moſt fit to be truſted with the care and preſervation of the proteſtant religion, and all the religious and civil rights of Great Britain. The parliament was then prorogued, and afterwards diſſolved by a proclamation. which alſo convoked a new one.

During theſe tranſactions at home, the war was carried on with great vigour abroad by the confederate powers againſt the emperor. The Ruſſian and Saxon armies laid ſige to Dantzick, in hopes of ſecuring the perſon of king Staniſlaus. The inhabitants at firſt made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance, but finding all their efforts ineffectual, they were at laſt obliged to ſurrender. Staniſlaus eſcaped into the Pruſſian territories: the Poliſh lords, who had followed his fortune, ſubmitted to Auguſtus: and that prince returned in triumph to Dreſden, having overcome his rival, and firmly eſtabliſhed his authority.

The ſucceſs of the French in Germany was uninterrupted, but they ſuſtained an irreparable loſs in the death of the duke of Berwick, who was killed in viſiting the trenches, which he had opened before Philipſburgh on the twenty-ſixth day of April. The command then devolved on the marquis D'Arfeldt, who carried on the operations of the ſiege with equal vigour and capacity. Prince Eugene exerted all his military talents to relieve the beſieged; but finding it impoſſible to ſucceed, the governor capitulated, after having made a noble defence, and obtained the moſt honourable conditions.

Equal ſucceſs attended the allies in Italy as in Germany. The French, having reduced the caſtle of Milan, and ſeveral other fortreſſes, advanced into the Modeneze: while Don Carlos, at the head of his own and his father's forces, took poſſeſſion of Naples, and inveſted the towns of Gæta and Capua. The Imperialiſts in thoſe parts were commanded by count Merci: the Spaniards by the count de Mortimar; and theſe two generals, having come to an engagement in the neighbour-

hood of Bitonto, the Spaniards obtained a compleat victory over the imperial army.

The battle of Parma was fought on the twenty-ninth day of June, in which the German army ſuſtained a total defeat from the French, who killed the imperial general, a great number of principal officers, and above five thouſand private ſoldiers. In conſequence of this event, the whole kingdom of Naples ſubmitted to Don Carlos, who began to make preparations for attacking Sicily, where ſome Spaniſh troops had already been landed.

The doubtful behaviour of ſome of the allies at this juncture induced our miniſtry to leave nothing omitted towards putting the nation in a poſture of defence. The court of Spain ſuffered the eldeſt ſon of the pretender to ſerve in the army of Don Carlos, who did not ſcruple to declare, that when the ſituation of affairs would permit, he would ſupport the cauſe of the abdicated family with all his power and intereſt.

The French court likewiſe paid ſo little regard to Great Britain, that they publiſhed an edict, by which all its ſubjects in France were obliged to enliſt in their armies, or forthwith to leave that kingdom.

A ſharp memorial on this ſubject was preſented by the earl of Waldegrave, the Britiſh miniſter at Paris; and the French miniſtry excuſed themſelves, by alledging, that they only meant to execute their edict againſt Britiſh and Iriſh vagabonds, and ſuch as had no ſettled place of abode, or viſible means of ſubſiſtence.

A. D. 1735. On the fourteenth of January the new parliament met, and again made choice of Mr. Onſlow for their ſpeaker. On the twenty-third his majeſty, in his ſpeech, informed both houſes, "that having undertaken, in concert with the ſtates general, to mediate between the powers at war, he had ſuch good ſucceſs, that a plan would ſpeedily be offered to the conſideration of both parties engaged in the war, as a baſis for a general negotiation of peace: that he had concluded a treaty with the crown of Denmark, a matter, he conceived, of great importance in the preſent conjuncture, and which, being attended with ſome expence, he would order to be ſubmitted to the conſideration of the commons: that he hoped they would approve of the ſteps he had taken for the ſecurity of the nation: and that it would, at all events, be good policy to keep this nation in a poſture of defence, while a war continued to rage in Europe.

An addreſs of thanks, after the uſual debates, having been voted and preſented, the commons went on the buſineſs of ſupply. A motion being made for encreaſing the number of ſeamen for the ſervice of the current year to thirty thouſand, the minority affirmed, that the number employed the preceding year was fully ſufficient: that the unneceſſary naval armaments of Great Britain, during laſt ſummer, had occaſioned the ruin of Dantzick, inaſmuch as they prevented the French from ſailing in time to relieve it: that the Spaniards, believing the Engliſh fleet, which was then fitted out, to be deſigned to act againſt them in the Mediterranean, had obliged the French miniſtry to keep their ſhips at Breſt, inſtead of ſailing to Dantzick, until the deſtination of the Engliſh ſquadron ſhould be known.

In anſwer to theſe obſervations the miniſtry endeavoured to prove, that the French never had any intention to relieve Dantzick, or to aſſiſt Staniſlaus in aſcending the throne of Poland: they ſaid, it was true, they had laſt year equipped a fleet, under pretext of relieving Dantzick, and had circulated a report, that this was their real intention: that, nevertheleſs, it was certain that the French fleet was not only detained at Breſt all the ſummer, but orders were given, by the courts of Verſailles and Madrid, to fit out in their ports, all the ſhips that could poſſibly be got ready: that theſe orders had obliged his majeſty to encreaſe his ſea forces with the additional number of ſeven thouſand men; an expedient, which, in all probability, defeated the deſigns, which the French and Spaniards had formed againſt theſe kingdoms: that both theſe powers, far from relaxing in their preparations, were ſtrengthening their marine with the utmoſt induſtry; ſo that the addition of ſeven thouſand men to the marine of Great Britain was but a reaſonable augmentation, and that this meaſure would appear the more neceſſary, when it was conſidered, that in a free country, like Great Britain, where there was no regiſter for ſeamen, by which the fleet might be inſtantly manned, the government was obliged, upon any ſudden emergency, to have recourſe to preſſing, a moſt diſagreeable expedient in a country of liberty. Many other arguments were adduced to the ſame effect, after which, the queſtion being put, was carried in the affirmative for thirty thouſand ſeamen, including the office of ordnance.

This buſineſs being thus ſettled, the remainder of the ſeſſion was ſpent in debates on various ſubjects, and on the fifteenth of May the king prorogued the parliament, after thanking them for the ſupplies granted, and declaring his intention of viſiting his German dominions.

The affairs of Europe were very critically ſituated at this period. The emperor expreſſed the utmoſt ſurpriſe at the moderation of his Britannic majeſty, who, he had all along flattered himſelf, would eſpouſe the cauſe of his quarrel. The king, however, gave the world an inſtance, that it was not from any perſonal diſlike to the emperor that he took no part in his affairs relative to the war now carrying on; for having received certain advice that the French had formed a ſtrong party at the Ottoman court, who were labouring to perſuade the Divan to declare war againſt his Imperial majeſty, he ſent orders immediately, in conjunction with the ſtates-general, to their reſpective miniſters at that court to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to counteract the French in their deſigns. And theſe miniſters laboured ſo effectually, that the Grand Signior was perſuaded to lay aſide all thoughts of attacking the emperor.

With equal ſucceſs alſo did the Engliſh miniſtry intereſt themſelves in preventing the flames of war from ſpreading into other parts of Europe. A miſunderſtanding having lately happened between the courts of Madrid and Liſbon, the king of Spain began to make ſuch preparations for war, that his Portugueſe majeſty had recourſe to his uſual ſupport in time of diſtreſs, the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh nation. The miniſtry lent a favourable ear to his application, and reſolved to afford him that relief which he ſeemed ſo much to want. Accordingly, towards the latter end of May, Sir John Norris ſet ſail with a fleet of twenty-eight ſhips of war, and, in a few days, arrived at Liſbon, where he was received by the inhabitants as their guardian and deliverer. The court of Spain affected to be highly enraged at this bold ſtep of the Engliſh miniſtry, and threatened immediately to invade Portugal with a numerous army; but, in

the end, iſſued orders for countermanding their military preparations, inſtead of carrying their threats into execution.

During theſe tranſactions the belligerent powers on the continent became heartily tired of the war, though neither cared to own their ſentiments. At length, by the good offices of the Britiſh miniſtry and the ſtates-general, a ceſſation of arms was procured, and conferences were opened for a general pacification, by which certain preliminary articles were ſoon after concluded on.

A. D. 1736. His majeſty returned from Hanover in the month of November; and on the fifteenth day of January opened the parliament with a ſpeech; in which he told them, that the plan of a pacification formed by the French and Imperialiſts, was, in ſubſtance, the ſame with that which had been concerted between him and the ſtates general, though they had thought proper to communicate it as a new project; that he had agreed to this plan, which had been imparted to the kings of Spain and Sardinia, who, it was hoped, would likewiſe be perſuaded to accede to it; that he had already given orders for a reduction of his forces, both by ſea and land; but he flattered himſelf they would think it reaſonable to continue ſome extraordinary ſupplies, till the final eſtabliſhment of the peace of Europe.

On the 27th of April a marriage was celebrated between the prince of Wales and the princeſs of Saxe-gotha, and on the 25th of May the king put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament, ſoon after which he embarked for his German dominions.

The moſt remarkable event that diſtinguiſhed this year happened at Edinburgh, where John Porteous, who commanded the guard of that city, was, while attending the execution of a ſmuggler, ſo far provoked by the inceſſant inſults of the populace as to order his men, without uſing the previous formalities of the law, to fire with ſhot among the croud, by which raſh conduct ſeveral innocent perſons loſt their lives. Porteous was indicted for murder, convicted, and received ſentence of death, but her majeſty thought proper to grant him a reprieve. This lenity was ſo highly reſented by the common people, that they determined to execute the ſentence themſelves on the very day fixed by the judges for that purpoſe. Accordingly about ten o'clock at night they aſſembled in different bodies, locked the gates of the city to prevent the admiſſion of the troops, ſurprized and diſarmed the town-guard, broke open the priſon, dragged Porteous from thence to the place of execution, and leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly diſperſed to their ſeveral habitations.

The ſeveral contending powers in Italy had, by this time, agreed to the preliminaries of peace concluded between the emperor and France. The duke of Lorraine had married the emperor's eldeſt daughter Maria Thereſa, and ceded Lorrain to France, even before he ſucceeded to Tuſcany. Don Carlos was crowned king of Sicily: and Auguſtus was univerſally acknowledged ſovereign of that kingdom. The preliminaries were approved and ratified by the diet of the empire; the provinces of Italy ſubmitted to the houſe of Auſtria, and the king of Spain commanded his troops to evacuate Tuſcany.

During the courſe of this year died at Vienna, in the 74th year of his age, the renowned prince Eugene, leaving behind him the character of an accompliſhed general and conſummate politician. Lord chancellor Talbot, univerſally revered for his ability and integrity, paid the great debt of nature about the ſame time, and was ſucceeded in his important office by lord Hardwicke.

A. D. 1737. His majeſty being indiſpoſed, in conſequence of the fatigue he had ſuffered in a tempeſtuous paſſage from Holland, the parliament was opened by commiſſion, on the firſt day of February. The lord chancellor made a ſpeech, in his majeſty's name, to both houſes, in which he acquainted them, that though the great work of re-eſtabliſhing the general tranquillity of Europe was far advanced, common prudence dictated attention to the final concluſion. He ſaid his majeſty could not but expreſs his ſurprize and concern at the prevalence of riots and tumults in obſtruction of the execution of the laws, and in violation of the public peace; and, in the king's name, recommended them to the conſideration of effectual means for their ſuppreſſion.

A reward of two hundred pounds having been offered by proclamation in Edinburgh for the diſcovery of any perſon concerned in the execution of Porteous, without bringing one individual to juſtice, a bill was brought into the upper houſe to diſable Alexander Wilſon, Eſq; lord provoſt of Edinburgh, from enjoying any place or office in the magiſtracy of that city, or elſewhere; for impriſoning the ſaid Alexander Wilſon, and for impoſing a fine of two thouſand pounds upon the corporation of Edinburgh for the benefit of the widow of the late captain Porteous. Some amendments being made to this bill, it paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. Another bill paſſed this ſeſſion to limit the number of play-houſes, to ſubject all writings intended for the ſtage to the inſpection of the lord chamberlain, and to compel authors to take out a licence for every production, before the piece could be publicly repreſented.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the twenty-firſt day of June, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he ſaid, that he was extremely concerned to obſerve the licentiouſneſs of the times: that, under the colour and diſguiſe of liberty, they could not be inſenſible what ſcandal and offence it gave to all honeſt and ſober men, and how abſolutely neceſſary it was to reſtrain ſuch licentiouſneſs, by a due and vigorous execution of the laws: that a defiance of all authority, a contempt of magiſtracy, and even a reſiſtance of the laws, were become too general, though equally prejudicial to the prerogative of the crown, and the liberties of the people; the ſupport of the one being inſeparable from the protection of the other: that he had ever made the laws of the land the invariable rule of his actions, and he thought he might with reaſon expect in return all that ſubmiſſion to his government and authority, which he would take care to make as much the intereſt of his ſubjects, as the laws had made it their duty.

An open breach in the royal family now engroſſed the attention of the public. The princeſs of Wales had advanced to the very laſt month of her pregnancy, before the king and queen were informed of her being with child. She was twice conveyed from Hampton-Court to the palace of St. James's, when her labour pains were ſuppoſed to be approaching; and at length was delivered of a daughter, the princeſs Auguſta, about two hours after her arrival.

As ſoon as his majeſty was acquainted with this event, he ſent a meſſage by the earl of Eſſex to the prince, expreſſing his diſpleaſure at the conduct of

his royal highneſs, as an indignity offered to himſelf and the queen. The prince endeavoured to appeaſe his majeſty's anger in ſeveral ſubmiſſive letters, and implored the queen's mediation. The princeſs joined her intreaties to thoſe of his royal highneſs; but no happy conſequence aroſe from their repeated acts of humility and ſupplication.

His majeſty gave the prince to underſtand, that till he ſhould withdraw his confidence from thoſe at whoſe inſtigation and advice he was directed and encouraged in his unwarrantable behaviour to himſelf and the queen, and return to his duty, he ſhould not reſide in the palace. Accordingly the prince, in obedience to this order, retired to Kew, and made freſh efforts to be reſtored to his majeſty's favour, but without effect. He was not even admitted into the preſence of the queen his mother, to expreſs his duty in her laſt moments, and receive her bleſſing. She died of a mortification in her bowels, on the twentieth day of November, in the fifty-fifth year of her age, regretted as a princeſs of uncommon penetration, extenſive generoſity, a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection, a generous patroneſs of learning and learned men, and devout in the performance of all her religious duties.

A. D. 1738. On the twenty-fourth of January, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſhort ſpeech, recommending the diſpatch of the public buſineſs with prudence and unanimity. Each houſe preſented a warm addreſs of condolance on the queen's death, with which the king appeared to be deeply affected. An enquiry into the Spaniſh depredations was the firſt and principal buſineſs which came before the parliament during the courſe of this ſeſſion.

This ſubject had been referred by the king to a committee of the privy council, where the merchants endeavoured to make good their allegations. Their cauſe was plauſible and popular; the public readily eſpouſed their quarrel; they were befriended by the oppoſition in both houſes, who wanted to force the miniſtry into a war with Spain: and, encouraged by all theſe favourable circumſtances, they delivered a very ſpirited petition to the lower houſe, repreſenting, "that the free and lawful trade to the Engliſh plantations in America had been greatly interrupted for many years paſt, not only by their ſhips being ſtopped and ſeized on the high ſeas by Spaniſh veſſels fitted out to cruize under the plauſible pretence of guarding their own coaſt, but the commanders had been ſo far from conforming themſelves to theſe orders, that they had ſeized ſeveral Engliſh ſhips, and carried them into ſome of the Spaniſh ports, where they were condemned with their cargoes, in manifeſt violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two crowns."

This petition, enforced by others of the like nature from moſt of the trading towns in the kingdom, had ſuch an influence upon the houſe, that a motion was made to addreſs his majeſty for copies of all the repreſentations ſent by the miniſtry of England to that of Spain, ſince the firſt day of November laſt, and of ſuch anſwers to the ſaid repreſentations as had been received.

This motion occaſioned a long debate, in which the cruelties of the Spaniards, and the tameneſs of the Engliſh miniſtry were ſtrongly diſplayed. Every ſpeaker of note on each ſide diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion, and Sir Robert Walpole, who adhered to his pacific plan, inſiſted that every method ſhould be tried to bring Spain to terms if poſſible, before we proceeded to forcible meaſures. He approved of the former part of the motion, but thought it would be dangerous to comply with the latter: in fine, the motion was rejected by a great majority.

In the mean time the lords were no leſs buſy than the commons in enquiring into the ſubject of the Spaniſh depredations. After ſeveral members had delivered their ſentiments and reaſoned in a very powerful and concluſive manner, the houſe unanimouſly agreed in preſenting an addreſs to his majeſty. In anſwer to which his majeſty ſaid, "that he was ſenſibly touched with the many hardſhips and injuries ſuſtained by his trading ſubjects in America, from the cruelties and unjuſt depredations of the Spaniards; that they might be aſſured of his care to procure ſatisfaction for the injuries they had already ſuffered, to ſecure the freedom of navigation for the future, and to maintain to his ſubjects the full enjoyment of all the rights to which they were entitled by treaty and the laws of nations: and that he doubted not but that in the ſteps he ſhould take for this neceſſary purpoſe, he ſhould have the aſſiſtance of the houſe." Thus ended an enquiry, which, ever ſince the meeting of parliament, had wholly engroſſed the attention of the public.

The parliamentary buſineſs being concluded, the king went to the houſe on the 20th of May, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that, agreeable to what had appeared to be the concurrent opinion of both houſes of parliament, he had given orders to repeat, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt preſſing manner, his demands at the court of Spain for obtaining ſatisfaction for the many injuries and loſſes ſuſtained by his trading ſubjects in America, and for effectually ſecuring their rights for the future; and he hoped, from the juſtice and equity of the Catholic king, to procure and eſtabliſh a free and uninterrupted exerciſe of trade and navigation between the ſubjects of the two crowns, agreeable to the law of nations, and to treaties ſubſiſting between the two powers.

In a few days after the concluſion of the ſeſſion, her royal highneſs the princeſs of Wales was delivered of a ſon, who was baptized by the name of George, and is at preſent our moſt auguſt ſovereign. His birth was celebrated with uncommon rejoicings: addreſſes of congratulation were preſented to the king by the two univerſities, and almoſt all the cities and corporations in the kingdom. But the prince of Wales ſtill laboured under the diſpleaſure of his majeſty, who had ordered the lord chamberlain to ſignify in the gazette, that no perſon, who viſited the prince, ſhould be admitted into his majeſty's preſence at any of the royal palaces.

A ſpirit of riot and confuſion diſcovered itſelf among the lower claſs of people in different parts of the kingdom during the courſe of this year. The moſt dangerous of theſe tumults happened in the weſt of England, where a number of journeymen weavers roſe, and, in a riotous manner, committed the moſt terrible outrages againſt the perſons and properties of thoſe maſters who had incurred their reſentment. In order to quell theſe diſturbances, and prevent the flames of ſedition from ſpreading into other counties, a body of troops was quartered at Bradford, Trowbridge, Melkſham, Chippenham, and parts adjacent.

About the ſame period a moſt dangerous inſult was committed upon juſtice, by a party of ſailors, at Wapping, who cut down from the gibbet, and brought

brought to life, one Buchanan, who had been condemned for murder; and, notwithſtanding the atrociouſneſs of the crime, and the danger of the example, the offenders were, by ſome means or other, effectually ſcreened from juſtice.

A. D. 1739. His majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament on the firſt day of February with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he ſaid, that, ſupported by the concurrent advice of both houſes of parliament, he had loſt no time in making preparations to do himſelf and his people juſtice, if the conduct of the court of Spain had laid him under that neceſſity: that he had, at the ſame time, in the ſtrongeſt manner, repeated his inſtances for obtaining ſuch reparation for the many injuries and loſſes already ſuſtained, and ſuch effectual ſecurity for the future, as might prevent the conſequences of an open rupture: that he had now the ſatisfaction to acquaint them, that the meaſures purſued had been ſo ſucceſsful, that a convention was concluded and ratified between him and the king of Spain, by which, upon a ſtrict examination of the demands on both ſides, that prince had obliged himſelf to make reparation to the Britiſh ſubjects, by the payment of a certain ſtipulated ſum: that plenipotentiaries were likewiſe named and appointed, for regulating, within a limited time, all thoſe grievances and abuſes, which had hitherto interrupted the Britiſh commerce and navigation in the American ſeas; and for ſettling all matters in diſpute, in ſuch a manner, as might, for the future, prevent and remove all new cauſes and pretences of complaint, by a ſtrict obſervance of our mutual treaties, and a juſt regard to the rights and privileges, belonging to each nation: and finally, he promiſed that he would order the convention to be laid before his parliament.

The principal point now with the miniſtry was to influence the two houſes of parliament to approve of the convention, and obtain an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for laying it before them, which would be conſidered as giving a ſanction to their meaſures. This motion met with a moſt ſtrenuous oppoſition, but was, however, at length carried in the affirmative.

An excellent law paſſed during this ſeſſion for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture; and two bills in behalf of the ſugar colonies; one, permitting them, for a limited time, to export their produce directly to foreign parts, under proper reſtrictions: the other making more effectual proviſions for ſecuring the duties laid upon the importation of foreign ſugars, rum and molaſſes, into Great Britain and his majeſty's plantations in America.

The powers of the commiſſioners too, appointed to ſuperintend the building of Weſtminſter bridge, were conſiderably enlarged by another act; and a lottery was eſtabliſhed for raiſing money to defray the expence of this great and valuable work.

On the 14th of June the king went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſhort ſpeech, in which he recommended unanimity among themſelves as the only ſure means of fruſtrating the attempts of their enemies.

Notwithſtanding the parliamentary ſanction the convention had received, the rumour of a war with Spain began to revive. The continuance of depredations and inſults on the part of the Spaniards put a ſtop to the conferences, and Mr. Keene, the Britiſh miniſter at the court of Madrid, preſented, by order of his maſter, a very ſpirited declaration againſt thoſe proceedings. This was followed by an order of council for granting letters of marque and repriſals to our merchants.

His Catholic majeſty, in anſwer to the declaration of the Britiſh miniſter, ſaid, that he looked upon the orders which had been iſſued for repriſals, as acts of hoſtility; and that he hoped, with the aſſiſtance of heaven and his allies, he ſhould be able to ſupport a good cauſe againſt his adverſaries.

The land forces were now augmented, ſeveral ſhips were put in commiſſion, an embargo was laid upon all merchant-men, and every other meaſure purſued that ſeemed to give confidence to the earneſt hopes and expectations of the nation. The orders for making repriſals had been very prudently diſpatched above a month before their publication in London to commodore Brown, who commanded a ſquadron at Jamaica, to afford him an opportunity of availing himſelf of the intelligence, before the Spaniards, in that quarter, had any ſuſpicion of the deſigns of the Engliſh cabinet. A reſolution was alſo formed for endeavouring to preclude the Spaniards from the reſources of their riches in the Weſt Indies and the South ſeas.

The greateſt hopes of the nation were placed on the brave admiral Vernon, who was ſent to the Weſt-Indies to aſſume the command in thoſe ſeas, and annoy the trade and ſettlements of the Spaniards. He was eſteemed a good officer, and as he had once commanded a ſquadron in the Weſt-Indies, was perfectly well acquainted with thoſe ſeas: In a debate in the houſe of commons on the Spaniſh depredations, he happened to affirm, that Porto-Bello on the Spaniſh main might be eaſily reduced, nay, he even declared, that he would undertake to reduce it with only ſix ſhips, on the forfeiture of his head. The miniſter, deſirous of removing ſo troubleſome a cenſor from the houſe, appointed him to the undertaking.

A declaration of war againſt Spain was publiſhed at London with the uſual ſolemnity on the nineteenth of October. Many Engliſh merchants began to equip privateers, and arm their trading veſſels, with a double view of annoying the enemy and protecting their own commerce.

His majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, at their meeting on the fifteenth day of November, informed them, that he had augmented his forces by ſea and land; and expreſſed his apprehenſion, that the heats and animoties, which had been induſtriouſly raiſed in the kingdom, had encouraged Spain to act in ſuch a manner, as rendered it neceſſary for him to have recourſe to arms.

A. D. 1740. His majeſty, having, by a meſſage, informed the commons of his intention of giving the princeſs Mary in marriage to prince Frederic of Heſſe; and expreſſed his hope, that the commons would enable him to give a ſuitable portion with his daughter, they unanimouſly agreed to grant forty thouſand pounds for that purpoſe; and preſented an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for having communicated his royal intentions to the houſe.

During theſe tranſactions a ſhip arrived from the Weſt-Indies, diſpatched by admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto-Bello, on the iſthmus of Darien, with ſix ſhips only, and demoliſhed all the fortifications of the place. The two houſes of parliament preſented a joint addreſs of congratulation upon this ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms; and the nation, in general, was elated

elated by this exploit. This ſeſſion was cloſed on the twenty-ninth day of April, when the king thanked the commons for the ſupplies they had ſo liberally granted; recommending unanimity and concord to both houſes; and expreſſed his hopes, that the preparations, which he was making for carrying on the war in the moſt vigorous and effectual manner, would be attended with that ſucceſs which the juſtice of his cauſe deſerved.

The ſeſſion of parliament being concluded, his majeſty appointed a regency, and ſet out for Hanover. About the ſame time a ſloop arrived with freſh diſpatches from admiral Vernon, who, ſince his fortunate adventure at Porto Bello, had made a fruitleſs attempt on Carthagena, but had reduced the fort of San Lorenzo in the neighbourhood of his former conqueſt.

Great and dreadful were the afflictions of the poor throughout the greater part of the preceding winter, in conſequence of a ſevere froſt, which began in December, and continued till the end of February. The Thames was ſo frozen over, that it was as much crowded in ſome places with ſhops and people, as the ſtreets. This calamity was the more deeply felt, as the poor could not afford to ſupply themſelves with coals and fuel, which were advanced in price in proportion to the ſeverity and continuance of the froſt. The induſtrious labourers could not procure work to employ themſelves, and an almoſt total ſtop was put to the various manufactures.

Many hundred families of the poorer ſort muſt have totally periſhed through the extremity of their diſtreſs, had not thoſe of opulent fortunes been inſpired with a remarkable ſpirit of charity and benevolence. Pity for the poor became now the reigning paſſion among the great, the rich, and the happy. The munificence of his majeſty and the royal family ſet the example to the nobility, who were readily followed in ſo laudable a work by all ſuch as had the power of relieving the wants of their fellow creatures. Societies for the more equal diſtribution of private charities were every where formed; and ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages in the kingdom entailed on themſelves immortal honour, by giving to, and collecting money for, the poor, and acting as ſtewards in the diſtribution of it.

Intelligence being received that a ſtrong ſquadron of Spaniſh ſhips of war waited at Ferrol for orders to ſail to their American ſettlements, Sir John Norris ſailed with a fleet of twenty ſhips from Spithead, with a view of attacking them in the harbour; and the duke of Cumberland ſerved as a volunteer in this expedition; but, after divers fruitleſs efforts, he was, by contrary winds, obliged to lie inactive for the greateſt part of the ſummer in Torbay; and the deſign againſt Ferrol was finally laid aſide, upon advice that the French and Spaniſh fleets were ſailed in conjunction to the Weſt Indies.

A ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, under the command of commodore Anſon, ſet ſail for the South ſea, in the month of September, in order to attack the enemy's colonies, and co-operate, occaſionally, with admiral Vernon acroſs the iſthmus of Darien: the ſcheme was well laid, and though it failed in its principal purpoſe, was afterwards productive of very conſiderable national advantages, and great honour to the commander.

In order, however, to proſecute the war with vigour in the Weſt Indies, two regiments of foot, with ſix of marines were ordered to embark for that quarter. A conſiderable fleet was aſſembled at Portſmouth, commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, conſiſting of one and twenty ſail of the line with twelve thouſand ſeamen on board, together with the above regiments and other detachments, lord Cathcart a nobleman of approved valour, being appointed commander in chief of the land forces. They were likewiſe furniſhed with hoſpital ſhips, and ſtore ſhips loaded with proviſions, ammunitions, all ſorts of warlike implements, and every kind of convenience, but, through ſome unaccountable cauſes, the event of this mighty undertaking did not anſwer the public expectation.

This year was rendered remarkable by the demiſe of three crowned heads. The king of Pruſſia, who was ſucceeded on the throne by his eldeſt ſon Frederick, the reigning king of that realm. Charles the ſixth, emperor of Germany, the laſt prince of the houſe of Auſtria, who expired at Vienna on the ninth day of October, and was ſucceeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldeſt daughter, Maria Thereſa, married to the grand duke of Tuſcany; and the empreſs of Ruſſia, who by her will appointed prince Ivan, ſon of the duke Anthony Ulric of Brunſwic-Lunenburgh-Bevern, and the princeſs Anne of Mecklenburgh her ſucceſſors. She appointed the duke of Courland regent of the empire, and even guardian of the young Czar, though his own parents were living, but this diſpoſition was ſoon ſet aſide.

In the beginning of November his majeſty returned from his German dominions, and on the 18th opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which, among other things, he obſerved, "that the court of Spain, having already felt ſome effects of the reſentment of the Engliſh, began to be ſenſible, that they ſhould be no longer able, by their own ſtrength, to defend themſelves againſt the efforts of the Britiſh nation: that, if any other powers, agreeable to ſome late extraordinary proceedings, ſhould interpoſe, and attempt to preſcribe or limit the operations of the war againſt his declared enemies, the honour and intereſt of his crown and kingdoms muſt call upon his parliament to loſe no time in putting the nation in ſuch a condition, as might enable him to repel any inſults, and fruſtrate any deſigns formed againſt him, in violation of the faith of treaties; and he hoped any ſuch unprecedented ſteps, under what colour or pretence ſoever they might be taken, would inſpire his allies with a true ſenſe of the common danger, and would unite them in ſupport and defence of the common cauſe: that the great and unhappy event of the death of the late emperor opened a new ſcene in the ſtate of affairs of Europe, in which all the principal powers might be immediately or remotely concerned: that it was impoſſible to determine, with any degree of certainty, what courſe the policy, intereſt, or ambition of the ſeveral courts might lead them to purſue in this critical conjuncture; it ſhould be his care ſtrictly to obſerve and watch their motions; to adhere to the engagements which he had formerly contracted for maintaining the balance of power, and the liberties of Europe; and, in concert with ſuch powers as were under the ſame obligations, to act in ſuch a manner, as might moſt effectually tend to avert thoſe dangers which threatened the public tranquillity." A motion being made in the houſe of peers by the duke of Argyle for an addreſs to his majeſty, violent debates enſued on the form in

which it ſhould be couched; but on the queſtion being put, that propoſed by the court party was approved by a great majority.

A. D. 1741. His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the eighth day of April, and paſſed ſome acts that were ready for the royal aſſent. He then, in a ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, "that the war which had lately broke out and been carried on in part of the Auſtrian dominions, and the various and extenſive claims, which were publickly made on the late emperor's ſucceſſion, were events, which required the utmoſt care and attention; the rather, as they might involve all Europe in a bloody war, and, in conſequence, expoſe the dominions of ſuch princes as ſhould take part in ſupport of the Pragmatic Sanction, to imminent and immediate danger; that the queen of Hungary had already made a requiſition of the twelve thouſand men expreſsly ſtipulated by treaty: and, in order to fulfil his engagements, he had demanded of the king of Denmark, and of the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, their reſpective bodies of troops, conſiſting of ſix thouſand men each, that ſo they might be in readineſs to march forthwith to the aſſiſtance of her Hungarian majeſty: that he was concerting ſuch farther meaſures, as might obviate and diſappoint all the dangerous deſigns and attempts that might be formed or carried on in favour of any unjuſt pretenſions to the prejudice of the houſe of Auſtria in this complicated and uncertain ſtate of things; that during the time when, by reaſon of the approaching concluſion of the preſent parliament, it might be impoſſible for him to have their advice and aſſiſtance, many incidents might ariſe, which might render it neceſſary for him to incur ſtill greater expences for maintaining the Pragmatic Sanction; and that, therefore, in a conjuncture ſo critical, he had thought it proper to lay theſe important conſiderations before them, and to deſire the concurrence of his parliament, in enabling him to contribute, in the moſt effectual manner, to the ſupport of the queen of Hungary, the preventing, the ſubverſion of the houſe of Auſtria, and the fixing the liberties of Europe on the moſt ſolid and permanent oundation."

Affectionate addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, who promiſed that they would effectually ſupport his majeſty againſt all inſults and attacks which might be made on any of his territories, though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and that they would contribute, in the moſt effectual manner, to the ſupport of the queen of Hungary, and to the defence of the liberties and independency of Europe.

The parliament having diſpatched the various important affairs for which they met, they were prorogued on the twenty fifth day of April, and afterwards diſſolved by royal proclamation. The king, having appointed a regency, ſet out in May for his German dominions.

The Britiſh armament in the Weſt-Indies had, by this time, begun their hoſtilities. Sir Chaloner Ogle, who had ſailed from Spithead on the ninth of October, was overtaken by a tempeſt in the Bay of Biſcay, by which the fleet, conſiſting of about one hundred and ſeventy ſail, were ſcattered and diſperſed. Notwithſtanding this misfortune, he proſecuted his voyage, and anchored in the neighbourhood of Dominica, with a view of providing himſelf with wood and water in that neutral iſland, where the intended expedition ſuſtained a terrible ſhock in the death of the gallant lord Cathcart, who was carried off by a dyſentry, from which event the command of the land forces devolved upon general Wentworth.

As the fleet was paſſing by the iſland of Hiſpaniola, on its way to Jamaica, four large ſhips of war were diſcovered, and Sir Chaloner immediately detached lord Auguſtus Fitzroy with an equal number to ſpeak with them; but proving to be French, and war not yet being declared againſt that kingdom, they ſeparated in the morning after having kept up a ſmart fire during the whole night. Sir Chaloner in the mean time purſued his courſe to St. Chriſtopher's, the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by the reſt of the fleet, which had been ſeparated in the late ſtorm. Having thus collected his fleet, he ſailed for Jamaica, by which admiral Vernon being greatly animated, he determined to carry his long meditated deſign of an attack on Carthagena into execution. But the attempt, through the extreme ſtrength of the fortifications, and a miſunderſtanding which aroſe between the admiral and general, miſcarried, and (after having only taken the fort of Bocca Chica) all hopes of reducing Carthagena vaniſhed like a dream. Thus ended an expedition which had alarmed all Europe, and coſt the Engliſh nation an immenſe ſum; but we have too frequently experienced diſappointment and diſgrace from leaders forming ſeparate intereſts and cabals inſtead of uniting in the ſervice of their country.

In the month of July the fleet which, as well as the land forces, was greatly reduced, ſailed again from Jamaica, in order to attack the town of St. Jago de Cuba. Here the troops were landed, but remained totally inactive till the month of November, when general Wentworth, declining the attempt, the ſoldiers were re-embarked and carried back to Jamaica. Thus was diſgrace added to diſgrace.

In the month of October the king returned to England, and on the firſt of December opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne. But it was ſoon evident that the miniſter's party was greatly weakened, and that Sir Robert ſeemed to totter on the brink of ruin. He well knew that the majority of a ſingle vote might be attended with dangerous conſequences, and he alſo ſaw that his ſafety could only be ſecured by dividing the oppoſition.

A. D. 1742. Sir Robert Walpole, however, determined previouſly to try his ſtrength in the houſe of commons with regard to the diſputed election of Chippenham in Wiltſhire, but had the mortification to find a majority of one voice againſt him. Irritated at this proceeding, he declared he would never more ſit in that houſe, and accordingly, the next day, the king adjourned the parliament to the eighteenth of the following month.

During the interval Sir Robert was created earl of Orford and reſigned all his employments. He now had recourſe to the plan he had formed of dividing the oppoſition, and transferring the popular odium from himſelf to his adverſaries. In order to this, a coalition was propoſed between the diſcontented whigs, and thoſe of the ſame denomination who acted under the miniſtry. Some were gratified with titles and places, and aſſurances given to all that a new ſyſtem of politics would be adopted according to the plan they themſelves ſhould adopt. Mr. Sandys was appointed one of the lords of the treaſury, and chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Harrington was created an earl and

and declared preſident of the council. Lord Carteret was made ſecretary of ſtate. Mr. Pultney was ſworn a member of the privy council, and afterwards created earl of Bath. The earl of Winchester was placed at the head of the admiralty in the room of Sir Charles Wager, and the earl of Stair appointed field marſhal of all his majeſty's forces, and ambaſſador extraordinary to the ſtates general.

The firſt happy effect of this change in the miniſtry was a reconciliation between the king and the prince of Wales, who now waited on his majeſty at St. James's attended by a great concourſe of nobility and other perſons of diſtinction. He was received in a very gracious manner, and a guard immediately appointed to attend upon his perſon.

This happy event, together with that of a change in the miniſtry, was celebrated with public rejoicings in many parts of the kingdom. It was alſo expected that a new ſyſtem of adminiſtration would be adopted, but it ſoon appeared that the removal of the late miniſter cauſed no material alteration in the meaſures purſued by the new miniſtry. Indeed, it was evident beyond a doubt, that thoſe who had declaimed the loudeſt for the liberties of this country, had been ſolely actuated by the more ſordid views of ſelf intereſt.

On the 18th of February the parliament met at Weſtminſter purſuant to adjournment, when petitions that had been preſented by the merchants of London and divers cities and corporations, complaining of the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the bad conduct of the war, were taken into conſideration. The parliament touched by their juſt complaints reſolved to purſue the moſt vigourous meaſures for the better protection of the Britiſh commerce in future. Accordingly, a number of frigates were appointed to cruize in the channel, to ſecure the merchant ſhips from the inſults of the Spaniſh privateers. In the mean time, the miniſtry, in order to ſooth the reſentment of the people, and, if poſſible, conciliate their affection, paſſed a bill for excluding certain officers from their ſeats in the houſe of commons. Another bill was paſſed for encouraging the linen manufacture, and a third to prevent the marriage of lunatics. The houſe likewiſe voted the ſubſidies for the ſervice of the current year, and ſixteen thouſand effective men for the aſſiſtance of the queen of Hungary.

By this time the Engliſh miniſtry had come to a reſolution to keep no farther meaſures with France. The conduct of the French admiral in the Mediterranean was ſo ſtrong a demonſtration of the intentions of his court, that all their pretexts to a neutrality were become abſolutely ridiculous.

Admiral Haddock, partly from the fatigues of ſervice and the impaired ſtate of his conſtitution, reſigned the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean to commodore Leſtock, who lately arrived from the Weſt Indies and was ſent with ten ſail of the line to reinforce the Britiſh fleet in the ſtreights. On the change of the miniſtry Leſtock was promoted to the rank of rear admiral of the white, but as it was determined to ſtrike ſome bold ſtroke in the Mediterranean, in the courſe of this ſummer, the chief command of the fleet was beſtowed upon Thomas Matthews, Eſquire, who was promoted to the rank of vice admiral of the red, and appointed his majeſty's miniſter plenepotentiary to all the princes and ſtates of Italy.

No miniſtry perhaps took a more impolitic ſtep than in joining theſe two admirals in command, it being well known, that there had long ſubſiſted between them an inveterate diſlike to each other. Matthews declared, on his appointment, that he accepted the command merely on condition that Leſtock ſhould be ſpeedily recalled. However, the latter was continued in command till the honor of the nation was ſhamefully ſacrificed to the gratification of private reſentment.

Soon after admiral Matthews's arrival in the Mediterranean, he detached captain Norris in the Kingſton of fifty guns, with the duke fire ſhip to burn five Spaniſh gallies which had taken refuge in the Bay of Tropez, a French port in the Mediterranean, and this order was effectually executed.

But no action of this commander proved ſo agreeable to the people of England as that of ſending captain Martin as commodore with a ſquadron of ſhips and bomb-veſſels to Naples, to demand, from the king of the two Sicilies, a promiſe in writing to withdraw his troops from acting in conjunction with thoſe of Spain, and alſo not to give them for the future any kind of aſſiſtance. If this demand ſhould be refuſed, the commodore had orders to bombard the city of Naples. The conſternation of the inhabitants was incredible at the ſight of the formidable force Martin brought with him, and the peremptory manner in which he made the demand: and however his Sicilian majeſty might diſlike this inſult upon his dignity, his private reſentment was obliged to ſubmit to the intereſt of the ſtate, which was in no condition to defend itſelf.

Accordingly, after ſeveral meſſages between the commodore and the duke de Montealegre, the Sicilian miniſter, the latter in his maſter's name gave a written promiſe that his troops ſhould be immediately withdrawn out of Lombardy, and that he ſhould not in any manner whatever aid or aſſiſt thoſe of Spain during the preſent war in Italy. The promiſe was inſtantly performed, and by this bold but ſucceſsful ſtep of the Britiſh admiral the queen of Hungary was ſaved from apparent deſtruction.

Not long after this, Matthews having received intelligence, that the Genoeſe had ſo far favoured the Spaniards as to provide for their uſe magazines of corn at Araſſa, ſent thither captain Martin, who, about the firſt of September, deſtroyed them entirely; while the admiral himſelf took up his ſtation at Hieres Iſlands, where his ſhips lay in an excellent road, and commanded every veſſel that might attempt to enter or quit the harbour of Toulon. The Britiſh fleet being now joined by admiral Rowley, was rather ſuperior to the united ſquadrons of France and Spain; the latter therefore kept cloſe in the harbour.

On the 16th of November, the parliament, being aſſembled, his majeſty acquainted them, that he had augmented the Britiſh troops in the Low-Countries, with ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians and the Heſſian auxiliaries, in order to form ſuch a force, in conjunction with the Auſtrian armies, as might be of ſervice to the common cauſe; he extolled the magnanimity and firmneſs of the queen of Hungary, as well as the reſolute conduct of the king of Sardinia, and was happy in the ſtop that had been put to the Spaniſh invaſion of Italy, to which the Britiſh fleet had in a very eminent degree contributed.

A. D. 1743. The houſe of commons now began to conſider the eſtimates, and ſettle the ſupplies. They voted five hundred and thirty-four thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three pounds for the

the pay of the Britiſh troops in Flanders. They fixed the number of land-forces at twenty-three thouſand ſix hundred and ten effective men, for guards, garriſons, and other ſervices; and, for defraying the charge of theſe troops, and other ſervices in Great Britain, the Weſt Indies, Guernſey and Jerſey, they granted the ſum of ſix hundred and forty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and ſixty two pounds five ſhillings and two pence.

When theſe mattters were adjuſted, his majeſty went to the houſe, on the twenty-fifth of April, and concluded the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, "that,, to the end that the Britiſh nation, and the common cauſe might reap the moſt beneficial fruits from the vigorous reſolutions of his parliament, he had, at the requiſition of the queen of Hungary, ordered his army, in conjunction with the Auſtrian troops, to paſs the Rhine, as auxiliaries to her Hungarian majeſty, to oppoſe any dangerous meaſures, that might affect the balance and liberties of Europe, or hinder the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity from being ſettled on juſt and ſolid foundations: that he had continued a ſtrong ſquadron in the Mediterranean, and another in the Weſt-Indies, in order to proſecute the great work of diſtreſſing his enemies, the Spaniards, and compelling them to agree to ſafe and honourable terms of peace: and that, from the former of theſe ſquadrons, his allies in Italy had lately received, and ſtill continued to receive, the moſt ſeaſonable and effectual ſupport." By his majeſty's order the lord chancellor then prorogued the parliament.

Having formed a reſolution to head his troops in perſon in the approaching campaign, the king, immediately after the prorogation of parliament, ſet out for Germany, attended by his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland and ſeveral officers of diſtinction.

In the mean time the troops which had been aſſembled by the king of Great Britain in the Netherlands, under the command of the earl of Stair, began their march for the Rhine, and in May encamped near Hoeſht on the river Mayne. Their intention was to join the Auſtrian forces under prince Charles of Lorraine; but the manœuvres of the enemy prevented this junction. The marſhal Noailes, having aſſembled a numerous army, paſſed the Rhine, and poſted himſelf on the eaſt ſide of that river above Frankfort. The earl of Stair advanced towards him and encamped on a plain between the river Mayne and the foreſt d'Armſtadt, from which place he made a motion to Aſchaffenburg with an intention to ſecure the navigation of the Upper Mayne, but the enemy, who lay on the other ſide, had taken poſſeſſion of the poſts in ſuch a manner as to intercept all ſupplies. At the ſame time time they found means to cut off all communication by water between Frankfort and the confederates.

On the ninth of June his Britannic majeſty arrived at the camp, where he found his army reduced almoſt to a ſtarving condition, for want of proviſions; inſomuch that having received intelligence that twelve thouſand Hanoverians and Heſſians had reached Hanan, he determined to march thither in order to join thoſe forces and procure proviſions for his army. Accordingly, on the 26th of June, he decamped, but had hardly quitted Aſchaffenburg before it was ſeized by the French, and after marching about three leagues he perceived the enemy to the number of thirty thouſand had paſſed the river and were drawn up in order of battle. Before them lay a narrow paſs, a morafs was in the center, a wood on the left, and the village of Dettingen on their right.

Thus hemmed in, they might eaſily have compelled the confederates either to ſubmit at diſcretion, or to fight at a very great diſadvantage, had not the duke of Gramont, who commanded the enemy, been prompted by the natural fire of his temper, to paſs the defile, upon which a battle immediately enſued.

The French horſe charged with great impetuoſity, and threw ſome regiments of the Britiſh cavalry into confuſion, but the infantry of the allies behaved with ſuch courage and reſolution as ſoon determined the fate of the day; the French were obliged to give way, and repaſs the Mayne with great precipitation, having loſt about ſix thouſand men killed, wounded or taken priſoners.

The allies loſt near three thouſand men in this action. The generals Clayton and Monroy were killed: the duke of Cumberland was ſhot through the calf of the leg: the earl of Albemarle, general Huſke, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction were wounded. The king expoſed his perſon to a ſevere fire of cannon as well as muſquetry; he rode between the firſt and ſecond lines with his ſword drawn, and encouraged the troops to fight for the honour of their country.

As ſoon as the action was ended, his majeſty continued his march to Hanau, where he was joined by the Heſſian and Hanoverian forces. The two armies continued on different ſides of the river Mayne till the 12th of July, when the French commander receiving intelligence that prince Charles of Lorraine was directing his march towards the confederate army, with an intent to place him between two fires, he reſolved to prevent this deſign by decamping in the night, having firſt deſtroyed his magazines. Nothing effective was done during the remainder of the campaign, and in October the king of England returned to Hanover, and the army ſeparated. The troops in Engliſh pay marched back to the Netherlands; the reſt took the route to their reſpective countries.

Admiral Matthews continued all this time to watch the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain off the harbour of Toulon, and, by turns, to cajole and intimidate the Genoeſe. The cruizers, however, did great damage to the coaſts of the enemy, and made prizes of ſome of their richeſt veſſels. The courts of Verſailles and Madrid having now formed a ſcheme for delivering their fleets from their confinement, Matthews ſent an account of this project to the Engliſh miniſtry, and deſired that an immediate and proper reinforcement might be ſent him.

In the Weſt-Indies, commodore Knowles, by order of Sir Chaloner Ogle, who was left in command on the return of Admiral Vernon, attacked La Guira, on the coaſt of Carraccas, but met with ſuch a warm reception, that he was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and make the beſt of his way for the Dutch iſland Curacoa, where he repaired the damage he had ſuffered. The ſhips being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto-Cavello, in April, which, like the former, proved abortive.

On the firſt of December the parliament met, when his majeſty informed both houſes of the events of the late campaign in Germany, and concluded with obſerving, "that, as in order to promote the re-eſtabliſhment of the tranquillity of Europe, vigorous and reſolute meaſures were neceſſary, he relied on their zealous, chearful and effectual

tual ſupport. Many debates enſued, and great objections were made to the continuing Hanoverian troops in the pay of Great Britain.

A. D. 1744. The diſſentions and diſputes in the Britiſh parliament induced the French miniſtry to believe that the nation was ripe for a revolt. This opinion was confirmed by the aſſertions of their emiſſaries in Great Britain and Ireland. Cardinal de Tencin, who had ſuceeeded Fleury as prime miniſter of France, gave it as his opinion that a deſcent on England might be attended with ſucceſs, and be the means of placing the chevalier de St. George on the throne of that kingdom.

Preparations were therefore made for carrying the ſcheme into execution. Count Saxe, a ſubtle and experienced general, was appointed commander in chief, and the troops for this expedition, which amounted to fifteen thouſand men, began their march to Picardy, while a great number of veſſels were aſſembled for their embarkation at Dunkirk, Calais and Boulogne. It was determined they ſhould land in Kent under convoy of a ſtrong ſquadron equipped at Breſt and commanded by M. de Roquefeuille. Theſe preparations were ſuperintended by Charles Edward, the Pretender's eldeſt ſon, who, in the month of December, had paſſed through Italy in the diſguiſe of a Spaniſh courier; embarked at Final, and landed at Antibes, from whence he proceeded to Paris, where he was indulged with an audience of the French king.

As ſoon as the Britiſh miniſtry received intelligence of the young chevalier's being arrived in France, they at once comprehended the deſtination of the armaments, which had been prepared at Breſt and Boulogne. They therefore ſent orders to Mr. Thompſon, the Engliſh reſident at Paris, to make a remonſtrance to the French miniſtry, on the violation of thoſe treaties, by which the Pretender to the crown of Great Britain was excluded from the territories of France. He was told in reply, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would not explain himſelf upon that ſubject, until the king of England ſhould have given ſatisfaction concerning the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of thoſe very treaties, which by his own ſubjects had been ſo frequently violated.

On the 6th of January, Monſieur de Roquefeuille ſailed from Breſt, directing his courſe up the the Engliſh channel, with eighteen ſhips of war. They were preſently deſcried by an Engliſh cruizer, which ran into Plymouth, and the intelligence was diſpatched to the board of admiralty. Sir John Norris was immediately ordered to take the command of the ſquadron at Spithead, with which he ſailed round to the Downs, where being joined by ſome ſhips of the line from Chatham, he found himſelf at the head of a fleet conſiderably ſtronger than that of the enemy.

Several regiments marched to the ſouthern coaſt of England: all governors and commanders were ordered to repair to their reſpective poſts: the forts at the mouth of the Thames and the Medway were put in a poſture of defence; and directions were given to aſſemble the militia of Kent, that in caſe of an invaſion they might be ready to defend the coaſt.

On the 15th of February the king ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, intimating the arrival of the Pretender's ſon in France, the preparations at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the Engliſh channel.

In anſwer to this both houſes joined in an addreſs to his majeſty, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the inſolent deſign that had been formed againſt his kingdoms; and profeſſing their fixed and determined reſolution, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, to ſupport his perſon and government, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion in his royal houſe, in oppoſition to the pretender, and all his other enemies whatſoever. Addreſſes of the ſame kind were preſented by the city of London, both univerſities, the principal towns of Great Britain, the clergy, the diſſenting miniſters, the quakers, and almoſt all the corporations and communities in England.

The Habeas Corpus act was ſuſpended for ſix months, and ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were apprehended on ſuſpicion of treaſonable practices; a proclamation was iſſued for putting the law in execution againſt papiſts and non-jurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and every precaution which prudence could ſuggeſt for ſecuring the peace and tranquillity of the nation, was taken.

In the interim, the French court proceeded with their preparations at Dunkirk and Boulogne, under the eye of the young Pretender; and ſeven thouſand men were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille ſailed up the river, as far as Dungeneſs, a promontory on the coaſt of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil, with five ſhips, to haſten the embarkation at Dunkirk.

While Roquefeuille was at anchor, he perceived, on the twenty-third day of February, the Britiſh fleet under Sir John Norris, doubling the South Foreland, from the Downs; and, though the wind was contrary, taking the opportunity of the tide of flood, to come up and engage the French ſquadron.

A council of war was called, in which it was reſolved to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor at ſunſet, and make the beſt of their way to their own coaſts. This reſolution was accordingly executed; and their eſcape was favoured by a hard gale of wind, which ſprung from the North-Eaſt, at the time of their ſetting ſail, and carried them down the channel, at the rate of four leagues an hour.

This ſtorm which in all probability ſaved their fleet from deſtruction, entirely defeated the deſign of the invaſion: a great number of their tranſports were driven aſhore and ſhattered to pieces; and the reſt were ſo much damaged, that they could not be repaired for a conſiderable time. The Engliſh were now maſters of the ſea, and kept the whole French coaſt in alarm. The deſign, therefore, was totally abandoned; the pretender haſtened to the place of his former reſidence, and the French general returned to Paris.

This diſappointment ſo exaſparated the court of France, that the Britiſh reſident at Paris was given to underſtand they would now proceed to open hoſtilities, and accordingly, a declaration of war was actually publiſhed at Paris on the twentieth day of March. On the thirty-firſt of the ſame month a ſimilar declaration againſt France was publiſhed at London, to the great ſatisfaction of the people, who teſtified their joy by repeated acclamations. France, likewiſe in the beginning of April, declared war againſt the queen of Hungary, who, in May, returned a like declaration againſt that kingdom.

On the fifteenth of May the king went to the houſe of peers, and in a ſpeech acquainted the parliament,

liament, "that the French king had declared war againſt him on the moſt injurious as well as fallacious pretences; that in conſequence, he had declared war againſt that monarch; and that in the proſecution of a juſt cauſe he relied on the divine protection and the vigorous ſupport of his parliament. He concluded with expreſſing an earneſt deſire, that the members of both houſes, on their return to their reſpective counties, would be particularly careful, at this critical juncture, to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom." The lord chancellor then, by order of his majeſty, prorogued the parliament.

During theſe tranſactions an engagement happened in the Mediterranean between our fleet under the command of admiral Matthews and the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain, which he had ſo long blocked up in the harbour of Toulon. On the ninth of February they were perceived ſtanding out of the road, to the number of twenty-eight ſhips of the line: the Engliſh admiral immediately weighed for Hieres-bay, and on the eleventh part of the fleet were engaged. Matthews in the Namur, and captain Cornwall in the Marlborough, bore down together upon the Spaniſh admiral Don Navarro, whoſe ſhip, the Real, was a firſt rate, mounted with no leſs than one hundred and fourteen guns. Rear-admiral Rowley ſingled out M. de Court, who commanded the Frence ſquadron; ſome of the Engliſh captains followed the example of their commanders; but vice-admiral Leſtock, with his whole diviſion, remained above five miles a-ſtern: and ſeveral captains, who were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in ſuch a manner, as reflected diſgrace on their country.

The Spaniſh admiral's ſhip the Real, being quite diſabled, and like a wreck upon the water, Mr. Matthews ſent a fireſhip to deſtroy her; but the expedient did not take effect. Four Spaniſh ſhips, which had been ſuffered to paſs Leſtock, attacked the fireſhip with ſuch fury, that, before ſhe could reach the Real, ſhe was blown into the air.

The Podea, a ſhip of the line, belonging to the Spaniſh ſquadron, ſtruck to captain Hawke, who ſent a lieutenant to take poſſeſſion of her: ſhe was afterwards retaken by the French ſquadron, but was found ſo diſabled, that they deſerted and left her, and ſhe was next day burned by order of admiral Matthews. Night coming on put an end to the action; and the admiral found his own ſhip ſo much ſhattered, that he was obliged to move his flag on board the Ruſſel, commanded by captain Long. On the morning of the 12th many ſhips of the combined fleets were deſcried from the maſt head: Leſtock gave chace, but as he approached, the commander in chief threw out a ſignal to deſiſt, and afterwards bore away to Port Mahon to refit, while the French ſquadron anchored in the road of Alicant, and Don Navarro made for the harbour of Carthagena. The loſs on the late occaſion was very inconſiderable, except in the death of captain Cornwall of the Marlborough, who aſſiſted the admiral in attacking the Real, and ſuſtained, for ſome time, the whole fire of that floating battery; and who, after giving repeated proofs of the moſt heroic courage, had both his legs carried off by a chain ſhot, which put a period to his life. A noble monument was erected to his memory in Weſtminſter-abbey, by a vote of the Britiſh parliament, and at the public expence; an honour to which he was juſtly entitled from his courageous and gallant behaviour, on this, and ſeveral other occaſions.

As ſoon as the Engliſh fleet reached the iſland of Minorca, Matthews ſuſpended Leſtock, accuſed him of miſbehaviour in the engagement off Toulon, and ſent him priſoner to England.

Theſe two officers had long entertained a moſt implacable hatred and reſentment againſt each other; and to this mutual animoſity was evidently owing the eſcape of the enemy's fleet; for, had Leſtock advanced, as he might eaſily have done, to engage the enemy, in conjunction with Matthews, the combined ſquadrons of France and Spain might have been utterly deſtroyed: on the other hand, had Matthews afterwards permitted Leſtock to continue the chace, and attack the enemy, while retiring in diſorder, the ſame advantage might ſtill have been obtained; but ſuch was their irreconcileable antipathy, that, rather than not gratify their private revenge, they ſacrificed the intereſt of their country, while they tarniſhed their own honour.

It is no wonder that a miſcarriage of ſuch importance ſhould be thought a ſubject worthy the moſt ſtrict enquiry. The commons preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring that a court-martial might be appointed to try the delinquents. By this time, Leſtock had preferred a charge againſt Matthews, and all the captains of his diviſion, who miſbehaved in the day of battle.

In conſequence of the opinion of the court martial, ſeveral commanders of ſhips were caſhiered; vice admiral Leſtock was honourably acquitted; and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of ſerving for the future in his majeſty's navy. Matthews, it is true, can by no means be juſtified; but Leſtock certainly was more guilty. Yet the latter triumphed on his trial; and the former narrowly eſcaped with his life. Such deciſions are not to be accounted for, except by prejudice and faction.

In the month of June commodore Anſon returned to England, having been abſent three years and nine months, during which he had circumnavigated the terraqueous globe. He had ſurmounted the moſt terrible difficulties, and been ſeparated by ſtreſs of weather at different times from the reſt of the ſhips in his ſquadron. However, his pains and labour were amply compenſated by two moſt fortunate exploits. The firſt was the ſurpriſing the city of Paita, belonging to the Spaniards, towards the equator. This was effected by fifty eight of his own ſeamen, under the command of a lieutenant, who on entering the town through favour of the night, ſet up a loud ſhout, which ſo terrified the inhabitants, that they precipitately abandoned the place, after which the ſailors carried off a large ſum of money that was lodged in the cuſtom houſe, belonging to the Spaniſh merchants, and intended to be ſhipped on board a veſſel in that port. The other fortunate exploit was the capture of the manilla galleon bound for the port of Acapulco, having on board treaſure with other effects to the amount of three hundred and thirteen thouſand pounds ſterling.

On the 28th of November his majeſty opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he ſaid, "that he applauded the conſtancy and reſolution of the queen of Hungary, and the firmneſs and magnanimity of the king of Sardinia; that though the event of the laſt campaign had not entirely anſwered his wiſhes, he determined in conjunction with his allies, and with their effectual ſupport, to proſecute the war, ſo as to produce to an honourable peace; and concluded

cluded with recommending unanimity and diſpatch in their proceedings."

Both houſes having preſented addreſſes of thanks to his majeſty, the commons proceeded to conſider the ſupplies; and it now appeared that the new miniſters would purſue the very ſame meaſures, which had been adopted by their predeceſſors. Freſh levies for land and ſea were ordered, and the commons voted ſix millions and a half for the ſervice of the current year, to be raiſed by the land, the malt, and ſalt taxes, the ſinking fund, and an additional duty on foreign wines.

A. D. 1745. The earl of Cheſterfield ſet out for the Hague in the month of January, in the character of ambaſſador extraordinary, to perſuade, if poſſible, the ſtates general to become parties in the war. About the ſame time a quadruple alliance was ſinged at Warſaw, by the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the maritime powers. By this treaty, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, confirmed and renewed the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, and promiſed to ſupport it with all his forces. It was further ſtipulated, that, as the kingdom of Bohemia was actually attacked, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould ſend to its defence an army of thirty thouſand auxiliary troops: that his Britannic majeſty and the ſtates general ſhould pay to that prince an annual ſubſidy of one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling; two thirds to be furniſhed by Great-Britain, and one third by the United Provinces: that, as ſoon as Bohemia and Saxony ſhould be free from danger, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould march ten thouſand men to the Netherlands, or to any other place within the empire, which the king of Great Britain and the ſtates general ſhould think moſt proper; for which a ſubſidy of ninety thouſand pounds ſhould be continued to be paid, according to the former proportions: that if, in conſequence of theſe meaſures, his Poliſh majeſty ſhould draw a war upon himſelf, he ſhould be ſupported by all his allies: that no peace ſhould be made without his conſent, and without procuring for him proper ſatisfaction: and that the empreſs of Ruſſia, the republic of Holland, and all the other powers of Europe, ſhould be invited to accede to this treaty, which was to continue in force even after the war was at an end.

The affairs which engaged the attention of parliament being finiſhed, the ſeſſion was cloſed on the ſecond day of May; and the king, having appointed a regency, immediately ſet out for his German dominions. The face of affairs on the continent were now entirely changed by the death of the emperor Charles VII. The grand duke of Tuſcany, conſort to the queen of Hungary, declared himſelf candidate for the Imperial throne; but his election was warmly oppoſed by the French king and his allies. The grand duke, however, on the ſecond of September, was, by a majority of voices, declared king of the Romans, and emperor of Germany at Frankfort.

Though the king of France could not prevent the elevation of the grand duke to the Imperial throne, he reſolved to humble the houſe of Auſtria by making a conqueſt of the Netherlands. Accordingly, a prodigious army was aſſembled there under the auſpices of count Saxe; and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, with the dauphin, arriving in the camp, they inveſted the ſtrong town of Tournay. The garriſon conſiſted of eight thouſand Dutch commanded by the old baron Dorth, who determined to make a vigorous defence.

The allied army being aſſembled at Soignies, the duke of Cumberland aſſumed the chief command, and though their force was greatly inferior to that of the enemy, they reſolved to march to the relief of Tournay. Accordingly, they advanced to Leuſe, took poſt at Maulbre in ſight of the French army, and extended from the village of Antoine to a large wood beyond Vazon, having Fontenoy in their front. The French, in the interim, had compleated their batteries, and made the moſt formidable preparations for the reception of the allies.

On the 30th of April, about ten in the morning, the duke of Cumberland began the attack; a briſk cannonade enſued, and about nine both armies were engaged. The Britiſh infantry commanded by lieutenant-general Sir John Ligonier drove the French beyond their lines; but the left wing of the allies failing in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry forbearing to advance on the flanks, they retreated in ſome diſorder occaſioned by the warm and inceſſant fire of the French batteries. They rallied, however, and returning to the charge with redoubled ardour, repulſed the enemy to their camp with great ſlaughter; but being wholly unſupported by the other wing, and expoſed both in front and flank to a dreadful fire, which did great execution, about three in the afternoon the duke was obliged to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a retreat, which was effected in tolerable order. The battle was fought with the utmoſt obſtinacy, and the ſlaughter on both ſides was very great. The allies loſt about twelve thouſand men, among whom were lieutenant-general Campbel, major-general Ponſonby, and many officers of inferior rank. The victory coſt the French almoſt as many lives, and though the attack was judged raſh and precipitate, the Britiſh and Hanoverian troops fought with ſuch intrepidity and perſeverance, that if they had been properly ſupported by the Dutch forces, and their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French, in all probability, muſt have abandoned the ſiege. The duke of Cumberland left his ſick and wounded to the humanity of the victors, and retiring to Aith, encamped in an advantageous ſituation at Leſſines. The conquerors purſued their good fortune, till having reduced not only Tournay, but the greateſt part of the Auſtrian Netherlands, the French king returned to Paris, which he entered in triumph. On the 12th of October the duke of Cumberland returned to England, and ſoon after the allied armies repaired to their reſpective winter quarters.

The campaign in Italy was far from proving favourable either to the queen of Hungary or her ally the king of Sardinia. The Spaniards entered the Milaneſe with very little oppoſition. They took the ſtrong citadel of Tortona, reduced Parma, Placentia, Pavia, and the city of Milan. In fact, by the month of October the Auſtrian territories in Italy were wholly ſubdued, and the king of Sardinia was ſtripped of all his dominions; notwithſtanding which he continued firm and true to his engagements, and deaf to all propoſals of ſeparate accommodation.

During the courſe of this year, the Britiſh navy performed ſeveral ſervices of the utmoſt importance to the common cauſe in general, as well as to Great Britain in particular. In the Mediterranean, admiral Rowley had ſucceeded Matthews in the command. He had bombarded Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Baſtia, the capital of Corſica, and made prizes of ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips; but he could

not prevent the arrival of the rich Havannah ſquadron at Corunna.

In the Eaſt Indies, commodore Barnet took a great number of French ſhips richly laden; and commodore Townſend, in the neighbourhood of Martinico, found means to intercept about thirty ſhips belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ſhips of war, two of which were deſtroyed.

Very extraordinary ſucceſs alſo attended the Engliſh privateers. But the moſt important atchievement was the reduction of Louiſburgh, the capital of Cape Breton in North America, a place of great conſequence, which the French had fortified in a very ſtrong manner, being the center and defence of their fiſhery.

During theſe tranſactions, a new ſcene engaged the attention of the Engliſh miniſtry. The ſon of the chevalier de St. George, fired by the inſinuations of ſome zealous partizans, who pretended that the nation in general was diſaffected to the reigning family, determined to make one more effort for aſcending the throne of England. At the ſame time he was amuſed by France with a promiſe of powerful ſuccours; but this was merely to encourage an attempt of the kind in order to embarraſs the Engliſh government, and divert their attention from the war on the continent.

Charles being furniſhed with a ſupply of money and arms by Lewis, embarked on board a frigate, accompanied by ſome Iriſh and Scotch adventurers, and on the 23d of July, reached the weſtern iſles of Scotland, and landing on the coaſt of Lochaber, was ſoon joined by a number of mountaineers, under their reſpective chiefs. Had government acted with vigour on the firſt intelligence of his arrival, the attempt muſt have been cruſhed in the bud; but it indeed appeared ſo romantic, that the nation in general could ſcarcely give credit to it.

When the intelligence was confirmed, Sir John Cope, who commanded the forces in Scotland, ſet forward without loſs of time. His orders were to proceed directly and attack the rebels, who were ſuppoſed to be lying on the weſtward of the Chain, in the neighbourhood of Glenſinnan, where their ſtandard was erected. But receiving intelligence that they had taken poſſeſſion of a very ſtrong paſs, which lay on the eaſt ſide of the chain, and commanded the road that led to Fort Auguſtus, he called a council of war, who agreed in opinion, that it would be moſt expedient to change their rout and march to Inverneſs.

The young chevalier, on the fourth day of September, entered Perth, where his army was greatly increaſed. The marquis of Tullibardine had ſent him ſeveral reinforcements, which he had raiſed among the tenants of the Athol eſtate; and he was alſo joined by lord George Murray, lord Nairn, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction with their followers.

Being thus conſiderably augmented, the rebel army croſſed the Forth, took poſſeſſion of Edinburgh without oppoſition, with a view of ſeizing the treaſure belonging to the two banks of that city, but were diſappointed by its having been conveyed into the caſtle, which was defended by a garriſon under command of general Gueſt.

Cope, having taken ſhipping at Aberdeen, had, by this time, landed at Dunbar with his army; and, on the nineteenth of September, he began his march towards Edinburgh, and encamped at night between that city and Haddington. Here being joined by the two regiments of dragoons, who had retired on the approach of the rebels to the capital, he immediately marched towards their army in order to give them battle. On the twentieth he encamped in the neighbourhood of Preſton-pans; but the rebels did not wait for him to begin the attack, for early the next morning the young pretender charged at the head of the Highlanders with ſuch impetuoſity, that the king's troops were ſoon broke and entirely routed. At the firſt onſet the dragoons fled with great precipitation, but the chief part of the infantry, who made a vigorous ſtand, were either killed or taken. Five hundred of the king's forces fell on the field of battle, among whom was the gallant colonel Gardiner, who diſdained to ſave his life at the expence of his honor: when abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horſe, and fought among the infantry until he fell covered with wounds,

This victory was of great importance to the rebels, who thereby procured arms, a train of artillery, and a conſiderable ſum of money, as the tents, cannon, baggage, and military cheſt of the royal party fell into their hands. Large ſupplies of money, artillery and ammunition were ſent from France by ſingle ſhips; and the number of their followers encreaſed daily, though the more opulent inhabitants of Scotland were averſe to the chevalier's family and pretenſions. The miniſtry were no ſooner informed of Cope's defeat, than they ſent orders for three battalions of guards, and ſeven regiments of infantry to return from Flanders; and theſe being joined by ſix thouſand Dutch troops lately arrived in England, began their march to Newcaſtle under the command of general Wade.

His majeſty, had before this time, returned to England, and received the moſt warm and affectionate addreſſes from the city, the lieutenancy, and the merchants of London, congratulating him on the reduction of Cape Breton, expreſſing their abhorrence and deſtation of the preſent unnatural rebellion, and promiſing to exert their utmoſt endeavours in defending his majeſty's perſon and government, and in ſupporting the public credit of the nation.

Similar addreſſes were alſo preſented by almoſt every town, county, and corporation in the kingdom. Many of the principal nobility and gentry offered their ſervices in the military capacity, and regiments were raiſed in the different counties wherein their reſpective eſtates were ſituated.

The arrival of the duke of Cumberland, who returned about this time from Holland, contributed to quicken the general ſpirit of loyalty; and all ranks of men ſeemed unanimouſly to concur in expreſſing their zeal for the preſent royal family; and the protection of their own rights civil and religious.

Charles having, by this time, collected about ſix thouſand men, paſſed the weſtern border of England, and inveſted Carliſle, which ſurrendered in three days. General Wade advanced from Newcaſtle in order to relieve that place, but hearing on his march that it had ſurrendered, he returned to his former ſtation.

The rebels, having left a garriſon in Carliſle, ſet out on the third of March for Penrith, from whence they proceeded to Lancaſter, which they entered on the twenty-eighth of the ſame month, after which the whole army took poſſeſſion of Manchester. But they now found themſelves terribly deceived in their views; for, inſtead of the multitudes, they expected to join them, they could raiſe

but two hundred, which being formed into a regiment, were put under the command of Mr. Townly.

The train bands of London were now reviewed by his majesty, the country regiments were completed, the volunteers were employed in the exercise of arms, and the whole kingdom united firmly against the invader.

The king had by this time given directions for the raising another army, consisting of three regiments of cavalry and fifteen of infantry, to be commanded by the duke of Cumberland, and, under him, by Sir John Ligonier. This army was afterwards encreased to thirteen thousand, and took post at Litchfield, which was deemed the most proper place for intercepting the rebels in their march to the southward.

In the beginning of December the rebels left Manchester, and advanced to Congleton; but suddenly they turned off to the left, and marched into Derby, as if they intended to avoid the duke, and proceed immediately to London.

As soon as the citizens were informed, that, notwithstanding the vigilance and activity of the duke, the rebels had it in their power to advance to the metropolis, many of them were filled with the most dreadful apprehensions. Even the ministry seemed to be considerably alarmed. A council was held at St. James's, and a resolution taken, that the standard of England should be erected on Finchley Common, for assembling an army, to be commanded by the king in person, and under him, by field mareschal lord Stair: that all the regular troops about London, with the associated regiments, the trained bands, and the militia, should march to that camp; and that a numerous train of artillery should be drawn out of the Tower for the use of the forces. It was owing to these vigorous resolutions, that the pretender altered his opinion, and instead of advancing to London, determined to return into Scotland, where he heard his affairs had taken a very favourable turn.

Hereupon, after a very short stay in the town of Derby, he began his march early in the morning; and though Wade with his army had, for some time, been at Doncaster, and consequently nearer Manchester than the rebels, yet the latter retreated with such amazing rapidity, that they had almost reached Preston, before Wade had advanced to Wakefield.

Charles reached Carlisle on the 19th, and, after reinforcing the garrison of that place, crossed the rivers Edin and Solway into Scotland.

On the 21st of December the duke of Cumberland with his whole army invested Carlisle, and, on the thirtieth, the garrison surrendered at discretion.

Thus having pursued the rebels to the northern verge of England, and retaken the only place they were masters of, his royal highness returned to London, and the prisoners, amounting to four hundred, were confined in different jails.

A. D. 1746. After a very fatiguing march the rebels reached Glasgow, from whence they continued their route to Stirling, where they were joined by some forces assembled by lord Lewis Gordon and John Drummond. On the 13th of January, general Hawley, who had assembled a considerable body of forces at Edinburgh, advanced to Linlithgow. Next day the rebels rendezvoused at Falkirk, and on the 17th were perceived in full march to attack the king's forces. The enemy had taken possession of a hill on the right, and Hawley, in order to drive them from this eminence, sent two regiments of dragoons to attack them; but the first volley of the rebels broke their ranks, and they retreated with precipitation; and falling in among the infantry, put them also in confusion. The rebels followed their success, and the royal army, after making one irregular discharge, fled in the utmost confusion, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery to the enemy. It was now judged expedient to send a commander to the army in Scotland, in whom the soldiers could place some confidence; and the duke of Cumberland was chosen for this purpose.

His royal highness, on the thirty-first of January, put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, consisting of thirteen regiments of infantry, five regiments of dragoons, one regiment of light horse, and fifteen hundred highlanders from Argyleshire, under the command of colonel Campbell. On the last day of January he began his march to Linlithgow, and the enemy, who had renewed the siege of Stirling-castle, not only abandoned that enterprize, but after blowing up the magazines, crossed the Forth with the utmost precipitation.

In the mean time the duke, having secured the important posts of Stirling and Perth with the Hessian battalions, advanced with the army to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the duke of Gordon, the earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, and other persons of distinction,

A sloop of war which the rebels had surprized near Montrose was about this time retaken, with a considerable sum of money and a large quantity of arms on board, which she had brought from France for the service of the Pretender.

On the eighth of April the duke left Aberdeen, and arriving at Nairn, where he halted to refresh his men, he received advice that the enemy had burnt Fort Augustus, and marched from Inverness to Culloden, about nine miles distant from the royal army to give him battle. The same night, however, the rebels marched with an intent to surprise the duke's army before day light; but this scheme proving abortive, they returned to Culloden, resolving in that station to wait for the royal army. On the 16th the duke decamped between four and five in the morning, and after marching about eight miles, perceived the advanced guard of the rebels amounting to eight thousand men, drawn up in order of battle, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery and posted behind some old walls and hutts in a line with Culloden house.

The duke immediately formed the royal army into three lines and about noon the engagement began. The artillery of the rebels was ill served, and did very little execution; but that of the king's troops made dreadful havock among the enemy. Impatient of this fire, the front line advanced to the charge, and about five hundred of the clans attacked the duke's left wing with their usual impetuosity. One regiment was disordered by the weight of this column; but two battalions advancing from the second line, supported the first, and soon put a stop to their career, by a smart fire, that killed a great number. At the same time, Kingston's and Hawley's horse pulled down the park wall that covered their flank, and falling in among them, sword in hand, made great havock.

The French piquets, on the left, stood inactive during the engagement, and afterwards surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In about thirty minutes after the whole rebel army was totally defeated,

and the field covered with thier dead bodies. Three thousand were slain on the spot and in the pursuit.

The earl of Kilmarnock was taken in the field of battle: the lord Balmerino surrendered himself a few days after. The marquis of Tullibardine likewise followed his example. The earl of Cromartie and his son had been taken prisoners before the engagement. This victory put a final stroke to the rebellion; but his royal highness continued in the north some time in order to give proper orders for securing the tranquillity of the country; then, after receiving the submission of almost all the clans and chieftains, he returned to London, which he entered with universal acclamations.

The vanquished adventurer, upon his retreat from the field of battle, held a conference with some of his principal adherents, but finding his affairs desperate, he desired each of them to consult his own safety, while he himself, assuming various disguises, continued to wander about, a wretched fugitive, for the space of four months, during which, he underwent an amazing series of dangers, hardships, and miseries. At last, on the tenth day of August, he embarked, with about thirty of his followers, on board a French frigate, and arrived in safety at a small town near Morlaix in Britany.

The government were now resolved to make examples of some of those who had involved their country in such calamity and confusion, but to make the number as few as possible. An act was passed for attainting the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, and the lords Balmerino and Lovat. The three former were tried, found guilty, and received sentence of death. Cromartie was afterwards pardoned as to life, but all his estates were confiscated.

On the 18th of August Kilmarnock and Balmerino were executed on Tower-hill. The former died with marks of penitence and contrition, but the latter viewed the implements of death with the most careless air and seemed to glory in his sufferings. Lovat was tried in the spring of the succeeding year, found guilty, and beheaded on Tower-hill. Courts were opened in different parts of the kingdom for the trial of the rebels of inferior rank, fifty of whom were condemed and executed, some were pardoned, and the greater number were transported to the plantations.

While England was thus engaged in crushing a rebellion at home, the French king, with his general the count de Saxe, took the field in the latter end of April, at the head of a numerous army, and advanced towards the allies, intrenched to the number of forty thousand, behind the Demer, under the conduct of the Austrian general Bathiana, who retired before them and took post in the neighbourhood of Breda.

Such was the amazing progress of the French arms under the conduct of that consummate general, count Saxe, that not only four strong towns in Dutch Brabant were rapidly and successively reduced; but by the middle of July, Lewis was absolute master of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault. Namur soon followed the fate of the former places. Mean while the allied army lay encamped at Maestricht, where they were joined by Sir John Ligonier with some British and Bavarian battalions. Prince Charles of Lorrain, who commanded the confederate army, now determined to give the enemy battle; but finding, on his advance, marshal Saxe posted so advantageously at Tongres, he thought proper to return to Maestricht.

Count Saxe being by this time considerably reinforced, determined to bring the confederates to an engagement. The allies, perceiving his intention, drew up their forces in order of battle, and made preparations for giving him a warm reception. On the first of October the enemy advanced in three columns, and a terrible cannonading began about noon, which lasted two hours. Prince Waldeck, who commanded the left wing was then attacked with great fury, and after a brave defence over-powered by numbers. In a word, the allies were assaulted with such resistless impetuosity, that they were obliged to abandon their posts, and retreat towards Maestricht with the loss of five thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery. This action terminated the campaign in the Netherlands. The allies passing the Maese, took up their winter quarters in the dutchies of Limburg and Luxemburgh, while the French cantoned their troops in the places which they had newly conquered.

On the 18th of November the parliament met, when the king in the course of his speech having represented the necessity of very considerable supplies in consequence of the unavoidable accidents of the war; affectionate addresses were presented by both houses, and the commons voted nine millions, four hundred and twenty five thousand pounds for the services of the ensuing year.

A. D. 1747. To frustrate the ambitious designs of France, the allies determined to assemble a powerful army in the Netherlands. The duke of Cumberland assumed the chief command of the confederate forces for the ensuing campaign. In the latter end of March he took the field, and fixed his head quarters at the village of Filberg: the prince of Waldeck, with the Dutch troops, were posted at Breda, and marshal Bathiani near Venlo. The allied army consisted of one hundred and twenty thousand men.

In the month of April Count Saxe took the field at the head of one hundred thousand men, and in a very short time completed the reduction of all Dutch Flanders.

His royal highness now took post between the Great and Little Nethes, by which he covered Bergen-op-zoom and Maestricht. About the latter end of May the French king arrived at Brussels, and Saxe then determined to undertake the siege of Maestricht. He advanced towards Louvain, and the confederates perceiving his intention, put their army into motion to take post between that town and the enemy. On the 20th of July, the confederates drew up in order of battle, having in the front of their left wing the village of Laffeldt, in which they posted several battalions of British infantry. Next morning the enemy's infantry marched down the hill in one column, and attacked the village of Laffeldt, which was resolutely defended, till the allies being over-powered by numbers, the French maintained their footing in the village, after it had been three times lost and carried. A most vigorous effort was then made by order of the duke to annoy the flanks of the enemy, and victory for some time seemed ready to declare for the confederates; when the fortune of the day took a sudden turn, through the dastardly behaviour of the Dutch, who turned their backs and flying at full gallop, overturned five battallions of infantry belonging to the allies corps de reserve. In all probability the defeat would have been total, had not Sir John Ligonier at the head of three British regiments of dragoons, and a few squadrons of Imperial horse charged the whole line of French

cavalry with ſuch impetuoſity, that he ſtopped their career, and enabled the duke to effect a retreat to Maeſtricht. Sir John himſelf was taken priſoner, but the regiments he commanded retired in good order. The next effort of the enemy was the ſiege of Bergen-op-zoom, which alſo fell a prey to the conquerors, partly through the proweſs of their commanders, and partly through the inactivity of the governor, who, at the time of the moſt vigorous aſſault, was aſleep in his quarters; to the cowardice or ſluggiſhneſs of the Dutch may be juſtly imputed many of the failures of this campaign, at the cloſe of which the duke embarked for England.

In the courſe of this year the Britiſh cruizers were ſo diligent and fortunate, that they took no leſs than ſix hundred and forty-four prizes from the French and Spaniards.

Vice admiral Anſon and rear Admiral Warren were ſucceſsful againſt a fleet of the enemy deſtined to act in America. They fell in with them off Cape Finiſterre, and in conſequence of a defeat, took a fleet of merchantmen that was under their convoy, on board of which there was immenſe treaſure. Admiral Hawke alſo took ſix French ſhips of the line in an engagement off the coaſt of Britany, with a conſiderable number of merchantmen, and conducted his prizes ſafe to England. Soon after theſe tranſactions, Admiral Anſon was created a peer, and the admirals Warren and Hawke were honoured with the order of the Bath.

A. D. 1748. On the cloſe of the ſeſſion of parliament his majeſty acquainted both houſes that the preliminaries of a general peace were actually ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the miniſters of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces; and that a general reſtitution of the conqueſts which had been made during the war was the baſis of this accommodation. Immediately after the prorogation of parliament, his majeſty, having appointed a regency to govern in his abſence, ſet out for his German dominions.

In the month of March in this year the duke of Cumberland had aſſembled the allied forces in the neighbourhood of Breda; but notwithſtanding the magnificent promiſes which had been made by the United Provinces, and the court of Vienna, they did not amount by far to ſo conſiderable a number, as might have been expected. The French, therefore, whoſe numbers were greatly ſuperior, were enabled to inveſt Maeſtricht without oppoſition: and accordingly, on the third day of April, they opened their trenches before that place.

The garriſon conſiſted of Imperial and Dutch troops, under the command of the baron D'Aylva, who defended the place with the utmoſt ſpirit and reſolution. He annoyed the beſiegers in repeated ſallies; but they were reſolved to overcome all oppoſition, and carried on their approaches with indefatigable perſeverance. They attacked the covered way, in which they actually made a lodgment, after an obſtinate diſpute, which coſt them two thouſand men, when a courier arrived from the duke of Cumberland with advice that the preliminary articles of peace had been ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle on the 19th of April, upon which all hoſtilities were ſuſpended.

During theſe tranſactions, admiral Boſcawen, who commanded a powerful armament in the Eaſt-Indies, undertook the ſiege of Pondicherry; but finding the forces naval and military reduced by ſickneſs, and the rainy ſeaſon approaching, he ordered the artillery and ſtores to be re-embarked, and on the ninth of October raiſed the ſiege, after ſuſtaining great loſs aggravated by the mortification of ſeeing ſeveral ſhips with upwards of twelve hundred men periſh in a violent hurricane on the coaſt of Coromandel.

The plenipotentiaries ſtill continued at Aix-la-Chapelle, adjuſting all the articles of the definitive treaty, which, at length, was concluded on the ſeventh day of October. It was founded on former treaties, which was now expreſsly confirmed, from that of Weſtphalia to the laſt concluded at London and Vienna.

It was covenanted by the contracting parties, that all priſoners on each ſide ſhould be mutually releaſed without ranſom, and all conqueſts reſtored: that the dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, ſhould be ceded as a ſettlement to the infant Don Philip, and the heirs male of his body; but in caſe of his aſcending the throne of Spain, or of the two Sicilies, or his dying without male iſſue, that they ſhould revert to the houſe of Auſtria: that the king of Great Britain ſhould, immediately after the ratification of this treaty, ſend two perſons of rank and diſtinction, to reſide in France, as hoſtages, until reſtitution ſhould be made of Cape Breton, and all the other conqueſts which his Britannic majeſty ſhould have made in the Eaſt or Weſt Indies, before or after the preliminaries were ſigned: that the aſſiento contract, with the article of the annual ſhip, ſhould be confirmed for four years, during which, the enjoyment of that privilege had been ſuſpended ſince the commencement of the preſent war: that Dunkirk ſhould remain fortified on the land ſide, and towards the ſea continue on the footing of former treaties. All the contracting powers became guarantees to the king of Pruſſia for the dutchy of Sileſia, and the county of Glatz, as he then poſſeſſed them; and they likewiſe engaged to maintain the empreſs queen of Hungary and Bohemia in the poſſeſſion of her hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatic ſanction. The other articles regarded the forms and time fixed for the mutual reſtitutions, as well as for the termination of hoſtilities in different parts of the world.

But the right of Britiſh ſubjects to navigate in the American ſeas without being ſubject to ſearch was not once mentioned; though in fact this claim was the original ſource of the war between Great Britain and Spain. Theſe and other diſputes were left to the diſcuſſion of Commiſſaries.

His Britannic majeſty had, by this time, returned to England, and the parliament meeting on the twenty-ninth day of November, he made a ſpeech to both houſes, importing, that the definitive treaty of peace had been ſigned by all the parties concerned in the war: that he had made the moſt effectual proviſion for ſecuring the rights and intereſts of his ſubjects, and for procuring to his allies the beſt terms and conditions, that the ſituation of affairs would admit: that he took much ſatisfaction in being able to tell them, that he had found a good diſpoſition in all the parties engaged in the war, to bring this negotiation to a happy concluſion: that from theſe circumſtances, they might promiſe themſelves a long enjoyment of the bleſſings of a peace, provided they made a right uſe and improvement of it: that as great a progreſs had been made in reducing the public expences, as the nature of the caſe would allow; and he only deſired them to grant him ſuch ſupplies as might

might be requiſite for the current ſervice of the year, for their own ſecurity, and for fulfilling ſuch engagements as had been already contracted, and laid before them: that times of tranquillity were moſt proper for leſſening the national debt, and ſtrengthening themſelves againſt future events; and he muſt recommend to them, as the moſt effectual means for theſe purpoſes, the improving of the public revenue, and the maintaining the naval force of the kingdom in due ſtrength and vigour: that thoſe brave men, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, were certainly proper objects of parliamentary favour and protection; and he hoped they would deem it their duty, as well as intereſt, to convert their moſt ſerious attention towards the advancing of commerce, and cultivating the arts of peace.

This ſpeech was anſwered by loyal and affectionate addreſſes from both houſes; though that of the lower was not carried without a violent oppoſition.

A. D. 1749. A ſcheme was now formed by many perſons of diſtinction for the ſettlement of a new colony in Nova Scotia in order to diffuſe the benefits of population and agriculture, and improve the fiſhery of that extenſive coaſt. This patriotic ſcheme met with the ſucceſs it deſerved, for it being honoured with the royal ſanction, and proper encouragement being given to ſuch as had lately been diſmiſſed the public ſervice, a vaſt number of families engaged to go to this new ſettlement, and fix their habitations there. Soon after their arrival, a town was planned and expeditiouſly finiſhed at the head of Chebucto harbour, when it was divided into lots and called Halifax, in honour of the noble earl of that title, who was the original projector of the ſcheme. The honourable Edward Cornwallis was appointed governor of this infant colony.

The parliament meeting on the ſixteenth day of November, his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he ſaid, that it was with a particular pleaſure that he met them, at a time when the re-eſtabliſhment of a general peace had reſtored to his people the bleſſings of quiet and tranquillity: that the good effects reſulting from hence were already apparent in the flouriſhing condition of commerce, and the riſe of public credit, which naturally laid the foundation for an increaſe of ſtrength, and of laſting proſperity to his kingdoms: that he had not failed, during the courſe of this ſummer, to avail himſelf of every opportunity to cement and preſerve the peace; and that it was, and ſhould be, his firm reſolution to do every thing in his power to preſerve it inviolable, and religiouſly to adhere to the engagements he had entered into.

Both houſes of parliament having preſented very dutiful addreſſes to his majeſty in anſwer to this ſpeech, the commons proceeded to take into conſideration the eſtimates for the enſuing year, and voted the neceſſary ſupplies, ſoon after which the parliament was prorogued.

A. D. 1750. About two months before the cloſe of the ſeſſion, the inhabitants of the metropolis were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, by two ſhocks of an earthquake; the firſt on the eighth day of February, between twelve and one o'clock in the afternoon, was felt all over the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and parts adjacent; in many places the waters were agitated to a very conſiderable degree.

At half an hour after five o'clock, on the morning of the eighth of March, the town was alarmed a ſecond time, by a ſhock more ſevere than the former, attended with a hollow ruſtling noiſe, as if cauſed by wind, and the violence of it awaked numbers of people out of their ſleep; but providentially no miſchief happened, except the throwing down ſome chimnies, and damaging ſome old houſes. The ſhock was ſo violent in ſome places, that the people ran from their beds and houſes almoſt naked, in the utmoſt confuſion. There was obſerved preceding the ſhock, a continual, though confuſed lightning, till within a minute or two of its being felt, the flaſhes of which were very ſtrong.

The ſhock was felt in Eſſex, Kent and Surry, as well as in moſt parts of Middleſex; and the panic, which was univerſal in the four counties, was conſiderably increaſed, by the ridiculous prediction of an enthuſiaſtic ſoldier, who boldly propheſied, that the next ſhock would happen in the night between the ſeventh and eighth of April, and lay the whole cities of London and Weſtminſter in ruins. Abſurd as this prognoſtication muſt ſeem to perſons of philoſophy and reflection, it had an amazing effect on the populace, inſomuch, that multitudes abandoned their houſes, and retired into the country; and in the evening of the 7th of April, the fields adjacent to the metropolis were crouded with people, who continued there during the whole night in the moſt alarming ſituation, till the light of the morning diſſipated their fears, and convinced them of the fallacy of the prognoſtication.

Soon after this alarm, a very extraordinary accident happened at the ſeſſions of the Old Bailey. The putrified air adhering to the cloaths of the malefactors ſpread a peſtilential fever among the audience. The lord mayor of London, one alderman, two of the judges, ſeveral lawyers, and the greater part of the jury, loſt their lives by this peſtilential vapour.

This melancholy cataſtrophe occaſioned orders to be given for erecting a ventilator on the leads of the jail of Newgate, in order to extract the foul air, and cauſe a circulation of freſh to prevent, if poſſible, the like accident in future.

A. D. 1751. His majeſty returned from his German dominions in the month of November, and on the ſeventeenth day of January opened the parliament with a ſpeech, in which he acquainted both houſes with his having concluded a treaty with the king of Spain, whereby ſuch particular differences as could not be ſettled by a general treaty had been amicably adjuſted, and concluded with an exhortation to unanimity, the improving the trade and commerce of the nation, and the putting the laws in force againſt the diſturbers of the internal peace and police of the kingdom. On this ſpeech, loyal and affectionate addreſſes were preſented to the throne, by both houſes.

The ſupplies demanded this year by the miniſtry amounting to nearly five millions, ſeveral of the motions were oppoſed with the utmoſt force of argument by Mr. Pitt, Sir George Lyttleton, and Mr. Grenville; but the power of numbers prevailed, and the miniſtry carried every thing they propoſed.

During the courſe of this ſeſſion, the nation ſuſtained a terrible blow in the death of the prince of Wales, who expired on the tenth day of March, about ten in the evening, in the 45th year of his age. He had caught cold about three weeks before in his gardens at Kew; and having neglected, through hurry of buſineſs, to have it removed, it

was ſtill farther encreaſed by his coming very warm from the houſe of peers with the windows of his chair open.

A pleuriſy was the conſequence of this cold, which his phyſicians, however, were far from apprehending to be mortal; and upon the application of proper remedies, he was even thought to be in a fair way of recovery, till the very hour before his departure, when a large abſceſs upon his lungs, which had been gathering, was ſuppoſed to burſt, and to be the immediate cauſe of his death.

He was a lover and very munificent patron of the liberal arts, an unſhaken friend to merit, and warmly attached to the intereſt of his country.

An almoſt total extinction of party ſpirit was the conſequence of the death of the prince of Wales. The tender affection expreſſed by the king towards the princeſs and her children, and the dutiful ſubmiſſion which they ſhewed to him, made ſuch an impreſſion on the minds of the people in general, that all party-diſtinctions ſeemed at once to be annihilated.

Among the acts paſſed this ſeſſion of parliament was one for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calendar agreeable to the Gregorian computation which had been long adapted by moſt other kingdoms. It was by this ſtatute enacted that the year ſhould for the future begin on the firſt of January, and that the eleven intermediate and nominal days between the ſecond and fourteenth of September enſuing ſhould be for that year omitted. By this correction the equinoxes and ſolſtices will happen nearly on the ſame nominal days on which they fell at the council of Nice in the year 325.

The king went to the houſe of peers on the 25th day of June, where, after having thanked the parliament for the prudence and diſpatch with which they had conducted the public buſineſs, he ordered them to be prorogued to the thirteenth day of Auguſt. His Swediſh majeſty paid the debt of nature this year, and was ſucceeded by Adolphus Frederic duke of Holſtein Euſtin.

On the 14th of November the parliament of Great Britain was opened at Weſtminſter with a ſpeech from the throne, in which his majeſty informed them, that he had, in conjunction with the ſtates, concluded a treaty with the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. He added, that the untimely death of the prince of Orange had occaſioned no change in the ſtate of affairs in Holland; and that he had received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from the ſtates of their firm reſolution to maintain the intimate union and friendſhip happily ſubſiſting between him and theſe ancient and natural allies to his crown. He concluded with exhorting both houſes to conſider ſeriouſly of ſome effectual method for ſuppreſſing thoſe atrocious crimes of robbery and violence then ſo frequent about the capital, proceeding in a great meaſure from that profligacy, irreligion and diſſipation which had been extended to an uncommon degree, to the diſhonour of the nation, and prejudice of the ſubjects in geral.

A. D. 1752. A petition was preſented to the commons on the 20th of March, by the merchants of London, who alledged, that ſeveral foreigners had, of late years, been induced to come over to England, in order to obtain private acts of parliament for their naturalization, with a view to gain ſome advantages to themſelves in point of trade, particularly to avoid the payment of the duties of aliens on the goods and merchandizes which they imported from foreign parts into this kingdom; and that having obtained ſuch acts, they returned back to their own country, where they conſtantly reſided, and conſequently bore no part of the public taxes, nor, in any manner, contributed towards the ſupport of the ſtate, or at all anſwered the intention of the legiſlature. They, therefore, prayed, that this abuſe of the favour of parliament might be prevented, by reſtraining, for the future, the benefit of naturalization to the time during which foreigners ſhould reſide within this realm, in ſuch manner and under ſuch limitations as to the houſe ſhould appear fit.

The reaſonableneſs of this petition was ſuch, that the houſe thought proper immediately to grant it; and a clauſe, accordingly, to that purpoſe was drawn up, and has continued ever ſince to be added to every bill of that nature. Nothing of importance paſſed in the upper houſe during this ſeſſion, which on the twenty-ſixth day of March was cloſed with a ſpeech from his majeſty, who, having appointed a regency to rule the kingdom in his abſence, ſoon afterwards ſet out for his German dominions.

For a long time paſt the fatal effects of clandeſtine marriages had been a ſubject of complaint in England. Every day produced hearings in the court of chancery, and appeals to the houſe of peers, concerning the validity of thoſe marriages; on account of the irregularity of which the innocent offſpring were ſometimes cut off from ſucceſſion to eſtates, though the mutual conſent of the parents had been given to their marriages.

It was alſo in the power of men and women of the moſt infamous characters to ruin the ſons and daughters of the greateſt families in England, by the frequent opportunies of marrying in the Fleet and other unlicenſed places; which were ſo numerous that marrying was become as much a trade as any mechanical profeſſion. Some ſhocking inſtances of this kind having lately been diſcovered gave occaſion to a bill, which was introduced into the upper houſe, for preventing the practice of clandeſtine marriages, and which, after undergoing ſome ſlight alterations, was ſent down to the commons, where it met with a moſt furious and violent oppoſition, but was at laſt paſſed by a great majority, and in the end received the royal aſſent.

A. D. 1753. Sir Hans Sloan, the famous phyſician and naturaliſt, being dead, his collection of curioſities was offered to the public for twenty thouſand pounds; and which was readily accepted. The library of the late earl of Oxford was purchaſed for half that ſum; and theſe two being joined to the Cottonian and Royal libraries, were converted into the Muſeum, which is now to be ſeen at Montague-houſe, under the direction of its truſtees and governors, who conſiſt of many of the principal perſons in the kingdom. His majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament on the ſeventeenth day of June, with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved, that the ſtate of foreign affairs had received no material alteration ſince their meeting; and that they might depend upon his purſuing the ſame principles and ends, which he had then declared to them: that to preſerve the peace, and conſult the real proſperity of his people, and, at the ſame time, to aſſert and maintain the honour and juſt rights of his crown and kingdoms, were the objects of all his meaſures: that he had nothing to deſire of them, but what he was perſuaded, they wiſhed

for themſelves: that he hoped they would exert their utmoſt endeavours, in their ſeveral counties, to promote the true intereſt and happineſs of his people, to encourage induſtry, to preſerve good order and regularity in the ſtate, and to make his ſubjects ſenſible of the bleſſings they enjoyed; by which means his government would be eſtabliſhed in the moſt peaceable and effectual manner.

An event occurred this year, which marks the prevalence of credulity and party zeal. A young woman whoſe name was Elizabeth Canning pretended to have been forcibly conveyed from Moorfields on the evening of the 1ſt of January to the obſcure manſion of one Wells near Enfield Waſh, a woman ſuſpected of harbouring unfortunate proſtitutes; from whence, after a continuance of twenty-eight days, ſhe made her eſcape without the leaſt violation of her virtue. Notwithſtanding the abſurdity of the pretence, the improbability of the girl's continuance in a place of known infamy, ſo long a time, without the violation of her virtue, and the apparent eaſe with which ſhe might at any time have effected her eſcape, the ſtory operated ſo powerfully on the minds of numbers of people, that they became her ſtrenuous advocates, and raiſed large ſubſcriptions for the proſecution of the ſuppoſed delinquents.

After various depoſitions, and bills of perjury being preferred on both ſides, Canning was found guilty of perjury and tranſported to America.

In the month of April of this year, Dr. Cameron, brother to the famous rebel, Lochiel, having, notwithſtanding his attainder, ventured over to Scotland, in order (as was reported) to reclaim ſome money which had been embezzled by the highlanders, was apprehended, and conducted to London, where the identity of his perſon being proved, he received ſentence of death, which he accordingly ſuffered at Tyburn, and behaved with an aſtoniſhing degree of courage and reſolution.

About this period ſome very alarming inteſtine commotions were produced by the exportation of corn, which had hitherto proved ſo advantageous to the kingdom. A large party of colliers and others of the rabble having aſſembled in a body, made an attack upon the city of Briſtol; and though treated by the magiſtrates with the utmoſt lenity, they began to plunder ſome loaded veſſels that were lying in the harbour, till the citizens were obliged to call to their aſſiſtance a troop of the Scotch grey dragoons, who immediately quelled the inſurgents, a great number of whom were wounded, and ſeveral killed.

Inſurrections of a like nature happened in Yorkſhire, and continued till they were ſuppreſſed by the interference of the military power.

At the meeting of the parliament on the 15th of November, his majeſty, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the events of this year had not made it neceſſary for him to offer any thing in particular to their conſideration, relating to foreign tranſactions: that the public tranquillity, and the ſtate of affairs in Europe, remained on the ſame footing, in which they were at the cloſe of the laſt ſeſſion; and they might be aſſured of his ſteadineſs in purſuing the moſt effectual meaſures to preſerve to his people the bleſſings of peace.

This ſpeech was anſwered by loyal and affectionate addreſſes from both houſes, who proceeded to diſpatch the public buſineſs with an unanimity, which, till this period, had hardly been ever known.

A. D. 1754. No material tranſaction occurred during this preſent ſeſſion, ſo that it may ſuffice to obſerve that on the 6th of April his majeſty, after giving the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills which had paſſed both houſes, prorogued the parliament; ſoon after which it was diſſolved by proclamation, and writs iſſued for calling a new one.

The right honourable Henry Pelham died in the beginning of March, and was ſincerely regretted by his majeſty and the nation in general.

The duke of Newcaſtle, brother to Mr. Pelham, was appointed firſt lord commiſſioner of the treaſury, and was was ſucceeded as ſecretary of ſtate by Sir Thomas Robinſon, who had long reſided as ambaſſador at the court of Vienna. The other department of this office was ſtill retained by the earl of Holderneſs; and the function of chancellor of the exchequer was performed, as uſual, by the lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench, until a proper perſon could be found to ſupply that important poſt; but in the courſe of the ſummer, it was conferred upon Mr. Legge, whoſe good character and great abilities have ſince been univerſally acknowledged.

Sir George Littleton was appointed cofferer, and the earl of Hilſborough comptroller of the houſhold; Mr. George Grenville, brother to earl Temple, became treaſurer of the navy; and Mr. Charles Townſend accepted the place of a lord of admiralty, in the room of lord Barrington, made maſter of the wardrobe. Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, was raiſed to the dignity of an earl. The place of lord chief juſtice of the King's Bench becoming vacant by the death of Sir William Lee, was beſtowed upon Sir Dudley Rider, whoſe office of attorney-general was ſupplied by the honourable William Murray.

The miniſtry carried their elections for the new parliament almoſt univerſally. The ſpirit of oppoſition was now almoſt entirely extinguiſhed; and the words of court and country party, which uſed to produce ſuch terrible effects, had incurred the contempt not only of perſons of ſenſe and underſtanding, but began to be out of faſhion even among the populace.

The new parliament met at Weſtminſter on the 10th of May, and the ſeſſions was opened by the duke of Cumberland and ſome other peers acting by commiſſion from the king. On this occaſion the lord chancellor made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which he obſerved, that his majeſty had given them this opportunity of coming together, in order to compleat, without loſs of time, certain parliamentary proceedings, which he judged would be for the ſatisfaction of his good ſubjects; but he did not think proper to lay before them any points of general buſineſs, reſerving every thing of that nature to the uſual time of their aſſembling in the winter. On the fifth day of June, this ſhort ſeſſion was cloſed, the parliament prorogued to the 8th of Auguſt, and afterwards to the month of November.

The miniſtry, alarmed at the progreſs of the French in America, and convinced from the evaſive anſwers they received from that court, that nothing could be effected by negotiation, ſent peremptory orders to their governors in that country to repel force by force, and drive the French from their ſettlements on the river Ohio, provided they refuſed to retire in a peaceable manner. But before

fore the governors could march their forces over the mountains the French found means to make themſelves maſters of Logs-town, ſurprized the Block and Truck-houſes, where they found ſkins and other commodities to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds; and deſtroyed all the Britiſh traders, except two, who found means to eſcape. At the ſame time, M. de Contrecœur, with a thouſand men and eighteen pieces of cannon, arrived in three hundred canoes from Venango, a fort they had built on the banks of the Ohio, and took by aſſault a Britiſh fort, which the Virginians had erected on the forks of the Monongahela, that emties itſelf into the river Ohio.

A. D. 1755. The king ſent a meſſage to the parliament, on the 27th day of March, by Sir Thomas Robinſon, ſecretary of ſtate, importing, "that his majeſty, finding it requiſite from the preſent ſituation of affairs to augment his forces by ſea and land, and to take ſuch other meaſures as might beſt tend to preſerve the general peace of Europe, and ſecure the juſt rights and poſſeſſions of his crown in America, as well as repel any attempts that might be formed againſt his majeſty and his kingdoms, doubted not but that his faithful commons would enable him to make ſuch augmentations in his forces by ſea and land as the emergency of affairs in ſo critical a juncture might require."

The readineſs of the parliament to aſſiſt his majeſty cauſed ſuch alacrity and diſpatch in every department of the marine, that in a very ſhort ſpace of time there was a powerful fleet at Spithead, well manned and ready to put to ſea.

Accordingly admiral Boſcawen ſet ſail on the 23d of April, with eleven ſhips of the line and ſix frigates, having on board ſix thouſand land forces, to attend the motions of the enemy: but more certain and particular intelligence being brought with regard to the ſtrength of the French fleet, which conſiſted of twenty-one ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and tranſports, with a great quantity of warlike ſtores, and four thouſand regular troops, under the command of Baron Dieſkau, admiral Holborne was detached with ſix ſhips of the line and one frigate, to reinforce Boſcawen; and a great number of capital ſhips were put in commiſſion.

His majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament on the 25th of April, with a ſpeech, in which, among other things, he informed them, that he had religiouſly adhered to the ſtipulations of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and made it his care not to injure or offend any power whatſoever; but that he could never entertain the thought of purchaſing the name of a peace at the expence of ſuffering encroachments upon, or of yielding up what juſtly belonged to Great Britain, either by ancient poſſeſſion or by ſolemn treaties: that the vigour and firmneſs of his parliament, on this important occaſion, had enabled him to be prepared for ſuch events as might happen: that if reaſonable and honourable terms of accommodation could be procured, he would be ſatisfied, and in all events rely on the juſtice of his cauſe, the effectual ſupport of his people, and the protection of Providence. The ſpeech being finiſhed, the lord chancellor, by command of his majeſty, prorogued the parliament.

Affairs on the continent were at this time in ſuch a ſituation, that his majeſty's preſence in Germany was become abſolutely neceſſary: and many people were filled with the moſt terrible apprehenſions, leſt the French ſhould intercept him in his journey, or prevent his return.

The French fleet, commanded by Macnamara, an Iriſh officer, ſailed from Breſt on the 6th of May, directing their courſe towards the gulph of St. Lawrence; but as ſoon as they arrived in a certain latitude, Macnamara returned to Breſt with nine of the capital ſhips, leaving the reſt of the ſquadron to continue their courſe under the command of M. Bois de la Mothe.

On the tenth of June two of the French fleet, the Alcide and Lys, both ſixty four gun ſhips, though the latter had only twenty-two mounted, fell in with the Dunkirk and the Defiance off the banks of Newfoundland, in a very thinck fog. On their firſt appearance, captain Howe, in the Dunkirk coming along ſide of the Alcide, ordered her to ſtrike and come into the Engliſh fleet. The French captain aſked if it was peace or war? but not receiving a ſatisfactory anſwer, he repeated the queſtion, adding, he ſhould obey no orders but thoſe of his admiral. Upon this declaration, Howe poured in a broadſide, and the two ſhips being at cloſe quarters, his ſhot did great execution. He continued his fire with ſuch alacrity, that the Freneh officers, not being able to keep their men to their quarters, ſtruck their colours in leſs than an hour. In the mean time the Lys ſtruck to the Defiance, and in theſe ſhips were ſix hundred ſoldiers with their officers, and fifty thouſand crowns.

This action, however inſignificant when conſidered in its conſequences, animated the whole nation, as it convinced them that the government was reſolved to keep no farther meaſures with the French, but juſtly to repel force by force, and put a ſtop to the proſecution of their ambitious ſchemes in America.

The French miniſtry would willingly have avoided an open rupture till they had accompliſhed their grand ſcheme of eſtabliſhing a communication from the Miſſiſſippi to Canada by a line of forts, many of which they had lately erected, and had deſtroyed one of ours on the Ohio.

The ſucceſs that had attended Boſcawen's fleet was not the only event that proved favourable to Great Britain. The important fort of Beauſejour, now Cumberland fort, ſurrendered to Lieutenant-colonel Monckton by capitulation on the 16th of June, after four days bombardment, and the next day a ſmall fort on the river Gaſpereau followed the example. In the latter was the enemy's principal magazine for ſupplying the French ſoldiers and Indians with proviſions and ſtores. By this ſucceſs colonel Monckton was enabled to diſarm fifteen thouſand neutrals, conſiſting of Acadians and Indians. At the ſame time, captain Rouſe of the Sea-horſe, being ordered with the aſſiſtance of two other frigates, to attack the fort, lately erected by the French at the mouth of St. John's river, the enemy, after ſpiking up their cannon and blowing up their magazines, together with the principal part of their fortifications, abandoned the place on the appearance of the Engliſh.

An expedition had, by his majeſty's command, been concerted between general Lawrence and governor Shirley, againſt the French in Nova Scotia, and was carried into execution by the aſſiſtance of two thouſand of the New England troops. By this means the French were driven from the forts on the frontiers of that province, which for ſome time paſt they had occupied.

Early in the year commodore Keppel ſailed from

Ireland

Ireland with a fleet of men of war and tranſports; having on board a body of land forces under the command of general Braddock, and landed the whole corps ſafely in Virginia. After ſeveral debates in council, it was agreed that in order to preſerve Oſwego, and reduce the French fort at Niagara, Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments ſhould march to the lake Ontario: general Braddock undertook the reduction of fort du Queſne, a French fortreſs on the river Monongahela.

With this view he began his march at the head of two thouſand men, and after many difficulties in his route, arrived at a ſpot called the Little Meadows; where, that he might proceed with greater alacrity, he left colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up the proviſions, ſtores, and heavy baggage, as faſt as the nature of the ſervice would permit; while he himſelf, with the other twelve hundred, together with ten pieces of cannon, and the neceſſary ammunition and proviſions, proſecuted his march with ſo much expedition, that he arrived within ten miles of fort Du Queſne, on the eighth day of July.

When Braddock left his camp in the Little Meadows, he was earneſtly requeſted to proceed with circumſpection, and to employ the friendly Indians in his army by way of advanced guard, in caſe of ambuſcades. But he raſhly continued his march without ſo much as endeavouring to procure the leaſt intelligence of the ſituation and diſpoſition of the enemy, or even taking the neceſſary precaution to ſend out ſcouts to reconnoitre the roads and thickets, which lay in his front and on each ſide of him.

He was advancing with this amazing degree of negligence, when, about noon, he was ſaluted with a general diſcharge upon his front, and all along his left flank, from an enemy ſo concealed among trees and buſhes, that not one of them could poſſibly be diſcovered, and who had artfully given the whole army time to enter the defile before they began to fire. The van guard, diſmayed at being expoſed to three different fires, after one general diſcharge, retreated in the utmoſt confuſion. They were, however, rallied by their officers, many of whom fell as they were exciting them to return to the charge, but all their efforts proved unſucceſsful.

In the mean time the general, who exerted himſelf in a moſt heroic manner, after having five horſes killed under him, was mortally wounded. On his dropping from his horſe, both regiments fled in the utmoſt terror, diſorder, and precipitation, deſerting their officers, who though alone kept their ground, till only five out of ſixty remained, the reſt being either ſlain or wounded.

The enemy now made prize of all the artillery, ammunition and baggage, and likewiſe ſeized the general's cabinet, with all his letters and inſtructions, of which the French court afterwards availed themſelves in the declarations and memorials which they preſented.

The provincials, ſo much deſpiſed by the general, that he always made them march in the rear, however ſtood firm, and continued the engagement on very unequal terms for near three hours, when they were obliged to retire, and that the regulars were not entirely deſtroyed, was wholly owing to their gallant behaviour.

Seven hundred of the Engliſh fell in the engagement, with the greater part of the officers.

While general Braddock was engaged in this fatal expedition, governor Shirley and general Johnſon were employed in their reſpective undertakings. After ſtaying ſome time for the neceſſary ſupplies, Johnſon marched, and encamped in a ſtrong place to wait for his battoes, in order to proceed to the attack of Crown-point. Receiving advice from ſome Indian ſcouts, that two thouſand of the enemy under the command of the baron Dieſkau were on their march to attack Fort Edward, colonel Williams was detached with a thouſand regulars, and a number of Indians to intercept them in their return. On meeting the enemy, who it ſeems had reſolved to ſurprize general Johnſon's camp previous to their attack on Fort Edward, Williams and his party retreated, while the general made the beſt diſpoſition he was able for their reception. The engagement ſoon became general, and the French regulars kept their ground till the inceſſant fire from our artillery put them in ſome diſorder, which our troops perceiving, immediately jumped over the breaſt work and attacked them on all ſides. Between ſeven and eight hundred were killed, thirty taken priſoners, among whom was the baron Dieſkau, and the reſt fled with the utmoſt precipitation. General Johnſon was wounded, but recovering in a ſhort time, a plan for attacking Crown Point was formed; the execution, however, was, from the advanced ſeaſon, deferred till the next year. The brave conduct of general Johnſon was duly rewarded; for his majeſty was pleaſed to create him a baronet, and the commons voted him five thouſand pounds.

But ſuch unaccountable delays attended the expedition of governor Shirley againſt Niagara, that he received orders to return to England and anſwer for his conduct.

During theſe tranſactions the miniſters of the two contending powers were ſecretly employed in forming, or endeavouring to form alliances and intereſts with the different courts of Europe. The emiſſaries of France having long tampered in vain with the Spaniſh court, had recourſe to the princes of Germany; among whom they found means to bring over to their intereſt the elector of Cologne, who agreed to their forming magazines in his territories in Weſtphalia.

In order to obtain ſome conceſſions in their behalf reſpecting the ſtate of affairs in America, the French court promiſed his Britannic majeſty to relinquiſh their deſign upon Hanover; but this propoſal being rejected with diſdain, the count d'Aubeterre, their envoy extraordinary at the court of Vienna, entered into a ſecret negotiation with the miniſters of the empreſs-queen; and gave broad intimations, that if ſhe would ſecond the views of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty, his beſt aſſiſtance againſt the king of Pruſſia ſhould be at her ſervice.

As the French would certainly endeavour to invade Hanover, in caſe of a war between them and England, which ſeemed not only inevitable, but near at hand; it was natural for his majeſty to take the moſt effectual methods to ſecure his poſſeſſions on the continent, by alliances among the princes of Germany.

About this time another treaty with Ruſſia was ſet on foot, but this did not take effect during his majeſty's reſidence at Hanover.

During theſe tranſactions, the Engliſh miniſtry were meditating a ſcheme whereby they might revenge the perfidious conduct of the French. Accordingly having with the utmoſt alacrity prepared a moſt formidable naval force, Sir Edward Hawke ſailed from Portſmouth on the twenty-firſt of July, with eighteen men of war, to watch the return of the

the French fleet from America, which, however, escaped him, and got safe into the harbour of Brest, on the third day of September.

Commodore Frankland sailed from Spithead, on the thirteenth of August, for the West-Indies, with four men of war, furnished with instructions to commit hostilities upon the enemy, as well as to protect our sugar islands from any insults they might offer: orders were issued to all our ships of war to make reprisals upon the French, by seizing their ships wherever they should meet them; and the duke de Mirepoix set out for Paris, without taking leave, on the twenty-second of July.

As a war was now, in some degree, commenced, his majesty thought proper, perhaps for that reason, to return to his British dominions sooner than usual; for he left Hanover on the eighth day of September, and arrived at Kensington on the fifteenth, where the treaty of alliance between him and the empress of Russia, which he had begun during his absence, was concluded on the last day of the same month.

Notwithstanding the late strenuous exertions of government, the naval preparations in England for the approaching rupture were now carried on with more vigour than ever: several new ships were put in commission, and many others taken into the service: the exportation of gun-powder was prohibited: the bounty to seamen was continued; and the number of those that either entered voluntarily, or were pressed, encreased daily, as did likewise the captures from the French, among which was their ship the Esperance, of seventy guns, taken as she was going from Rochfort to Brest to be manned.

On the 13th of November his majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech, in which he informed them, that the most proper measures had been taken to protect our possessions in America, and to recover such parts of them as had been usurped or invaded: that to preserve his people from the calamities of war, as well as prevent a general flame from being lighted up in Europe, he had always been ready to accept of reasonable and honourable terms of accommodation, but that none such had been offered by France: that he had also confined his views and operations to hinder France from making new encroachments, or supporting those already made; to exert his people's right to a satisfaction for hostilities committed in time of profound peace; and to disappoint such designs, as, from various appearances and preparations, there was reason to think were formed against his kingdom and dominions: that he believed no impartial power could object to proceedings so absolutely necessary for the defence and security of his people: that his good brother the king of Spain beheld with concern these differences; and the part which he had taken in the common welfare of Europe made him earnestly wish the preservation of the public tranquillity, and had induced him to give the most solemn assurances of his firm resolution to continue in the same pacific sentiments: that he himself had greatly encreased his naval force, and augmented his army in such a manner, as might be least burthensome to his subjects: and finally, that he had concluded a treaty with the empress of Russia, and another with the land-grave of Hesse Cassel, which should be laid before them.

A few days after the meeting of parliament, Sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state, resigned the seals of his office, which his majesty delivered to Mr. Stephen Fox. Mr. Legge also, at the same time, from a disgust at certain measures, resigned his post as chancellor of the exchequer, which was conferred on Sir George Lyttleton, and the post of secretary at war was given to lord Barrington. Mr. Pitt resigned his employment from the same motive as Mr. Legge, and the earl of Darlington and Mr. Hay were appointed joint pay-masters general in his stead. The privy-seal was given to earl Gower, and the duke of Marlborough was appointed general of the ordnance.

In the mean time the commons were employed in adjusting the supplies for the ensuing year. Fifty thousand seamen, including nine thousand one hundred and thirty-eight marines, were voted, together with two millions six hundred thousand pounds for their maintenance; and thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-three land forces, with nine hundred and thirty thousand six hundred and three pounds, six shillings and nine-pence for their support. An hundred thousand pounds were granted as a subsidy to the empress of Russia: fifty-four thousand one hundred and forty pounds to the land-grave of Hesse-Cassel; and ten thousand to the elector of Bavaria.

In this interval, not only the people of Great Britain, but the whole world, was thrown into the deepest consternation by a dreadful earthquake, which, on the first of November, shook all Spain and Portugal, and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Lisbon almost in ruins.

Providentially the quarter in which the English chiefly lived, and where they had their warehouses, suffered the least of any part of the city; as most of the British merchants then residing there had gone, with their families, to their country houses, to avoid the insults, to which they might have been exposed from the Portuguese populace, during the celebration of their AUTO DA FE, which was to be held the very day on which the earthquake happened.

As soon as the British minister at the court of Lisbon had transmitted to his majesty an account of this melancholy event, he sent a message to both houses of parliament, acquainting them with the particulars, and desiring their concurrence and assistance in speedily relieving the unhappy sufferers; and the parliament thereupon, to the honour of British humanity, unanimously voted, for the use of the distressed subjects of Portugal, a free gift of an hundred thousand pounds.

His Portuguese majesty was so touched with this instance of British generosity, that, as a proof of his gratitude, he ordered Mr. Castres, the English resident at his court, to give the preference, in the distribution of these supplies, to the British subjects, who had suffered by the earthquake. Accordingly, about a thirtieth part of the provisions, and two thousand pounds in money, were set apart for that purpose: and the court of Lisbon returned thanks, in the warmest terms, to the king and people of Great Britain.

A. D. 1756. During these transactions, his Prussian majesty, having received intelligence that a negotiation was carrying on between the courts of Petersburg, Vienna, and Versailles, in order to effect his ruin; he not only publicly and solemnly declared against the introduction of any foreign troops whatever into Germany, but represented the design to his Britannic majesty as equally inimical to their respective interests; in consequence of which the kings of Great Britain and Prussia

entered into a convention to the following import, "that having maturely conſidered, that the differences which had lately ariſen in America, might eaſily extend much farther, and even reach Europe, having, moreover, always the welfare and ſafety of Germany, their common country, much at heart, and being extremely deſirous to maintain its peace and tranquillity; they had, as the moſt effectual means of obtaining the ſalutary end, agreed upon a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themſelves not to ſuffer foreign troops, of any nation whatſoever, to enter into Germany, or paſs through it, during the troubles aforeſaid, and the conſequences that might reſult from them: but to oppoſe the ſame with their utmoſt might, in order to ſecure Germany from the calamities of war, defend her fundamental laws and conſtitutions, and preſerve her peace uninterrupted." Their majeſties likewiſe embraced this favourable opportunity to adjuſt the differences that had ſo long ſubſiſted between them, in relation to the remainder of the Sileſian loan due to the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty, and the indemnification claimed by the ſubjects of his Pruſſian majeſty for their loſſes by ſea during the late war; ſo that the attachment laid on the ſaid debt was agreed to be taken off, as ſoon as the ratifications of this treaty ſhould be exchanged.

On the 27th of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers and cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech, in which he thanked them for the vigorous and effectual ſupport they had given him; and acquainted them, that, from the injuries and hoſtilities, which had been for ſome time committed by the French againſt his dominions and ſubjects, he found himſelf obliged, in vindication of the honour of his crown, and the rights of his people, to declare war in form againſt France: and that he relied on the Divine protection, and the vigorous aſſiſtance of his faithful ſubjects in ſo juſt a cauſe. This ſpeech being finiſhed, the parliament was prorogued by the lord chancellor at his majeſty's command.

Advice ſoon after arrived that the French were employed in equipping a formidable armament at Breſt, and aſſembling a numerous body of forces, together with a large fleet of tranſports, in order to make a deſcent in ſome part of the Britiſh dominions. This report filled the inhabitants with conſternation; though it ſoon appeared the intelligence was void of foundation. The French had, indeed, made uſe of that pretence, while employed in fitting out a ſtrong ſquadron at Toulon; but that armament was deſtined to perform a very different ſervice, for they landed a numerous body of troops in the iſland of Minorca. This invaſion alarmed the Britiſh miniſtry; but inſtead of ſending a force ſufficient to render abortive the deſigns of the enemy, they detached a ſmall ſquadron of ten ſhips of the line to the Mediterranean under the command of admiral Byng. He reached Gibraltar on the ſecond of May, where he found captain Edgecumbe with the princeſs Louiſa, a ſloop, and received intelligence that the French fleet, commanded by M. Galiſſoniere, conſiſting of thirteen ſail of the line and a numerous fleet of tranſports, having fifteen thouſand land forces on board, had ſailed on the tenth of April from Toulon, and made a deſcent on the iſland of Minorca.

Strengthened by captain Edgecumbe, and reinforced from the garriſon of Gibraltar, the admiral ſailed for Minorca on the 8th of May. Captain Hervey in the Phœnix joined him off the iſland, and confirmed the advice he had already received reſpecting the deſtination and force of the Toulon ſquadron. Soon after they ſaw the Engliſh colours flying on the caſtle of St. Philip, and ſeveral bomb batteries playing on the works from various parts of the enemy's camp.

Admiral Byng ſtill continued his courſe in order to relieve the caſtle, till he perceived the French fleet at a conſiderable diſtance to the ſouth-eaſt. Early the next morning both fleets were formed ready for the attack, and about two o'clock admiral Byng threw out a ſignal to bear away two points from the wind and engage the enemy. But the diſtance from the French fleet was ſo great, that rear-admiral Weſt, finding it impoſſible to comply with both orders, bore away with his diviſion ſeven points from the wind, and cloſing with the enemy, attacked them with ſuch impetuoſity, that the ſhips which oppoſed him were ſoon driven out of the line.

In all human probability, the Engliſh fleet would have obtained a complete victory, had Weſt been properly ſeconded by the van; but the other diviſion did not bear down, and the enemy's center keeping their ſtation, admiral Weſt could not improve his advantage, without expoſing himſelf to the danger of ſeeing his communication with the reſt of the line entirely cut off.

The Intrepid, in admiral Byng's diviſion, had, in the beginning of the action, been ſo greatly damaged in her rigging, that ſhe drove on the ſhip that was next in poſition; a circumſtance which obliged ſeveral others to throw all a-back, in order to avoid confuſion, and for ſome time interrupted the action.

Admiral Byng all this time kept aloof, and when his captain, the brave Gardiner, exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he very coolly replied, that he would not fall into the error commited by Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons off Toulon, during the preceding war, had broke the line of battle, and ſingly expoſed himſelf to a fire which he could not ſuſtain, by his own precipitation.

The Britiſh admiral on the preſent occaſion declared againſt acting, except with the line entire; and, on pretence of rectifying the diſorder which had happened among ſome of his ſhips, heſitated ſo long, and kept at ſuch a wary diſtance, that though he received a few ſhots in his hull, he could not be ſaid to be properly engaged during the whole action.

The French commander appeared to be equally inclined to put an end to the engagement; part of his ſquadron had been fairly driven from the line of battle; and though he was rather ſuperior to the Engliſh in number of men and weight of metal, he did not chuſe to try the experiment of a cloſer fight, and edged away with an eaſy ſail to join his van, which had been defeated.

Admiral Byng, hereupon, made the ſignal for purſuing; but the French ſhips, being clean, he could not come up and cloſe them again, ſo that they retired at their leiſure. He then put his ſquadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy, but next morning they were quite out of ſight of the Engliſh fleet.

The number of the killed, including captain Andrews of the Defiance, amounted to forty-two, and about one hundred and ſeventy were wounded. Three of his capital ſhips had ſuffered ſo much in their maſts and rigging, that they could not keep the

the ſea, without the moſt imminent danger of foundering: a great number of his ſeamen were ill; and as there was no veſſel that could be converted into an hoſpital ſhip for the ſick and wounded, it was therefore determined in a council of war to return to Gibraltar.

The news of this tranſaction threw the whole Britiſh nation into a violent ferment, and the miniſtry ſent Sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders to ſupercede the admirals Byng and Weſt in their commands of the Mediterranean ſquadron. The latter met with a very gracious reception from his majeſty, but the former was committed cloſe priſoner to an appartment in Greenwich Hoſpital.

But notwithſtanding this diſappointment of relief, the Engliſh garriſon ſtill defended fort St. Philip, though the French preſſed them on every ſide with the utmoſt vigour. Numbers, however, at length prevailed, and the caſtle was ſurrendered to the French on the ſeventh of July. Not many days after the reduction of Fort St. Philip, admiral Hawke's fleet, augmented with five ſhips of the line, appeared off the iſland of Minorca. But the French ſquadron was returned to Toulon, and Sir Edward had the mortification to ſee the French colours flying on St. Philip's caſtle.

The Britiſh admiral being diſappointed in his hope of encountering la Galiſſoniere, and relieving the Engliſh garriſon of St. Philip's, at leaſt aſſerted the empire of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up their ſquadron in the harbour of Toulon. Underſtanding that the Auſtrian government at Leghorn had detained an Engliſh privateer, and impriſoned the captain, on pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port, he detached two ſhips of war to inſiſt, in a peremptory manner, on the releaſe of the ſhip, effects, crew, and captain: and without even waiting the orders of the court of Vienna, they thought proper to comply with the admiral's demand.

Fortunatus Wright, a native of Liverpool, was the perſon in whoſe behalf the admiral thus effectually interpoſed. Though a ſtranger to a ſea-life, he had, in the laſt war, equipped a privateer, and particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his uncommon vigilance andvalour. While he lay at anchor in the harbour of Leghorn, commander of the St. George privateer of Liverpool, a ſmall ſhip of twelve guns and eighty men, a large French xebeque, mounted with ſixteen cannon, and nearly three times the number of his compliment, with a view to interrupt the Britiſh commerce, took her ſtation within ſight of the harbour.

This inſult was too much for a man of Wright's gallant diſpoſition to endure: notwithſtanding the enemy's ſuperiority in metal and number of men, he weighed anchor, hoiſted his ſails, engaged him within ſight of the ſhore, and after a very obſtinate diſpute, in which the captain, lieutenant, and 60 of the men belonging to the xebeque were killed on the ſpot, he obliged them to ſheer off, and then returned to the harbour in triumph.

In the month of February this year admiral Watſon, in the Eaſt-Indies, totally deſtroyed the fleet of the famous pirate Angria, who had long infeſted thoſe parts. The garriſon of Geriah, which was his rendezvous, ſurrendered; and among the priſoners were Angria's wife and children, and the commander in chief of his grabs. The conquerors found upwards of two hundred guns, ſix braſs mortars, and in money and effects about one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds.

Hawke, having ſcoured the Mediterranean, and inſulted the enemy's coaſts, returned with the homeward bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence, about the latter end of the year, he ſet ſail for England, where war had been declared againſt France, and great preparations made for carrying it on with the utmoſt vigour.

The garriſon of Minorca, under general Blakeney, arrived at Portſmouth in the month of November; and that officer's behaviour was ſo acceptable to his ſovereign, that he was raiſed to the rank of an Iriſh baron.

A memorable, but melancholy event happened this year in the Eaſt-Indies. Surajah Dowla, viceroy of Bengal, having been irritated by ſome tranſactions of the company, inveſted Calcutta, at the head of a numerous army. The garriſon, overpowered by numbers, ſubmitted on promiſe that no perſonal injury ſhould be offered them. But the conqueror, in direct violation of his word, cauſed the garriſon and inhabitants, conſiſting of 146 perſons of both ſexes, to be driven into a place called the Black-hole, being a room of about 18 feet ſquare. Here they were confined during the whole night and totally deprived of the freſh air, by which means no more than twenty-three ſurvived, the reſt having periſhed in the utmoſt agony: among thoſe who eſcaped ſuffocation was Mr. Holwell, deputy-governor, who, with his companions, were ſent priſoners to Muxadabad.

A. D. 1757. After the parliament had enquired into the loſs of Minorca, a court-martial was appointed for the trial of admiral John Byng, which, after examining witneſſes for the crown and priſoner, came to ſeveral reſolutions, importing, on the whole, their opinion, that admiral Byng, during the engagement between the Engliſh and French fleets, did not do his utmoſt endeavours to take, ſeize, and deſtroy the ſhips of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged; nor to aſſiſt ſuch of his majeſty's ſhips as was engaged, which it was his duty to have aſſiſted; and that he did not exert his utmoſt power for the relief of St. Philip's caſtle. They, therefore, unanimouſly agreed, that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament; and as that article preſcribed death, without any alternative left to the diſcretion of the court, adjudged the ſaid admiral to be ſhot to death, at ſuch a time, and on board ſuch a ſhip, as the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty ſhould pleaſe to direct. But as it appeared by the evidence of the officers, who were near the admiral's perſon, that no backwardneſs was diſcernable in him during the action, nor any mark of fear and confuſion, either in his conntenance or in his behaviour; but that he delivered his orders cooly and diſtinctly, without ſeeming under the influence of timidity; and as they had reaſon, from other circumſtances, to believe, that his miſconduct did dot ariſe from cowardice or diſaffection, they recommended him as a proper object of the royal mercy, in the moſt unanimous and earneſt manner. But all application for this end proving ineffectual, he was, purſuant to his ſentence, executed on the 14th of March, on board his majeſty's ſhip the Monarque, in Portſmouth harbour. Juſt before his death he delivered a paper to the marſhal of the admiralty who attended him, in which he declared himſelf, "a victim, deſtined to "divert the indignation of an injured and de-"luded people, from the proper object."

Though the promotion of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge (the former of whom had been appointed

ed by his majeſty one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and the latter chancellor of the exchequer) had given great ſatisfaction to the people, who had the utmoſt reliance on their virtues and abilities; yet the old junto found them very unfit for their purpoſes. Theſe miniſters could neither be perſuaded, cajoled, nor intimidated into meaſures, which they thought repugnant to the true intereſt of their country. They oppoſed, both in council and parliament, every thing which they deemed inconſiſtent with the honour of the crown, and prejudicial to the rights of the people. They nobly maintained, even in office, their independency and candour, and greatly evinced, that he is the beſt miniſter to the ſovereign, who acts with the greateſt probity to the ſubject. Thoſe who immediately ſurrounded the throne were ſuppoſed to have concealed from, or miſrepreſented, the characters of theſe faithful ſervants, to their royal maſter; and to have declared, that with ſuch colleagues it was impoſſible to conduct the machine of ſtate. The deſired effect was at length produced by the frequent repetition of theſe ſuggeſtions.

By his majeſty's command, Mr. Pitt reſigned the ſeals as ſecretary of ſtate, on the ninth of April; and Mr. Legge, the office of chancellor of the exchequer, which was conferred on lord Mansfield. The board of admiralty was changed, and ſeveral other removals made in different parts of the adminiſtration.

The honours conferred upon theſe diſcarded patriots, by the people in general, will tend, equally with their own conduct, to perpetuate their memory. The whole nation ſeemed to riſe up as one man, in vindication of their integrity; and many reſpectable cities and corporations preſented them the freedom of their reſpective ſocieties, incloſed in golden boxes, as teſtimonies of their peculiar veneration.

A great number of addreſſes, dutifully and loyally expreſſed, were preſented to the king to reſtore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Accordingly, his majeſty was pleaſed to deliver the ſeals to the former, on the ninth of June, and in five days, the latter was reſtored to his office of chancellor of the Exchequer. Thus was effected by the importunity of the public, that, upon which the public reſted the ſecurity and honour of the nation, as well as the hopes of a ſpeedy and ſucceſsful iſſue to a war, hitherto attended with diſgraces and misfortunes.

The cuſtody of the great ſeal was delivered to Sir Robert Henley, and the earl Temple was made lord privy ſeal. The duke of Newcaſtle, Mr. Legge, Mr. Nugent, lord Duncannon, and Mr. Grenville, were appointed commiſſioners of the exchequer; lord Anſon, the admirals Boſcawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. Weſt, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, were placed at the board of admiralty; the earl of Thomond was appointed treaſurer of his majeſty's houſhold, and Mr. Fox made pay-maſter of all his majeſty's land forces.

Immediately after the reſtoration of Mr. Pitt and his friends, a deſign was formed for making a deſcent on the coaſt of France, in order to deſtroy the enemy's ſhipping; which would prevent them from ſending any ſuccours to America, and draw part of the French forces from Germany, to the defence of their own coaſt.

Accordingly great expedition was uſed in the fitting out a powerful fleet, and ten regiments were marched to the iſle of Wight. The naval armament, conſiſting of ſixteen ſhips of the line, beſides frigates, fire-ſhips, bomb-ketches, and tranſports, were put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke. Sir John Mordaunt was placed at the head of the land forces, and they were ſtrictly enjoined to act with the ſtricteſt unanimity.

This powerful armament ſailed from Spithead on the eighth day of September, and on the twentieth, the fleet made the iſle of Oleron, when orders were given by Sir Edward Hawke for proceeding to Baſque-road. On the twenty third, the van of the fleet, led by captain Howe, in the Magnanime, ſtood toward the iſle of Aix, ſituated at the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochfort. The fortifications on this iſland were not finiſhed, and the number of cannon and mortars did not exceed thirty-two; the garriſon conſiſted of ſix hundred men, and the whole iſland was about five miles in circumference. In about an hour the fort ſtruck, and ſome forces were landed to take poſſeſſion of the iſland, and demoliſh the fortifications. This conqueſt, though trifling in itſelf, was conſidered by the troops as a happy omen of further advantages. But, inſtead of landing all the troops that night, ſeveral days were ſpent in councils of war, and ſounding the coaſt; by which means the enemy was alarmed, and took ſuch precautions as rendered the deſign wholly abortive. Such was the iſſue of an expedition, which had attracted the notice of all Europe, and thrown the inhabitants of the French coaſt into the utmoſt confuſion. Sir John Mordaunt was afterwards tried by a court-martial, and diſmiſſed the ſervice.

Our affairs in America this year wore but a gloomy aſpect. The enemy kept poſſeſſion of all the lakes, which gave them an opportunity of gaining moſt of the Indians over to their ſide. By the loſs of Oſwego, the whole country of the five nations was abandoned to the mercy of the French general; by the imprudent demolition of the forts we poſſeſſed at the great Carrying place, a paſſage was open to our ſettlements, on the German flats, and along the Mohock's river, which, before the end of the campaign, the enemy deſtroyed by fire and ſword.

The attempt upon Crown Point was, in the interim, laid aſide, and an expedition to Louiſbourgh ſubſtituted in its place. On the ninth of July admiral Holborne, with the ſquadron and tranſports under his command, arrived at Halliſax. Six thouſand men, under the command of lord Loudon, joined the Engliſh forces, which now amounted to twelve thouſand. Several ſmall veſſels were ſent out to diſcover the ſtrength of the enemy at Louiſbourgh, and brought the unwelcome news, that there were at that time in the iſland of Cape-Breton ſix thouſand regular troops, three thouſand militia, together with ſeventeen ſhips of the line, and three frigates ſafe at anchor in the harbour of Louiſbourgh. In conſequence of this information, the expedition was laid aſide, till a more convenient opportunity ſhould offer.

In the mean time lord Loudon's departure gave the French general an opportunity of improving the ſucceſſes of the former campaign. He reduced Fort William Henry, the garriſon of which, notwithſtanding the articles of capitulation, were cruelly uſed by the ſavages, and many of them murdered in a moſt ſhocking manner. The enemy demoliſhed the fort, carried off the effects, proviſions and artillery, together with the veſſels on the lake, and then returned to Montreal, without making

making any further attempts on the frontiers of the Britiſh colonies.

Being now freed from the care of the tranſports, the admiral ſailed for Louiſbourgh with fifteen ſhips of the line, four frigates, and a fire ſhip. On the twentieth of Auguſt, they appeared before the harbour, and ſaw the French admiral making the ſignal to unmoor. Holborne, being greatly inferior in ſtrength to the enemy, did not chuſe to hazard an engagement, and therefore returned to Hallifax; but being reinforced about the middle of September with four ſhips of the line, he again ſailed for Louiſbourgh, with a deſign to draw the enemy to a battle. But La Mothe their admiral was too prudent to hazard an engagement, the loſs of which would inevitably expoſe all the French colonies to the attempts of the Engliſh. The Britiſh ſquadron continued cruizing before the harbour of Louiſbourgh until the twenty-fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible ſtorm. In twelve hours they were driven within two miles of the rocks and breakers on the coaſt of that iſland, when the wind happily ſhifted, and ſaved the whole ſquadron from deſtruction, except the Tilbury, which was loſt upon the rocks, and about half the crew periſhed. Eleven ſhips were diſmaſted, others threw their guns over-board, and the whole returned to England in a very ſhattered condition.

The tranſactions in the Eaſt-Indies in ſome meaſure compenſated for theſe misfortunes. On the thirty-firſt of January, admiral Watſon and colonel Clive appeared with two ſhips before Calcutta, to revenge the cruelties inflicted on their countrymen during the preceding year, and were received by a briſk fire from the batteries. This ſalute was returned ſo warmly, that the enemy's guns were ſoon ſilenced, and in leſs than two hours the place and fort were abandoned. In the mean time, colonel Clive had inveſted the town; and made his attack with ſuch vigour, as greatly contributed to the reduction of the ſettlement. As ſoon as the fort was ſurrendered, captain Coote took poſſeſſion of it with his majeſty's troops, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, with abundance of ammunition, ſtores, and proviſions. Thus the Engliſh, with the loſs of only nine ſeamen and three ſoldiers killed, were re-eſtabliſhed in the two ſtrongeſt fortreſſes on the Ganges.

Not many days after, Hughly, a city of great trade higher up the Ganges, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinite detriment to the Nabob; and his ſtorehouſes of ſalt, and vaſt granaries for the ſupport of his army, were deſtroyed and burned.

The viceroy of Bengal, being provoked at theſe misfortunes, aſſembled an army of ten thouſand horſe and fifteen thouſand foot, determined to exterminate the Engliſh, and take ample vengeance for his late diſgraces. He was ſeen marching by the Engliſh camp, in his way to Calcutta, on the ſecond of February, where he encamped about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately applied to the admiral for a reinforcement; whereupon ſix hundred men under the command of captain Warwick, were immediately draughted from the different ſhips. The colonel drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and attacked them with ſuch intrepidity, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble reſiſtance, with the loſs of a thouſand men killed, wounded, and taken priſoners; alſo four elephants, five hundred horſes, and a very conſiderable number of draught bullocks.

This ſucceſs ſo intimidated the Nabob, that he made ſeveral conceſſions for the honour and advantage of the company, which were ſolemnly ſigned and ſealed with his own hand.

The Engliſh commanders however had too much diſcernment to confide in the promiſes of a barbarian, who ſo perfidiouſly had broken his former engagements; but theſe ſentiments they prudently concealed till they had reinſtated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. The chief object of Clive's attention was the reduction of Chandenagore, a French ſettlement higher up the river than Calcutta, and the moſt important poſſeſſed by them in the bay of Bengal. With this view he began his march at the head of ſeven hundred Europeans, and ſixteen hundred Indians; and on his firſt arrival, took poſſeſſion of all the out-poſts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be ſilenced by the admiral.

The admirals Watſon and Pocock arrived, on the eighteenth of March, within two miles of the French ſettlement, with the Kent, Tyger, and Saliſbury men of war; when they found their paſſage obſtructed by booms laid acroſs the river, and ſeveral veſſels ſunk in the channel. Theſe difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours, while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land ſide, and playing vigorouſly from the batteries he had raiſed. Their united efforts ſoon obliged the enemy to ſubmit, and the place ſurrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham of the Tyger, and colonel Clive, with the king's troops, took poſſeſſion in the afternoon.

The reduction of this fortreſs, in which was a numerous garriſon well ſupplied with proviſions and warlike ſtores, was effected with the loſs of forty men only on the ſide of the conquerors. The goods and money found in the place were conſiderable: but the ruin of the principal ſettlement of the enemy on the Ganges was the chief advantage which accrued from the capture.

The Britiſh commanders, having reduced the Nabob to reaſonable terms, and deſtroyed the power of the French, entered on meaſures to compel the vice-roy to a ſtrict obſervance of the late treaty. Accordingly, a plan was concerted for diveſting him of all his power, and the conſpiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime miniſter and chief commander, who communicated his project to Mr. Watts, ſecond in the council at Calcutta.

The plan having been fully concerted between ſome diſaffected Indians and the council, a detachment was ſent on the nineteenth of June to attack Cutwa fort and and town, ſituated on that branch of the river, forming the iſland of Caſſimbuzar. This place ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons, and the colonel waited three days in expectation of receiving advice from Ali Khan. But being diſappointed of the intelligence he expected, he marched from the fort of Cutwa, paſſed the river on the twenty-ſecond, and the ſame day attacked the army of the vice-roy, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men, with his own forces only, Ali Khan not chuſing as yet to declare his intention openly. The attack was carried on with great vigour, and the enemy,

after a ſhort conteſt, totally routed. The Nabob's camp-baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon, were taken; and thus a ſmall number of men obtained a complete victory over a numerous army.

In purſuit of the advantage he had gained, the colonel marched to Muſcalavat, the capital of the province, where he was joined by Ali Khan and the malecontents. It had been previouſly agreed, that this Indian chief ſhould be inveſted with the dignity of Nabob, and accordingly, colonel Clive proceeded to ſolemnly depoſe Sulajud Dowla, viceroy of Bengal, and ſubſtitute Ali Khan in his room, who was publicly acknowledged by the people as Suba or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orixa. Soon after the Sulajud-Dowla was taken and put to death by his ſucceſſor, who complied with all the conditions which he had ſtipulated before his elevation. He conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the company moſt extraordinary privileges.

By the reduction of Chandenagore, together with this alliance, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal, and its dependencies; the trade of the Engliſh company was reſtored; a new ally was acquired, whoſe intereſt obliged him to remain firm to his engagements: above two millions ſterling were paid to the company, and the ſufferers at Calcutta; beſides a very great variety of other advantages. Thus, in the ſhort ſpace of fourteen days, a remarkable revolution was effected; and the Eaſt India company, with ſome few individuals were enriched to an immenſe amount. Soon after this event, admiral Watſon, who had acquired a ſolid reputation for courage and conduct, fell a ſacrifice to the intemperature of the climate.

During theſe tranſactions in the eaſten world, a treaty was concluded with the king of Pruſſia, who had made himſelf maſter of the electorate of Saxony, and was oppoſed by the forces of the empreſs queen of Hungary, thoſe of the Czarina, and the whole army of France. The latter had taken poſſeſſion of the dutchy of Cleves, and the county of Merk, belonging to his Pruſſian majeſty in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries; and the rendezvous of their troops, under the prince of Soubiſe, was appointed at Neuſs in the electorate of Cologne, where, before the firſt of April, a large body of forces was actually aſſembled.

In order to protect his Britannic majeſty's dominions in Germany, orders were diſpatched to recruit the troops of the electorate of Hanover; to furniſh the magazines with all things neceſſary for fifty thouſand men, under the command of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland, who arrived on the ſixteenth of April, and immediately repaired to the allied army, which having been joined by three Pruſſian regiments, now conſiſted of thirty-ſeven ſquadrons. The duke ſoon after his arrival, removed the camp of the allies to a convenient ſpot of ground between Bielefeldt, and Hervorden, and took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Retberg, where he fixed his head quarters. On the thirteenth of June, having received advice, that the enemy had cauſed a large body of troops to file off on his right to Burghotte, he cauſed his army to march that evening towards Hervorden. The next day he encamped at Cofeldt, and finding the intention of the enemy was either to force him to an engagement, or to repaſs the Weſer, he choſe the latter, and encamped in a very advantageous ſituation, having that river in front, and his right and left covered with eminences and marſhes.

On the eleventh of July the French paſſed the ſame river, and having laid part of the electorate under contribution, encamped on the heights oppoſite the duke of Cumberland's poſt. His royal highneſs reſolved immediately to change his ſituation, and draw up his army on an eminence between the Weſer and the woods, having the river Hamelen on his right, the village of Haſtenbech in his front, and the wood on his left, where he erected a battery of twelve pounders, and haubitzers. Major general Schulenberg was poſted in the corner of the wood upon the left ſide of the battery, with the hunters and two battalions of grenadiers.

The French army advanced in columns, on the twenty-fifth in the morning, and began a very ſevere cannonade, which continued the whole day. The allied army was ordered to lay all night upon their arms, and his royal highneſs cauſed the battery at the end of the wood to be repaired and reinforced by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of major general Hardenberg. A battery was alſo erected behind the village of Haſtenbech, and every precaution taken to give the enemy a warm reception.

A briſk cannonading began, about five in the morning, againſt the battery behind the village, which was defended by the Heſſian infantry and cavalry with great ſteadineſs and reſolution. Between ſeven and eight the firing of the ſmall arms began on the left of the allies, and the French ſeemed to gain ground, upon which his royal highneſs detached the colonels Darenhauſen and Bradenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and ſix ſquadrons round the wood; who in the evening drove ſeveral ſquadrons of the enemy back to their army. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehenſive of being ſurrounded by the enemy, thought it prudent to retire near the leſt of the army, which gave the French an opportunity of poſſeſſing themſelves of that battery without oppoſition. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick, however, putting himſelf at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttle guards, repulſed a ſuperior force of the enemy, and retook the battery. But the French being by this time in poſſeſſion of a height which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, which attack they could ſupport under cover of a hill, and his royal highneſs finding he could not diſlodge them, without expoſing his troops to imminent danger, he ordered a retreat to Hamelen, which was effected without the leaſt moleſtation from the enemy. The loſs of the allies were three hundred and twenty-ſeven men killed and miſſing, and nine hundred and ſeven wounded; while that of the French amounted to fifteen hundred, according to their own account.

The electorate of Hanover, and territories of Heſſe Caſſel, were now taken poſſeſſion of by the French. On the firſt of September his royal highneſs retired under the cannon of Stade, where it was imagined his army would have been able to have maintained their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the ſeverity of the ſeaſon would have put an end to the campaign; but the French, having made themſelves maſters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, whereby they could have cut off his communication with the Elbe, his royal highneſs was in a manner compelled to ſign the convention of Cloſter Seven, by which thirty eight thouſand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were diſperſed into different quarters of cantonment.

The

31 JAN

Engraved for Raymond's History of England.

The ACTION near CAPE FRANCOIS on the 21st of Octr 1757 between his Majesty's Ships the Augusta, Dreadnought, & Edinburgh, under the Command of Captn Forrest, and seven French Men of War, when the latter where defeated, and obligd to sheer off in a shattered condition.

The courts both of London and Verſailles diſapproved of this convention. The former ſaw the electorate of Hanover left in the entire power of the enemy, and the latter was perſuaded that the terms granted by their general to the Hanoverian forces were too favorable, for which cauſes they refuſed to acknowledge the validity of the convention, except thoſe troops would formally engage that, during the preſent war, they would not ſerve againſt France.

The king of England, in quality of elector of Brunſwick and Lunenburg then publiſhed a declaration; in which he explained the motives which influenced his conduct, and induced him once more to have recourſe to arms.

The duke of Cumberland having reſigned the command of the electoral army, it was conferred on prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who about the latter end of the month of November put the troops in motion, and overtaking a body of two thouſand men, which formed the enemy's rear, attacked and totally routed them. Another action alſo happened upon the river Aller, between two conſiderable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians remained maſters of the field. Theſe advantages put the allies in poſſeſſion of Lunenburg, Zell, and part of the Brunſwick dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon, but not before they had committed the moſt terrible outrages; burning and deſtroying all the villages and farm houſes that fell in their way. They reduced the ſuburbs of Zell to aſhes, and cruelly ſet fire to the orphan-houſe, by which means many of the poor innocents periſhed in the flames.

The ſeverity of the ſeaſon preventing prince Ferdinand from purſuing his operations, he retreated to Ultzen and Lunenburgh, where his army was put into winter quarters.

During the courſe of the year, conſiderable ſucceſs attended the Engliſh cruizers. The Duc d'Aquitaine, a large ſhip of fifty guns, was taken in the month of June; and about the ſame time, the Aquilon, of nearly the ſame force, was driven aſhore and deſtroyed near Breſt. The Emerald, a French frigate of twenty-ſix guns, was taken by captain Gilchriſt; and a noble emulation to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice of their country, appeared among the ſea officers in general.

Very conſiderable ſucceſs alſo attended their operations in the Weſt Indies. Captain Forreſt, in the Auguſta, ſailed from Port Royal in the month of October, accompanied by the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruize off Cape François, and performed his orders in the face of a French ſquadron, lately arrived at that place from the coaſt of Africa. The commander, piqued at being thus braved by an inferior armament, reſolved to come out of the harbour, and give them battle, or at leaſt expel them from thoſe ſeas, that the merchant ſhips, then laying at the Cape, might have a free paſſage to Europe. Accordingly, having reinforced his ſquadron with ſeveral ſtore ſhips, armed for the occaſion, he ſailed out of the harbour, and at ſeven in the morning the Dreadnought made a ſignal for ſeeing the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of ſeven large ſhips, a ſchooner, and a pilot boat. Captain Forreſt then hove out the ſignal for a line of battle a-head, and ſhortened ſail to let the enemy come up. At noon he perceived that the French fleet conſiſted of four large ſhips and three large frigates, on which he made a ſignal for the captains of the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, who readily agreed, to engage the enemy. Accordingly, they bore down upon the French; the action began with great fury, and continued for two hours and a half, when the French commodore made a ſignal for one of the frigates to tow him out of the line, and his example was ſpeedily followed by the reſt of his ſhips.

The Engliſh were in no condition to purſue the enemy, having ſuffered very conſiderably in their maſts, ſails and rigging. The French loſt above five hundred men in the action; while the Engliſh had only twenty-three killed, and eighty-nine wounded. Soon after, captain Forreſt, by a well conducted ſcheme, took a fleet of merchantmen, conſiſting of nine ſail, and carried them to Jamaica, where they were ſold for the benefit of the captors.

But to return to the domeſtic of affairs of England. On the 21ſt of December the parliament met at Weſtminſter, when his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he declared, "that it would have afforded him the higheſt ſatisfaction, to inform them at the beginning of the ſeſſion, that his ſucceſs in the proſecution, had been equal to the juſtice of his cauſe in the undertaking of the war. He expreſſed the moſt confident reliance on the ſpirit and bravery of his commanders, who, by the bleſſing of God, he hoped, would fruſtrate the attempts of his enemies, and aſſert the rights of his crown. He aſſured them of his determined reſolution, to exert his utmoſt efforts for the ſecurity of his kingdom, and for the recovery and protection of his juſt poſſeſſions in America, and elſewhere. He ſignified his ſincere concern for the preſervation of the proteſtant religion and the liberties of Europe; and his reſolution, on that account, to encourage and adhere to his allies. He obſerved, that the late ſucceſs in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was their duty to improve; and reminded them, that at ſuch a critical juncture the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He ardently recommended to them ſuch ſupport for his good brother and ally, the king of Pruſſia, as his valour, as well as zeal, for the common cauſe, would be found to merit."

A. D. 1758. The buſineſs of this ſeſſion was not diſpatched till the month of June, when his majeſty being indiſpoſed, the parliament was prorogued by the lord's commiſſioners.

Admiral Boſcawen ſailed, in the month of February, from St. Helen's with a fleet deſtined for making vigorous efforts againſt the enemy in North America; and ſoon after Sir Edward Hawke ſteered into the bay of Biſcay, with another ſquadron, in order to intercept any ſupplies from France, deſigned for Cape Breton, or Canada.

Commodore Holmes, about this time, made himſelf maſter of the town of Embden, belonging to his Pruſſian majeſty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy during the laſt campaign.

On the 28th of March admiral Oſborne cruizing off Carthagena on the coaſt of Spain fell in with a ſquadron of the enemy commanded by the marquis du Queſne, conſiſting of four ſhips; the Foudrayant of eighty guns, the Orpheé of ſixty-four, the Oriflamme of fifty, and the Pleiade, a frigate of twenty-four, on their paſſage from Toulon, to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for ſome time been blocked up by admiral Oſborne, in the bay of Carthagena. The enemy, immediately on deſcrying the Engliſh ſquadron, diſperſed, and

ſteered

steered different courses; upon which, the English admiral detached several ships in pursuit of each, while he himself, with the principal part of his fleet, stood into the bay of Carthagena, to watch the motions of the enemy in that port. Captain Storr, in the Revenge, came up with the Orpheé, about seven in the evening, and took her after a very smart engagement. The Foudroyant, one of the largest ships in the French navy, was engaged by the Monmouth of sixty-four guns, commanded by the brave captain Gardiner, who lost his life in the action; but the fight was continued by his lieutenant, Mr. Carkett, until the Foudroyant was obliged to strike. The frigate made her escape, and the Oriflamme was driven on shore.

In the beginning of April Sir Edward Hawke discovered a French fleet consisting of five ships of the line, six frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provisions, for their settlements in North America, lying at anchor off the island of Aix. As soon as the French saw the English fleet standing for them, they slipped cable, and fled with the utmost precipitation. Some of them escaped to sea, but the greater number ran into shoal water, where they could not be followed, and by throwing overboard their guns, stores and ballast, got into the river Charente. Their loading, however, was lost, and the design of their equipment wholly frustrated; while the conquests of the English, in North America were, by these means greatly facilitated.

But the general joy that arose from these successes was damped by the unfortunate loss of his majesty's ship Prince George of 90 guns, commanded by rear admiral Broderick, which took fire at sea, on the 30th of April, and was entirely consumed. Near five hundred of the crew perished on this melancholy occasion, but the admiral, captain, four lieutenants, purser, chaplain, master, two lieutenants of marines, boatswain, three passengers, fourteen petty officers, and about two hundred and thirty men were saved.

The scheme for a descent on France was now renewed: two powerful squadrons were accordingly equipped, the one, consisting of eleven sail of the line, commanded by lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke; the other, composed of four sail of the line, two fire ships, two bombs, twenty tenders, ten store ships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of commodore Howe. On board the latter was embarked a body of forces, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light horse, and six thousand marines, under the command of the duke of Marlborough. The troops, which had been for some time encamped in the Isle of Wight, were embarked the latter end of May, and on the first of June sailed from St. Helen's for the coast of Britany; the squadron commanded by lord Anson, standing to the westward, and the other steering right athwart the channel.

They had hardly left the English coast, when the weather became very tempestuous, and a little before midnight the commodore made a signal for the fleet to lay too, lest they should run on the French shore, before break of day. It continued to blow a strong gale all night, so that they could not make sail again till six the next morning. About eight they saw Cape la Hogue, whither they directed their course, but being retarded by the strong tide against them, did not reach the island till evening, when the whole fleet came to an anchor in the channel.

Early the next morning they got under sail and stood directly for St. Malo. On the fourth, about five in the afternoon, being entirely becalmed, they came within a league of the place. They weighed next morning before day-break, and stood along the coast, till they entered the bay of Cancalle, where they intended to disembark their forces. About eight o'clock the commodore made a signal for the ships with the grenadiers on board to make sail, and about four in the afternoon the whole fleet came to an anchor, except three or four frigates which stood on towards a battery, that might impede the landing of the forces. Ten companies of grenadiers, under the command of general Mostyn, were now in the flat bottomed boats, waiting for the signal to put off. The battery on shore fired at the frigates as they advanced but was soon silenced; and the grenadiers landed just before sunset, without any other opposition, than a few shot fired from behind a windmill by some peasants, who fled at the appearance of a serjeant and twelve men; as seven companies of foot and three troops of dragoons had done before, on perceiving the English begin to advance towards the shore.

The grenadiers were no sooner drawn up on the beach, than lord Downe, at the head of twenty men, marched through a very narrow pass up to the village, where they were met by the marquis of Landal, intendant of the coast, and one of his servants. Lord Downe assured him, that if he would surrender, he had nothing to fear; but he foolishly refused quarter, and was shot dead on the spot, together with his servant and two horses.

After taking possession of the village of Cancalle, the grenadiers lay all night on their arms. The next day the disembarkation was effected, and the troops encamped at Cancalle. The day following, as soon as it was light, the whole army, except the third brigade, struck their tents, and began to march in two columns. The first column consisting of the brigade of guards, two battalions of grenadiers, and the first brigade, commanded by lieutenant general lord George Sackville, marched from the left till they fell into the great road leading to St. Malo. The second column, consisting of the second and fourth brigades, commanded by the earl of Ancram, marched also from the left through a country wholly enclosed, and a road so remarkably narrow, that two hundred pioneers, who marched at the head of the division, were frequently obliged to continue their rout in single files. At the same time the hedges on each side the road so intercepted their view, that they could seldom see above forty yards clear of their flanks. They found the villages through which they passed entirely deserted by the inhabitants, and the houses stripped of every thing they could possibly carry away. The march was conducted with great ardour and without beat of drum; but though the distance was no more than six miles, it was late in the evening before they reached their ground. The general officers then reconnoitred the situation of St. Malo, and ordered the ground to be marked out at the distance of something more than a mile from the town. Parties of light horse were immediately detached to different quarters of the country to scour the road and make discoveries. One of these detachments perceived a large bason behind the town, into which all the shipping belonging to the port, was collected, and hid from the sight of our fleet

by a prodigious large ſtore-houſe built in the form of a rotunda near the rope walk. Information of this diſcovery being given to the duke of Marlborough, he ſent all the horſemen with a foot ſoldier mounted behind each of them, with hand granades and matches, who, through covert of the night, marched under their cannon to the walls of the harbour, where they found a large fleet, conſiſting of men of war, privateers and merchant-men, to which they applied their combuſtibles, and then proceeded to communicate the flames to the magazines of pitch, tar, ropes, &c. all which in the ſpace of a few hours exhibited a ſhocking ſcene of conflagration. The ſhips were all aground, ſo that not one of them could be moved, by which means two men of war, one of fifty, the other of thirty guns, thirty-three privateers from thirty to eighteen guns each, and above ſeventy ſail of merchant-men, together with a prodigious quantity of naval ſtores, were totally deſtroyed.

The duke of Marlborough expecting a ſally from the town, ordered the ſecond brigade to march in ſupport of the piquets, about eleven o'clock at night; and the whole deſign was accompliſhed without the leaſt attempt from the enemy, though it was known, that a conſiderable body of troops had the preceding day thrown themſelves into the town from the other ſide of the river. The ſhipping continued to burn during the whole night, and as the army had landed with proviſions only for two days, foraging parties were ſent out the next morning.

During the encampment of the army near St. Malo, one of the battalions of guards marched under the command of colonel Cæſar, twelve miles up the country, to a town called Doll, where they were politely entertained by the magiſtrates; and as their deſign was only to reconnoitre the country, they continued one night in the town without committing the leaſt act of hoſtility, and then returned to their camp. Part of the light horſe advancing ſtill farther, fell in with the vedelle of a French camp, two of whom they took, and brought priſoners to the Engliſh camp, after a long purſuit.

By this time it was evident that the town of St. Malo was too well fortified to admit of any hope of ſucceſs, all thoughts of inveſting it were therefore laid aſide, and the general having received repeated advices that the enemy were buſily employed in aſſembling forces to attack his camp, he returned to Cancalle, where commodore Howe had made ſuch a maſterly diſpoſition of the boats and tranſports, that the troops were re-embarked with great eaſe and expedition. The ſoldiers, while they remained on ſhore, were reſtrained from all outrages by the moſt ſevere diſcipline, and they even left unpillaged thoſe houſes which the French inhabitants had abandoned.

As ſoon as the troops were all embarked the fleet left Cancalle bay, and, after encountering the fury of a tempeſtuous ſea for near a fortnight, came to an anchor near Cherburgh, and on the 1ſt of July arrived in the road of St. Helen's. The ſoldiers were landed on the Iſle of Wight, and a conſiderable part of them ſent, under the command of the duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville, to reinforce the allied army in Germany.

All proper preparations having been made, and the forces again re-embarked, the fleet ſailed from St. Helen's on the 1ſt of Auguſt, and after a tedious paſſage anchored on the ſeventh before Cherburg. The French, expecting the viſit, had thrown up an intrenchment from the fort de Ecourdeville, ſituated about two miles to the weſtward of Cherburg, along the coaſt for the ſpace of four miles, and fortified it with ſeveral batteries at proper diſtances. Behind this intrenchment a body of horſe and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the landing of the Britiſh forces was not attended with much danger. At firſt a bomb-ketch was ſent to anchor near the town, and throw a few ſhells into the place, as a feint to amuſe the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the ſpot where they intended to land, which was near a league to the weſtward of Querqueville, the weſternmoſt fort in the bay. The other bomb-ketches, being poſted along ſhore, galled the intrenchments conſiderably, not only by throwing ſhells, but loading their mortars with balls, which being thrown a great diſtance, and ſcattering as they flew, did great execution. While theſe ketches kept an inceſſant fire on the trenches, the grenadiers and guards landed without oppoſition, and formed on the beach, having a natural breaſt-work in their front. On the left the ground was interſected with hedges, and from this quarter the enemy advanced in good order. The Britiſh troops, as ſoon as they perceived their approach, quitted the breaſt-work in order to meet them, and a random fire began; but the French edging to the left, took poſſeſſion of the hill, from whence they and the advanced poſts of the Engliſh exchanged a few ſtraggling ſhot.

During this ſkirmiſh the reſt of the infantry were diſembarked, and the enemy took advantage of the night to retire. General Bligh, who now commanded the Britiſh forces, encamped at the village of Erville, and the next morning marched towards Cherburgh. An advanced party took poſſeſſion of Fort Querqueville, which the enemy had abandoned, together with the lines and batteries along the ſhore.

When the Britiſh forces reached Cherburgh, they found the place entirely deſerted by the enemy, and the gates being open, entered it without the leaſt oppoſition; while the inhabitants, encouraged by a manifeſto, containing a promiſe of protection, chearfully entertained them. This place was remarkable for a curious baſon built at an immenſe expence, which, if the whole plan had been compleated, would have formed one of the fineſt ports in the known world. Such was the curioſity of this port, when the Engliſh became maſters of it; and which, with conſiderable labour and difficulty, was totally deſtroyed.

During the time that the engineers employed themſelves in demoliſhing the works, the light horſe ſcoured the country, and detachments were every day ſent out towards Walloign, at the diſtance of four leagues from Cherburgh, where the enemy was encamped, and every hour received reinforcements. Several ſkirmiſhes enſued between the advanced parties of each army, and in one of theſe captain Lindſay, a gallant young officer, who had been very aſſiduous in training the light horſe, was mortally wounded.

The baſon, harbour, and ſluice of Cherburgh, being deſtroyed, together with all the enemy's forts and artillery in the neighbourhood, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, the forces marched down to the beach, and re-embarked at Fort-Galet, without the leaſt annoyance.

The next day the fleet ſailed for the coaſt of England, and anchored in Weymouth-road, under the high-land of Portland. In two days they

again got under ſail, and ſtood to the ſouthward; but contrary winds obliged them to return to the ſame ſtation. The ſecond effort was more effectual; they reached the French coaſt, and arrived in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the weſtward of St. Malo, upon which it was determined to make another attempt. The ſloops and ketches being poſted along ſhore to cover the landing, the troops were diſembarked on an open beach, and a ſmall party detached to the harbour of St. Briac above the town of St. Malo, where they deſtroyed ſome ſmall veſſels; but St. Malo itſelf being carefully reconnoitered appeared to be impregnable either by land forces or ſhipping, ſo that the deſign againſt it was laid aſide. The general, unwilling to embark without attempting ſome ſtep for the further annoyance of the enemy, reſolved to penetrate into the country, regulating his motions, however, by thoſe of the fleet, which, by this time, had quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride in ſafety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the weſtward.

On the 8th of September the army began its march to St. Guildo, which they reached in the evening, and the next day continuing their route, they encamped in the open ground about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was immediately reconnoitered for re-embarkation, the general having received certain intelligence that the duke d'Aiquillon had advanced from Breſt to Lambale, within ſix miles of the Engliſh camp at the head of twelve regular battalions, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon."

Had our troops decamped in the night in ſilence, they might poſſibly have reached the beach before the enemy had received the leaſt notice of their deſign; but inſtead of this cautious method of proceeding, the generale was beat about two in the morning, which could not fail of alarming the French. Before three the troops were all in motion, and met with ſeveral little ſkirmiſhes on their march; but no conſiderable body of the enemy appeared till the embarkation was begun, when a battery of ſix pieces of cannon was opened, near a windmill, from which they maintained a cloſe fire on the troops while embarking. At noon the enemy opened a battery of cohorns, behind the hedge, on the right of the mill; but the ſhips and ketches kept ſo inceſſant a fire upon it, that they threw only two ſhells among the troops, which did ſome damage.

By this time the greater part of our troops were embarked, but the rear-guard conſiſting of all the grenadiers, and half of the firſt regiment of guards amounting to about twelve hundred men, remained on the ſhore under command of major-general Drury, to cover the battalions while embarking. On the enemy's advancing that officer ordered his troops to form, and march from behind the banks that covered them in order to attack them before they could form on the plain. At the firſt onſet the French gave way, but continual ſuccours of the enemy arriving, they, in their turn, repelled the Engliſh. General Drury was now too late convinced of his error; for the ſecond diviſion could not get over the breaſt-work time enough to ſuccour the firſt, which was entirely broken, and with great difficulty got back. The enemy having now got poſſeſſion of the dyke, kept a continal fire upon the grenadiers, and the general ſeeing that a retreat was the only remedy, ordered the whole body immediately to wheel to the right, and make to the boats as faſt as poſſible. Some embarked, but a battery which the French had erected on the middle of the hill, played ſo furiouſly, that many of the boats were beat to pieces. The enemy ſeeing no retreat left to the grenadiers, mounted the dyke, and by a vaſt ſuperiority of numbers, drove thoſe that remained into the ſea, where the greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, or drowned. During the laſt attack, the fire from the ſhips was rendered ineffectual, becauſe the Engliſh would have ſuffered equally with the French. General Drury was ſhot in the breaſt, but by the help of a grenadier, he ſtripped off his cloaths, and plunged into the water, where he periſhed, which was likewiſe the fate of a conſiderable number of officers as well as ſoldiers.

Our loſs amounted to about one thouſand men, among whom was Sir John Armitage, a volunteer. After the action was over, ſeveral polite meſſages paſſed between the reſpective commanders in chief with mutual aſſurances that the wounded ſhould be attended to with the utmoſt care and humanity. Commodore Howe then ſailed for the coaſt of England, and arriving at Spithead on the 18th of September, the forces were diſembarked.

The miniſtry having reſolved for a conſiderable time to attack the French ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, the deſign was this year carried into execution. The plan was concerted by Mr. Cumming, a quaker, a man of acute penetration, and happy invention. This perſon, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to that part of the coaſt, obſerved the extenſive trade carried on by the French, and even contracted a perſonal acquaintance with Amir, the mooriſh king of Legibelli; in whoſe dominions the moſt important branches of trade are carried on. The French, beſides other articles of commerce, were in poſſeſſion of the whole gum trade, a great quantity of which is uſed in the manufactures of Great-Britain, and which could only be procured at an exorbitant price from the Dutch, who had taken care to purchaſe the whole from the French.

It was evident to Mr. Cumming, that though the gum trade was of the utmoſt importance, yet it was not the only article that could be purchaſed here to advantage, as the country abounded with gold duſt, elephants teeth, hides, cotton, oſtrich feathers, bees-wax, indigo, ambergreaſe, and civet. He farther obſerved, that Amir, the African prince, entertained a favourable opinion of the Engliſh, and a deſire of trading with them; and was ſo exaſperated againſt the French, that he declared his moſt ardent deſire of their extermination from the river Senegal; adding, that he could wiſh the king of England would ſend an armament to reduce Fort Louis and the iſland of Goree, promiſing to join the Britiſh forces, and grant the Engliſh merchants an excluſive trade.

Mr. Cumming on his return to England informed the government of the great advantages which would accrue to the nation from ſuch an attempt. It was, however, little noticed at that time; but at length the principal difficulties being overcome, a ſmall ſquadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of captain Marſh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by major Maſon, with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eight mortars, and a conſiderable quantity of warlike ſtores and ammunition. Captain Walker

Walker was appointed engineer, and Mr. Cumming was concerned as chief director and promoter of the expedition.

About the beginning of March this little armament ſailed from St. Helen's, and in their paſſage touched at the iſland of Teneriff, and while the ſhips were taking in their wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan ſloop to Portenderrick, charged with a letter of credence to the king of that country, who had, in his laſt viſit, favoured him with an excluſive trade on that coaſt, by a formal charter written in the Arabic language. But on his arrival, he unfortunately found the prince had engaged in a new war with a neighbouring nation, and that he was heading his army at a very conſiderable diſtance from his capital. One of the chiefs, however, diſpatched a meſſenger to the king, with advice of their arrival and deſign; declaring, at the ſame time, that he would uſe the utmoſt expedition in aſſembling three hundred warriors to join the Engliſh troops, and that he was perſuaded the king would reinforce them by a detachment from his army.

Captain Marſh with the reſt of the armament had now arrived at Portenderrick, and without waiting for the Indian forces, which were not yet ready, they ſailed again on the 22d of April, and the next day at four in the afternoon diſcovered the French flag flying at Fourt Louis. The Britiſh commander came to an anchor in Senegal road, after taking a large Dutch ſhip, loaded with gum, and ſoon perceived that the French had placed ſeveral armed ſloops at the mouth of the river to diſpute the paſſage of the bar, which is very dangerous.

The Engliſh, however, without loſing any time, prepared for landing, and employed all the boats in the fleet to carry the ſtores on board the ſmall craft; though the enemy's armed veſſels kept firing on them, over a narrow track of land. The neceſſary preparations being made, the veſſels weighed anchor in order to paſs the bar; and the wind, which generally blows down the river, veering about, captain Millar in the London buſs, ſeized the opportunity, and paſſing the bar, dropped anchor on the inſide, where he lay all night expoſed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other veſſels, when a regular engagement enſued, which was warmly maintained on both ſides, till the buſſes and one dogger running aground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. This misfortune obliged the troops to take to their boats; and notwithſtanding the difficulties that ſurrounded them, they reached the ſhore, where they were formed in a body and ſoon after joined by their companions from the other veſſels; the whole now amounting to three hundred and ninety marines, beſides the detachment of artillery. As they expected to be attacked by the natives, who lined the ſhore at ſome diſtance, they threw up an intrenchment, and as great part of their ſtores lay under water, they began to diſembark them immediately.

Having, on the following day, obtained a conſiderable re-inforcement of ſeamen from the ſhips, their intention was to make an immediate attack on Fort Louis; but this deſign was prevented by the arrival of two French deputies at the entrenchments with propoſals from the governor for a capitulation. A ſhort time having paſſed in deliberation, it was agreed, that all the white people belonging to the French company of Senegal ſhould be ſafely conducted to France in an Engliſh veſſel, without being deprived of their effects; that all the merchandize and uncoined treaſure ſhould be delivered up to the victors; that all the forts, ſtore-houſes, veſſels, arms, proviſions, and every article belonging to the company in that river, ſhould be put into the hands of the Engliſh immediately after the capitulation ſhould be ſigned; that the free natives living at Fort Louis ſhould remain in quiet poſſeſſion of their effects, and in the free exerciſe of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themſelves free, ſhould be at their option, either to retire to any diſtant part of the country, or to remain in the place.

The captains Campbell and Walker were immediately ſent up the river with a flag of truce, to ſee the articles ſigned and executed. Having rowed towards a battery, on a point of the iſland, they lay upon their oars near an hour, beating the chamade; but not the leaſt notice was taken of their approach.

Being at a loſs to account for this ſtrange conduct, they returned to their intrenchment, where they learned that the negroes on the iſland were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort Louis, reſolving to defend the place to the laſt extremity, unleſs they were included in the capitulation. This intelligence was alſo communicated to the governor, who, at the ſame time, informed the Engliſh commander, that unleſs the French director-general ſhould be permitted to remain with the natives, as a ſecurity for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would ſuffer themſelves to be cut to pieces rather than ſubmit.

This requeſt was chearfully granted by the Engliſh, who directly began their march for Fort Louis, accompanied by a number of long-boats, in which the artillery and ſtores had been embarked. As ſoon as the French ſaw them advancing, they ſtruck their flag, and major Maſon took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, where he found ninety-two pieces of cannon, with much treaſure and merchandize. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal readily ſubmitted, and ſwore allegiance to his Britannic majeſty: the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous retinues, viſited the commander, and concluded treaties with the Engliſh, and the king of Legibelli ſent an ambaſſador from his camp to major Maſon, with aſſurances of his friendſhip, compliments of congratulation, and preſents.

About three thouſand free negroes and mullatoes were ſettled at Senegal, many of whom enjoyed poſſeſſions of their own. Thus without loſing a ſingle man, Great-Britain obtained a conqueſt, from which, with proper management, ſhe might derive conſiderable wealth.

Having left an Engliſh garriſon at Fort Louis, and placed a ſufficient number of armed boats to ſecure the paſſage of the bar, the large ſhips proceeded to make an attempt upon the iſland of Goree, thirty leagues diſtant from Senegal, where the French company had conſiderable magazines.

This expedition, however, for want of a ſufficient force, miſcarried. But the miniſtry being ſenſible that the Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa could never be ſecure while the French kept poſſeſſion of this iſland, they fitted out a ſquadron, the command of which was given to commodore Keppel. This ſquadron, which conſiſted of the Torbay, Fougueux, Naſſau, Prince Edward, and Dunkirk, ſeveral frigates, two bomb-

ketches

ketches. and ſome tranſports, having ſeven hundred regular troops on board, ſailed from Cork, on the eleventh of November. After a very tempeſtuous paſſage, they arrived at Goree, on the twenty-eighth of December, when the commodore immediately made a diſpoſition for attacking the iſland.

All the flat bottomed boats were ſent on board the tranſports, for diſembarking the land forces; accordingly they were, to the number of ſix hundred men, in their reſpective boats in the ſpace of five hours, during which the ſhips of war finiſhed all their preparations.

As it was thought adviſeable to attack the iſland on the weſt-ſide, orders were given that one of the bombs ſhould go down firſt, and that the Prince Edward, to cover her from the fire of the enemy, ſhould anchor a-breaſt of a ſmall battery, a little below the citadel, on the north. Captain Sayer, in the Naſſau, was ordered to lead the line of battle on the right, anchoring a-breaſt of St. Peter's battery, of five guns. The Dunkirk followed in the order, and was to bring up a-breaſt of a battery, a little to the northward of the former. The commodore followed in the Torbay, taking for his part the weſt point battery of five guns, with the weſtern corner of St. Francis's fort, of four guns of a ſmaller ſize. Captain Knight, in the Fougeux, having the ſecond ſtation on the left, bringing up the rear, with directions at the ſame time to cover the other bombs, on his ſtarboard quarter, had allotted to his ſhare the mortar battery of eight guns, ſo called from two large mortars, which are covered by the battery.

As ſoon as the fire ſhip had dropped her anchor from her ſtern, ſhe was to hoiſt a pendant at her mizen, to acquaint the next ſhip that ſhe had brought up; thus the ſecond was to acquaint the third; and ſo on to the reſt. Particular orders were likewiſe given not to fire a gun, until each had his ſhip a-breaſt of his ſtation, and was moored both head and ſtern. On the captain's departure, the commodore's laſt orders were, to get on board their ſhips, and lead on as faſt as they poſſibly could.

The Prince Edward, with the Fire Drake bomb, bore down towards the iſland about nine o'clock, and in ten minutes after the action began, by throwing a ſhell from the bomb. In a moment the enemy returned the fire from both forts and batteries; and with their ſecond ſhot carried away the Prince Edward's enſign ſtaff, and ſet fire to an arm-cheſt, which, blowing up, killed one of the marines.

The gallant and intrepid behaviour of the Prince Edward was witneſſed by the whole ſquadron. The commodore ſaw, with concern, the Naſſau tedious in getting under ſail; but as there could be no reaſon to ſuſpect an officer of captain Sayer's approved valour, imagining that a foul cable might occaſion the delay, he turned his thoughts to other matters, which might poſſibly further the proſecution of the deſign. Obſerving that the Fire Drake over-charged her mortars, all her ſhells falling far beyond the iſland to the ſouth, he ſent his boat on board the Furnace bomb, with this meſſage. "That, as they ſaw the error of the other, in "over-charging the mortars, they would avoid "that extreme: and that, as the enemy ſeemed "bent upon ſinking the Prince Edward, and the "Fire Drake, he deſired they would, at the diſ-"tance they then were, begin the fire; and en-"deavour, as much as poſſible, to draw part of "the enemy's attention from their ſuffering "friends." The orders were immediately obeyed, ſhe bore down cloſe under the Fougueux's ſtern, and getting upon the larboard quarter, began her fire.

As the wind began to fall, both the Torbay and Fougueux were greatly hindered in bearing down; another misfortune alſo attended the commander of the Furnace bomb; for, endeavouring to come under the Torbay's ſtern, he ran athwart the Fougueux's lee bow, which cauſed a ſecond delay; but her aſſiſtance was not indiſpenſably requiſite, as the fire of the Torbay alone was ſufficient to have razed the very foundation of the iſland itſelf.

The line of battle ſhips now poured in their broadſides without intermiſſion, and their fire was returned with equal ſpirit from all the batteries of the iſland. At length the cannonading from the ſhips became ſo ſevere and terrible, that the French ſoldiers fled from their quarters in ſpite of all the efforts of the governor, who endeavoured to keep them to their duty, which obliged him at length to ſtrike his colours and ſurrender at diſcretion. The commodore then ſent a detachment of marines on ſhore, who diſarmed the garriſon, and hoiſted the Britiſh flag on the caſtle of St. Michael. Two trading veſſels that happened to be at anchor in the road likewiſe fell into the hands of the victors, with ſtores, money, and merchandize to the amount of twenty thouſand pounds. This important conqueſt coſt the Engliſh only one hundred men killed and wounded. Commodore Keppel having left a garriſon at Goree, and reinforced that of Senegal, returned with his ſquadron to England.

During theſe tranſactions, events of much greater importance happened in America, where, excluſive of the fleet and marines, the government had aſſembled about fifty thouſand men. Lord Loudon having returned to England, the chief command devolved on major-general Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three bodies under three diſtinct commanders. Twelve thouſand were deſtined for an attack on Cape Breton, under the command of major general Amherſt: ſixteen thouſand were reſerved under the direction of the general himſelf, for the reduction of Crown Point; and eight thouſand were allotted for the conqueſt of Fort du Queſne, under the command of brigadier general Forbes.

General Amherſt, on the twenty-eighth of May, embarked his troops at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, and ſailed for Louiſbourgh with an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by admiral Boſcawen; the whole fleet conſiſting of one hundred and fifty-ſeven ſail. On the ſecond of June, they anchored in Gabarus-bay, about ſeven miles to the weſtward of Louiſbourg. The garriſon of this place conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, under the command of the chevalier Drucour, who had taken every precaution in his power to prevent the Britiſh forces from landing on the iſland; having for this purpoſe erected a chain of forts, extending two leagues and a half along the moſt acceſſable parts of the beach. Batteries were alſo erected, and entrenchments thrown up, and the mouth of the harbour was guarded by ſix ſhips of the line and five frigates, three of which were ſunk at the haven's mouth in order to render the paſſage impaſſable to our fleet.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſpoſitions our troops, amidſt

amidſt innumerable difficulties, made good their landing on the 8th of June under the command of the gallant brigadier general Wolfe, after which the ſiege was carried on with ſuch vigour and reſolution, that the French governor, finding it impoſſible to withſtand the fury of the aſſault, thought proper to capitulate, by which he and his garriſon became priſoners of war.

The Echo frigate, which had made its eſcape out of the harbour, was taken by the Engliſh cruizers, and from the officers of this ſhip the admiral learned that the Bizarre, another frigate, accompanied by the Cornete, had ſailed from Louiſbourg the very day the troops were landed. The Enterprenant, Capricieux, and Celebre, all ſhips of the line, were ſet on fire by the ſhells, and burned to aſhes; ſo that the Prudent and Bienfaiſant only remained in the harbour; and theſe the admiral undertook to deſtroy. Accordingly, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-ſixth of July, the boats of the ſquadron, divided into two detachments, were ſent into the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Lafore and Belfour. They executed their orders through a terrible diſcharge of cannon and muſquetry, and boarded the enemy ſword in hand. The Prudent, being a-ground, was ſet on fire and deſtroyed; and the ſailors towed the Bienfaiſant out of the harbour in triumph.

In conſequence of the capitulation of the governor of Louiſbourg, major Farquhar took poſſeſſion of the weſtern gate, and brigadier Whitmore was detached to diſarm the garriſon, and poſt the neceſſary guards at the entrances of the magazines and on the ramparts.

Thus, at the expence of four hundred men killed and wounded, the Engliſh obtained poſſeſſion of the important iſland of Cape Breton, and the ſtrong town of Louiſbourg, in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, together with a large quantity of ſtores and ammunition. The merchants and inhabitants were ſent to France in Engliſh ſhips; but the garriſon, ſea officers, marines, and ſeamen, were tranſported to England.

All things being properly ſettled at Cape Breton, ſeveral ſhips were detached, with a body of forces commanded by lieutenant colonel lord Rollo, to take poſſeſſion of the iſland of St. John, a ſmall but fertile place in the gulph of St. Lawrence. The inhabitants made no oppoſition, but readily brought in their arms and ſurrendered. At the governor's quarters, lord Rollo found ſeveral ſcalps of Engliſhmen, whom the ſavages had butchered, in conſequence of the encouragement given them for ſuch inhuman proceedings, by their French patrons and allies. This iſland abounded in grain, was well ſtocked with cattle, and contained about four thouſand inhabitants.

During theſe tranſactions, general Abercrombie inveſted Ticonderoga, a fort ſituated on the point of land between lake George and a narrow gut, communicating with lake Champlain. Our troops marched up to the attack with the utmoſt intrepidity, and ſuſtained a moſt terrible fire from the enemy's cannon; till the general finding them ſo well covered and ſo impregnably fortified, took ſuch meaſures for ſecuring a retreat, that his army retired to their former camp, with the loſs of about eighteen hundred men, including many officers. Brigadier general Forbes was more fortunate in his attempt on fort du Queſne, which having reduced, he called Fort Pitſburg.

The whole kingdom was filled with exultation on the valuable conqueſts of the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John; and eleven pair of colours taken at Louiſbourg were, by his majeſty's order, carried in a pompous parade, eſcorted by a party of horſe, and foot guards, with kettle drums and trumpets, from Kenſington palace to the cathedral of St. Paul, where they were depoſited as trophies, under a diſcharge of cannon, and other expreſſions of triumph and exultation.

The moſt important tranſactions in the Weſt-Indies were the protection of our commerce, and two gallant feats performed by captain Tyrrel, who, in the Buckingham, aſſiſted by the Cambridge, demoliſhed a ſmall fort in Grand Ana bay in the iſland of Martinico, and took four privateers, one of which he converted into a tender, and deſtroyed the other three.

When the fort was demoliſhed, the men, fluſhed with victory, warmly ſolicited leave to deſtroy a village ſituated near it; but their valiant commander replied, "Gentlemen, it is beneath us to "render a number of poor people miſerable by "deſtroying their habitations; brave Engliſhmen "ſcorn to diſtreſs even their enemies, when not in "arms againſt them." This ſpeech, which redounds to the honour of humanity, had the deſired effect on the brave tars, in conſequence of which the dwellings of the poor inoffenſive villagers were ſaved from deſtruction.

Some months after this, captain Tyrrel, being detached in the Buckingham on a cruize, diſcovered a fleet of nineteen ſail between the iſlands of Montſerrat and Guadaloupe, under the convoy of a French man of war called the Floriſſant, and two frigates. The brave Tyrrel, undiſmayed by their ſtrength and number, immediately gave chace with all the ſail he could carry. The enemy were prepared to receive him; but after a ſhort engagement became intimidated by his briſk fire, which ſoon diſabled the two frigates, and preſſed hard on the Floriſſant, that now made ſail in order to eſcape; but Tyrrel prevented her deſign by getting within piſtol ſhot, and pouring into her a whole broadſide, which did great execution.

The ſalutation was returned with equal courage, and a moſt furious engagement enſued: captain Tyrrel received a wound in his face and loſt three fingers of his right hand, which obliged him to leave the command of his ſhip to his firſt lieutenant, who continued the action with great bravery until he loſt his life; the charge then deſcended to the ſecond lieutenant, who behaved with equal intrepidity, and maintained a moſt deſperate engagement. At length, the fire of the Floriſſant ceaſed, and ſhe ſtruck her colours. At this time, the ſea ran ſo high, and the Buckingham was in ſo ſhattered a condition, that they could not immediately board the enemy; which being perceived by the commander, he ſpread all the ſail he could, and made his eſcape. But though the gallant Tyrrel was diſappointed of his prize, the action will ever be remembered with honour. The Buckingham had twenty men killed and wounded; but the Floriſſant had above one hundred and eighty killed, and three hundred wounded; ſhe was alſo greatly diſabled in her hull.

The war in the Eaſt-Indies was, in the interim, carried on with vigour, though not always with ſucceſs. Vice admiral Pocock, being joined by commodore Stephens in Madraſs road with the reinforcements from England, ſailed on the twen-

ty-ſeventh of March with the Yarmouth, Elizabeth, Tyger, Weymouth, Cumberland, Newcaſtle, Saliſbury, Queenborough, and Protector ſtore-ſhip, in order to get to windward of St. David's, to intercept the French ſquadron, which he had reaſon to expect.

He diſcovered ſeven ſhips, on the twenty-ninth in the morning, in St. David's road, getting under ſail, and two cruizing in the offing, formed the line of battle a-head. The admiral judged it neceſſary to form his line of battle alſo; and as ſoon as his ſhips had got into their ſtation, bore down upon M. d'Arché, but was obliged to make the ſignals for the Newcaſtle and Weymouth, obſerving that they did not bear away at the ſame time.

Although the enemy fired upon the Engliſh while they were going down, the admiral did not make the ſignal to engage, till he was within half muſquet ſhot of the Zodiaque, M. d'Aché's ſhip, which was about three o'clock in the afternoon. A few minutes after he made the ſignal for a cloſer engagement, which was immediately complied with by thoſe of the van. At half an hour paſt four, obſerving the rear of the French line had drawn up pretty cloſe to the Zodiaque, the admiral made the Cumberland, Newcaſtle, and Weymouth ſignals to make up and engage cloſe. After maintaining a warm fight for about two hours, the French commander bore away with his whole fleet, and then being reinforced with two ſhips formed the line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pocock's own ſhip and three others being greatly diſabled in their maſts and rigging, he did not think it prudent to purſue them with all the ſail he could carry; but followed at ſuch a diſtance, that he might renew the action the next morning. In this, however, he was diſappointed, for the enemy ſhewed no lights nor made any ſignals that could be obſerved, and in the morning not one of them was to be ſeen. The admiral, therefore, concluding they had weathered him in the night, by being able to carry more ſail, continued his endeavours to work up after them until ſix in the morning of the firſt of May, when finding he loſt ground conſiderably, he came to an anchor about three leagues to the northward of Madraſs.

M. Lally now landed his troops at Pondicherry, and taking the field, immediately laid ſiege to Fort St. David, while the French ſhips blocked it up by ſea. The Engliſh ſhips being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains ſeeing no poſſibility of eſcaping, ran them on ſhore, ſet them on fire, and retired with their men into the fort, which was obliged, however, to ſurrender after a few days ſiege.

Having repaired the moſt material damages of his ſhips, admiral Pocock put to ſea the tenth of May, with an intent to get up to fort St. David, but was not able to effect it. He got ſight of Pondicherry on the thirtieth, and the next morning the French ſquadron ſtood out of the road, and got away, notwithſtanding the admiral's utmoſt endeavours to come up with them. On the ſixth of June, upon receiving an account that fort St. David had ſurrendered to the French, he judged it prudent to return immediately to Madraſs, in order to take in proper refreſhments.

On the twenty fifth day of July the admiral again ſailed in queſt of the enemy, and on the twenty-ſeventh in the evening got within three leagues of Pondicherry road, where he perceived their ſquadron at anchor, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line and a frigate. They got under ſail the next morning and ſtood to the ſouthward. The admiral made the ſignal to chace, and endeavoured to weather them, as the moſt probable means of bringing them to action, which, however, he was not able to accompliſh till the third of Auguſt, when taking the advantage of the ſea breeze, he got the weather gage, and brought on the engagement about one o'clock. M. d'Aché ſet his foreſail, and bore away in about ten minutes, his ſquadron following his example, and continuing a running fight in a very irregular manner till three o'clock. The admiral then made the ſignal for a general chace; upon which the French cut away their boats, and made all the ſail they could: he purſued them till it was dark, when they eſcaped by out-ſailing him, and got into Pondicherry road. The admiral anchored with his ſquadron off a French ſettlement called Carrical, on the ſame evening.

In this action the loſs of men, on the part of the Engliſh, was only thirty-one killed, and one hundred and ſixteen wounded; among the latter of whom were commodore Stephens, and captain Martin. The number of killed and wounded on board the enemy's ſquadron amounted to five hundred and forty, and their ſhips were ſo much ſhattered during the engagement, that the commander ſailed for the iſlands of Bourbon in order to refit.

The company's ſhip the Pitt, arrived at Madraſs on the fourteenth of September, with colonel Draper on board, and a detachment of his regiment.

The French army made a motion, on the twelfth of December, towards Choultry plain, and were cannonaded by the Engliſh, who killed about forty of them, without ſuſtaining any loſs on their ſide. They marched in three diviſions, one directly towards the Engliſh, one towards Egmore, and the other down St. Thome road. The colonels Lawrence and Draper, fearing this laſt might get poſſeſſion of the iſland bridge, retired to the iſland, ſoon after which, part came into the garriſon, and part took poſſeſſion of the poſts in the Black Town. The ſame morning the French hoiſted their flag at Egmore and St. Thome. The thirteenth every thing was quiet, not a gun firing on either ſide. The fourteenth in the morning the enemy marched their whole force to attack the Black Town. Our ſmall parties retreated into the garriſon, and about an hour after a grand ſally was made, commanded by colonel Draper. The regiment of Lorrain was ſurprized, and a very hot action enſued. Colonel Draper acquitted himſelf with amazing valour, and, if he had been vigorouſly ſuſtained, would have foiled the enemy conſiderably. Another attempt was afterwards made upon the town, but the enemy was obliged to retire, and even abandon the undertaking.

During theſe tranſactions in America and the Eaſt Indies, the campaign in Germany was carried on with the utmoſt vigour on both ſides. About the cloſe of the laſt year, a farmer of the revenues had arrived at Hanover from Paris, in order to receive the revenues of that electorate, together with thoſe of all the other countries which ſhould be reduced by the armies of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. At the ſame time, a decree was publiſhed at Paris, by which it appeared, that the court of Verſailles had determined to change the govern-

ment and ſyſtem of the electorate, contrary to an expreſs article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it ſurrendered.

The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, alarmed at theſe proceedings, ſolicited a treaty with the French king whereby the former was injoined not to act directly or indirectly againſt his moſt Chriſtian majeſty; and, in conſequence of this treaty, the latter was to afford him the moſt ſpeedy and effectual ſupport, in caſe any of his property or eſtates ſhould at any time be attacked.

The landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, was not the only power that acted with ſuch puſillanimity. The duke of Brunſwick, though ſtill more nearly connected with his Britannic majeſty, in order to detach himſelf from the deſperate fortune of Hanover, concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, ten days after the former convention was ſigned.

Prince Ferdinand, brother to the duke who was now inveſted with the command of the Hanoverian army, heard of this treaty with great concern, and determined to fruſtrate the expectations of the French king. He had received orders to reſume the operations of war againſt the enemy, and thought proper to retain the troops of Brunſwick, and alſo his nephew, the hereditary prince, notwithſtanding the treaty ſigned by the duke, who wrote an expoſtulatory letter to prince Ferdinand, complaining of his having ſeduced his troops, decoyed his ſon, and diſgraced his family. He peremptorily demanded the return of his troops, and threatened, in caſe of refuſal, to apply more effectual methods. But prince Ferdinand adhered to his purpoſe: he detained both the troops and hereditary prince, who, being fond of the ſervice, ſoon ſignalized himſelf for his valour and military proweſs.

A virulent memorial was now publiſhed by the court of Verſailles againſt his Britannic majeſty, on the violation of the treaty ſigned at Cloſter-Seven; but an anſwer ſoon appeared, which refuted every article of the charge, and fully juſtified the conduct of his Britannic majeſty in the moſt ample manner.

About the middle of February, prince Ferdinand, being joined by a body of Pruſſian horſe, under the command of the prince of Holſtein Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen. The enemy were ſoon diſlodged from Rottenburg, Otterſburg, and Verden, and abandoned the city of Bremen, on the approach of the Hanoverian army.

The duke de Richlieu had, in the interim, been recalled, and the count de Clermont now commanded the French forces. Perceiving it would be impoſſible for him, with the wretched remnant of the French army, to oppoſe prince Ferdinand in the field, with ſucceſs, or even maintain the footing his predeceſſor had gained, he retreated as the allies advanced, with ſuch precipitation, as frequently to leave the greater part of his artillery and baggage behind him, and ſometimes even his ſick men.

The two grand diviſions of the French army, which were quartered at Zell and Hanover, finding themſelves obliged to abandon thoſe places, retired to Hamelen, leaving a conſiderable detachment under count Chabot, at Hoya, a ſtrong fort upon the Weſer, and a place of ſuch importance, that prince Ferdinand determined to drive the enemy from it. The hereditary prince of Brunſwick was appointed to this ſervice, with four battalions of foot, and a detachment of light horſe. The prince with part of his detachment croſſed the Weſer at Bremen, while the reſt advanced on this ſide the river. The engagement was vigorouſly ſupported on both ſides, till the enemy being attacked in front and rear, were thrown into the utmoſt confuſion.

The count de Chabot threw himſelf, with two battalions, into the caſtle, ſeemingly determined to defend the place to the laſt extremity, but ſoon after capitulated, by which his garriſon marched out with all the honours of war; but their cannon, ſtores, and ammunition, were ſurrendered to the conqueror. The prince had about an hundred men killed and wounded, but took ſix hundred and ſeventeen priſoners. By this action a place of the utmoſt importance, and which opened a paſſage over the Weſer, was ſecured to the Hanoverian army.

The hereditary prince, on his return from Hoya, inveſted Minden, which was defended by a garriſon of four thouſand men, who, in nine days, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. About the ſame time ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the advanced parties of the Hanoverian and French armies, but always to the advantage of the former; the latter, ſurrounded with difficulties and diſtreſs, marched in three columns towards the Rhine.

Prince Ferdinand, finding it impoſſible to prevent the French from paſſing the Rhine, cantoned the allied army in the biſhopric of Munſter, but did not remain long inactive. About the latter end of May, he ordered a detachment to paſs the Rhine at Duyſburgh, under the command of colonel Scheither, who executed his orders without loſs of time, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon.

The whole army paſſed the Rhine on the ſeventh of June, on a bridge conſtructed for that purpoſe, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained ſeveral other advantages over the enemy.

In order to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the allies, the count de Clermont took poſſeſſion of an advantageous camp, near Rhinefeldt, which he fortified with a ſtrong entrenchment, and determined to wait for reinforcements at that place.

The court of France, equally mortified and alarmed at the ill ſucceſs of their arms in Germany, reſolved, if poſſible, to retrieve their loſſes. Accordingly, they aſſembled a body of forces at Hanover, under the command of the prince de Soubiſe, with orders to penetrate into Bohemia. A conſiderable re-inforcement was ſent to the count de Clermont, who then quitted his ſtrong camp, and retired to Nuys, whence he detached a conſiderable corps, under the command of the count de St. Germain, to take poſt at Crevelt, ſituated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs. Prince Ferdinand, having taken the moſt prudent precautions for attacking the enemy, marched at the head of the grenadiers, to the valley of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, who, after a few diſcharges of muſquetry, retired to their camp, and gave the alarm. On the 23d of June, about one o'clock in the afternoon, the action began with a ſevere cannonading on the part of the allies, which, though well ſupported, did not drive the French from their cover; he therefore determined to diſlodge them, by a cloſe attack of the infantry. The hereditary

reditary prince advanced with the whole front, and an obſtinate action enſued. In the mean time, the cavalry on the right attempted in vain to penetrate through the wood on the other ſide, where the enemy had raiſed two batteries, which were ſuſtained by forty ſquadrons of horſe.

The action was continued in this manner till five in the afternoon, when the grenadiers, collecting all their ſtrength, forced the intrenchments in the wood, which were lined with the French infantry. Theſe giving way, abandoned the wood in the utmoſt diſorder; but the purſuit was checked by the conduct and reſolution of the enemy's cavalry, which maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys, notwithſtanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, and the vigorous attacks of the Hanoverian horſe, who had, by this time, found means to regain the plain. The ſucceſs of the day was, in a great meaſure, owing to the artillery on the left and in the center, which did great execution, while prince Ferdinand proſecuted his attack on the other quarter.

Seven thouſand of the French troops were killed, wounded, or taken priſoners in this battle, and ſeveral ſtandards, colours, and pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the allies, who loſt about fifteen hundred men.

This victory, though far from being deciſive, obliged the French to ſeek refuge under the cannon of Cologn, without being able to take one ſtep for the relief of Duſſeldopp, which prince Ferdinand immediately inveſted, and in a few days reduced the garriſon, being allowed to march out with all the honours of war on condition of not ſerving againſt the allies during the ſpace of four years.

The count de Clermont reſigning his command, was ſucceeded by Monſieur de Contades, and the army was conſiderably reinforced. This general determined to attack prince Ferdinand, and made ſome motions in conſequence of that reſolution; but was prevented in his purſuit by the little river Erff, behind which the prince reſolved to continue quiet, till he ſhould be joined by a body of Britiſh troops under the command of the duke of Marlborough; the firſt diviſion of which had juſt landed at Embden. He was perſuaded that the prince of Yſenburgh, who commanded the Heſſian troops, would be able for ſome time to find ſufficient employ for Soubiſe, who lately marched from Hanau, with a deſign to penetrate into the landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel; but his van-guard had been ſurprized and cut to pieces by the militia of the country. This circumſtance induced prince Ferdinand to hope that the operations of the enemy would be retarded, until he himſelf, with the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh troops, ſhould be in a condition for paſſing the Maeſe, and transferring the ſeat of war into the enemy's country.

But when he had marched as far as Ruremond upon the Maeſe, in proſecution of this deſign, an account arrived which diſconcerted all his meaſures. The duke de Broglio, at the head of a very powerful corps had been detached from the prince of Soubiſe's army, defeated the prince of Yſenburgh, at Sangerhauſen, on the twenty-third of July; and the enemy, in conſequence of this advantage, became maſters of the Weſer, by which a free paſſage into Weſtphalia was opened to them.

This intelligence entirely fruſtrated Prince Ferdinand's plan, and left him no alternative, but a battle or a retreat acroſs the Rhine. A long ſuceſſion of heavy rains, which had broke up the roads, and rendered the country impaſſable, increaſed his difficulties. Having offered the enemy battle, which they thought proper to decline, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for repaſſing the Rhine. This hazardous undertaking was executed by the hereditary prince of Brunſwic, who, on finding the enemy had drawn up the bridge, ruſhed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, when they drove the French away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the paſſage of the army to Rhinebergen.

In conſequence of the misfortunes which attended the allied army, Monſieur de Chevert, one of the moſt able commanders in the French army, formed a plan, which, if it had ſucceeded, muſt have greatly embarraſſed the ſituation of prince Ferdinand. Chevert had projected a ſcheme for diſlodging baron Imhoff, who was poſted on the right of the Rhine; burning the bridge at Rhees, making himſelf maſter of the magazine, and preventing the junction of the Britiſh and Hanoverian forces.

The Hanoverian general was no ſooner acquainted with M. Chevert's intention, than he did every thing in his power to defeat it. Intelligence being brought him of the enemy's approach, he reſolved to quit his poſt and meet them; when perceiving they were marching through very difficult ground, he did not loſe a moment in beginning the action. He ordered a ſmall party, poſted in a little coppice, to fall upon the enemy's left, which he perceived to be uncovered; and appointed the fire of this party, as a ſignal for the reſt to advance, and begin the attack with fixed bayonets. The French being attacked in ſo vigorous and unexpected a manner, were thrown into confuſion, and in leſs than half an hour fled from the field of battle, leaving eleven pieces of cannon, and all their baggage, to the Hanoverians, who took three hundred and fifty-four priſoners, and drove them under the cannon of Weſel. This advantage was gained with a very inconſiderable loſs on the part of the allies, but the enemy had a great number of men killed and wounded.

Prince Ferdinand made an attempt to paſs the Rhine at Rhinebergen ſoon after this action; but the river had overflowed its banks to ſuch a degree, that here, as well as at the Rhees, the ſhore was inacceſſible. He, therefore, found it neceſſary to march further down the river, and lay a bridge at Griethuyzen. The enemy had prepared four veſſels for the demolition of this bridge, but before they could carry their deſigns into execution, they were all taken, and on the 10th of Auguſt the whole army paſſed without loſs or interruption.

Prince Ferdinand now retired into Weſtphalia, and fixed his head quarters at Munſter; while Contades encamped near Ham, upon the Lippe, and extended his troops in ſuch a manner, as to command the whole courſe of the Rhine on both ſides. The campaign was ſo far advanced before the Britiſh troops joined the army, that they had no opportunity of ſignalizing themſelves in the field. The effects of a long and tedious march, however, was felt by them in general, and proved fatal to their commander, the duke of Marlborough, who died at Munſter of a dyſentry, univerſally regretted.

In the interim the French miniſtry had recourſe to various arts, to elude the vigilance of the Engliſh cruizers, in order to tranſport to their colony of Canada a ſupply of troops, artillery, ammunition, and

and other military ſtores. While the convoys were getting ready for ſailing in one port, they aſſembled tranſports in another, to divert the attention of the Engliſh from the real object of theſe preparations. They ventured out in boiſterous weather, when the Britiſh cruizers could not block up their harbours, and choſe to ſail for the relief of their American ſettlements, in ſtorms and tempeſts.

They had alſo recourſe to various ſchemes, in order to elude the Britiſh ſquadrons ſtationed at Halifax, or cruizing on the banks of Newfoundland, or in the gulph of St. Lawrence. They ſometimes ventured to navigate the river before it was clear of the ice, and while the Engliſh ſquadron continued in the harbours of Nova Scotia; ſometimes they waited on the coaſt of Newfoundland for ſuch thick fogs, as might conceal them from the Britiſh cruizers, and ſometimes penetrated through the moſt dangerous paſſages, in hopes of taking prizes from the enemy.

The invaſion of Great Britain, which had ſo long engaged the thoughts of the French, began now to appear impracticable even in their own opinion. They, therefore, laid up their large ſhips of war, which, in this reduced ſtate of their navy, could not but be uſeleſs, and encouraged the fitting out of ſtout privateers, which greatly annoyed the commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, by cruizing in the ſeas of Europe and America. Some of them lay cloſe in the harbours of the channel facing the coaſt of England, and darted out occaſionally on the Engliſh trading ſhips, as they received intelligence from boats employed for that purpoſe. Some took up their ſtation in the north ſea, where a great number of captures were made on the coaſt of Scotland, and others cruized in the chops of the channel, and to the weſtward of Ireland. But the greater number infeſted the ſeas in the neighbourhood of the Leeward iſlands in the Weſt Indies, where they made a prodigious number of captures, and conveyed them to their own ſettlements in that part of the world.

Many veſſels were taken this year belonging to the Dutch, who had, for ſome time, carried on a very conſiderable trade, not only by availing themſelves of their neutrality, but ſupplying the French with naval ſtores, and tranſporting the produce of their ſugar colonies, as conveyances hired by the proprietors. The Engliſh government, juſtly incenſed at this unfair commerce, iſſued orders for their cruizers to ſtop all neutral ſhips that ſhould have French property on board, and theſe orders were punctually executed. A great number of Dutch ſhips were taken and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Jamaica. Theſe proceedings irritated the Dutch merchants to ſuch a degree, that they preſented a memorial to the ſtates, expreſſing their deſign of reſenting this proceeding, and offering to join, at their own expence, in order to protect their trade: but the princeſs of Orange prevented matters from coming to a dangerous extremity, by the exertion of all her power and influence with the ſtates-general.

On the twenty-third of November, the time for which the parliament had been prorogued, the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion, his majeſty being indiſpoſed; when the lord keeper told them, that his majeſty had directed the lords of the commiſſion to aſſure his parliament, of his having always received the higheſt ſatisfaction in being able to lay before them any events that tended to promote the honour and intereſt of his kingdom; that in conſequence of their advice, and enabled by their aſſiſtance, his majeſty had exerted his endeavours to proſecute the war with vigour, in order to obtain a ſafe and honourable peace; that the conqueſts of the ſtrong fort of Louiſbourgh, with the iſlands of Cape Breton and St. John, the demolition of Fort Frontenac, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail of bringing great diſtreſs on the French commerce and colonies, and that Great Britain muſt, in proportion thereto, reap conſiderable advantages.

He obſerved that France had been convinced, that while her forces were ſent out to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coaſts were not inacceſſible to his majeſty's fleets and armies: a truth which ſhe had experienced in the demolition of Cherburg. He told them, that in Germany his majeſty's good brother the king of Pruſſia, and prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, had wholly engaged the attention of the armies of France and her confederates; that their ſucceſſes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his majeſty's troops, and thoſe of the allies, had been as glorious as they were ſignal.

His lordſhip farther ſaid, that he had it in command from his majeſty, to declare, that the common cauſe of liberty and independency was ſtill making glorious efforts againſt the unnatural union formed to oppreſs it; that the commerce of his ſubjects, the ſource of national riches had, by the care and vigilance of the officers of his majeſty's fleet, flouriſhed in a manner not to be equalled at ſuch a time. In this ſtate of things the king thought it unneceſſary to uſe many words to perſuade them to bear up againſt all difficulties, effectually to defend his majeſty, and vigorouſly to ſupport the king of Pruſſia and the reſt of the allies, in order to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He obſerved to the houſe of commons, that the uncommon extent of this war had unavoidably incurred uncommon expences, and that his majeſty ſincerely lamented the burden of his people; that the ſeveral eſtimates were ordered to be laid before them, and that he deſired only ſuch ſupplies as were requiſite to proſecute the war with advantage, and adequate to the neceſſary ſervices. In the laſt place he aſſured them, that the king took ſo much ſatisfaction in that harmony which ſubſiſted among his faithful ſubjects, that it was more proper for him to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortations to it; that this union was more eſpecially neceſſary in the preſent critical juncture, and his majeſty doubted not, but the good effects the nation had found from it would effectually induce them to purſue it.

Addreſſes from both houſes were preſented to his majeſty, filled with expreſſions of their ſteady zeal and unſhaken loyalty to his majeſty's perſon and government. They congratulated him on the ſucceſs of his arms, and promiſed to ſupport his meaſures and thoſe of his allies with the utmoſt alacrity, fidelity and zeal.

A. D. 1759. Encouraged by this approbation of their conduct, the miniſtry reſolved to proſecute the war in every quarter with the utmoſt vigour, and the commons voted a ſupply of near thirteen millions. The navy was augmented and repaired, a proclamation was iſſued, offering a conſiderable bounty to all ſeamen, and able landmen, who ſhould, before a certain day, enter into his majeſty's ſervice. Many cities, towns, corporations, and even individuals, joined government

in offering bounties; ſo general was the approbation of the miniſtry, and deſire of humbling the inſolent foe. Such was the ſtate of commerce in this metropolis, even in theſe expenſive times, that the citizens of London found leiſure to plan, and funds to execute, magnificent works of art, for the ornament and conveniencies of that meridian of trade and opulence. They obtained an act of parliament empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Black Friars to the oppoſite ſhore, about midway between thoſe of London and Weſtminſter.

Not only the French navy was, by this time, conſiderably reduced, but the Engliſh had made themſelves maſters of the greater part of the numerous privateers which they had fitted out, on laying up their large ſhips of war. Many Engliſh ſhips of the line as well as frigates were ordered to cruize in different latitudes of Europe and America; and were, in general, remarkably ſucceſsful; by which means the ſubjects of France were greatly impoveriſhed through the interruption of its trade.

Struck with terror at this happy and univerſal union among the Engliſh, the enemy ſeemed to act like perſons of deſperate fortune, and made preparations for venturing every thing on a ſingle ſtroke. With this view all their ports were filled with preparations for an invaſion of Great-Britain; nay, to ſuch a degree of military phrenzy were they wrought, that they talked of a triple embarkation. M. Thurot was to command a ſmall ſquadron, and ſeveral tranſports from Dunkirk, which, it was imagined, were intended for Scotland. This perſon had, from maſter of a merchantman, become captain of a privateer, in which capacity he greatly annoyed the trade of England, and acquired ſuch renown for courage and conduct, that he at length obtained a command in the ſervice of his ſovereign.

Flat-bottomed boats were to have conveyed, from Havre de Grace and other ports of Normandy, the troops deſigned to invade England. The third embarkation, which was ſuppoſed to be intended againſt Ireland, was to be made from Vannes, in Lower Britany, where a large body was aſſembled, under the command of the duke d'Aquilon, governor of that province. M. de Conflans was appointed commander of the fleet then fitting out at Breſt for covering the embarkation. Such was the plan laid by the French for invading the Britiſh territories. But all the pleaſing ideas they had formed with regard to the ſucceſs of theſe embarkations were ſoon diſſipated by the meaſures taken by the Engliſh. Commodore Boys, with his ſquadron, was ſtationed before Dunkirk; and admiral Hawke, with a ſtrong ſquadron, blocked up the French fleet in Breſt; while a ſmaller ſquadron, under the command of captain Duff, kept a watch on the port of Vannes.

To render uſeleſs the preparations at Havre, admiral Rodney was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips and bombs, not only to prevent the French flat bottomed boats from ſailing, but to defeat the project, by bombarding the place. He arrived before Havre on the ſecond of July, and anchored the next day in the great road, where, after making the proper diſpoſitions, the bombs proceeded to place themſelves in the narrow channel of the river leading to Harfleur. About ſeven in the evening, two of the bombs were ſtationed, as well as the reſt early next morning, and continued the bombardment for fifty two hours, without the leaſt intermiſſion, with ſuch ſucceſs, that the town was ſeveral times in flames, and their magazine of ſtores collected for the uſe of the flat bottomed boats, burnt with fury for ſix hours, notwithſtanding the continual efforts of ſeveral hundred men to extinguiſh it. Many of the flat bottomed boats were overturned and deſtroyed by the exploſion of the ſhells. During this attack, the enemy's troops, which appeared very numerous, were continually erecting new batteries, and throwing up intrenchments; and the conſternation of the inhabitants was ſo great, that they forſook the place, which was ſet on fire in ſeveral parts, and burnt with great fury. Thus a ſmall ſquadron was ſufficient to terrify a whole town, defended by a large body of forces, as well as to convince the enemy of the abſurdity of their attempt, at a time when their naval force was in the moſt reduced and ruinous condition.

Nor did the operations of blocking up the French in their harbours employ the whole Britiſh fleet. Admiral Boſcawen continued cruizing off Toulon to watch the motions of a fleet fitting out there under the command of M. de la Clue. He often diſplayed the Engliſh flag in ſight of this fleet, by way of defiance, in order to induce M. de la Clue to quit his aſylum, and hazard an engagement on the open ſea; but being diſappointed in his hopes, he ordered three ſhips of the line, commanded by the captains Smith, Harland, and Baker, to advance, and burn two ſhips that lay cloſe to the mouth of the harbour.

They accordingly advanced with the utmoſt reſolution, and met with a very warm reception, from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. They attempted to deſtroy two ſmall forts, but being over-matched, and a calm coming on, they ſuſtained conſiderable damage, and were towed off with difficulty in a very ſhattered condition. The admiral, therefore, returned to Gibraltar to refit, and M. de la Clue ſeized the opportunity of ſailing, in hopes of paſſing the ſtreight's mouth unobſerved by the Engliſh.

While the admiral remained in this harbour, he detached the Gibraltar, to hover on the Barbary coaſt to keep a good look out, and give timely notice in caſe the enemy ſhould think proper to attempt the paſſage of the Streight's mouth.

About eight o'clock in the morning on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, the Gibraltar made a ſignal, that fourteen ſail appeared on the Barbary coaſt, to the eaſtward of Ceuta; upon which admiral Boſcawen got under ſail with the greateſt expedition, and the next morning at day break he ſaw ſeven large ſhips lying to; but finding the Engliſh did not anſwer their ſignals, they made off with all the ſail they could ſet. The Engliſh fleet, conſiſting of fourteen ſail of the line and two fire ſhips, ſtood after them, and it blowing freſh, came up with them about noon, but the wind dying away, the engagement did not begin till paſt two; nor could admiral Boſcawen get up with the Ocean, M. de la Clue's ſhip, till about four, when the action began with great fury. In about half an hour the mizen-maſt, and both top-ſail-yards of the Namur were ſhot away, which obliged the admiral to hoiſt his flag on board the Newark, and the Ocean ſtood away, with all the ſail ſhe could crowd. Soon after, the Centaur, of ſeventy-four guns, ſtruck, and the Engliſh purſued the enemy all night, but in the morning four ſail ſtanding in for the land were all that could be diſcovered.

The Engliſh were now at a greater diſtance than

Engraved for RAYMOND'S *History of England*.

The French Squadron under the Command of Mons.r De la Clue, defeated off Cape Logos by Admiral Boscawen on the 18. August 1759.

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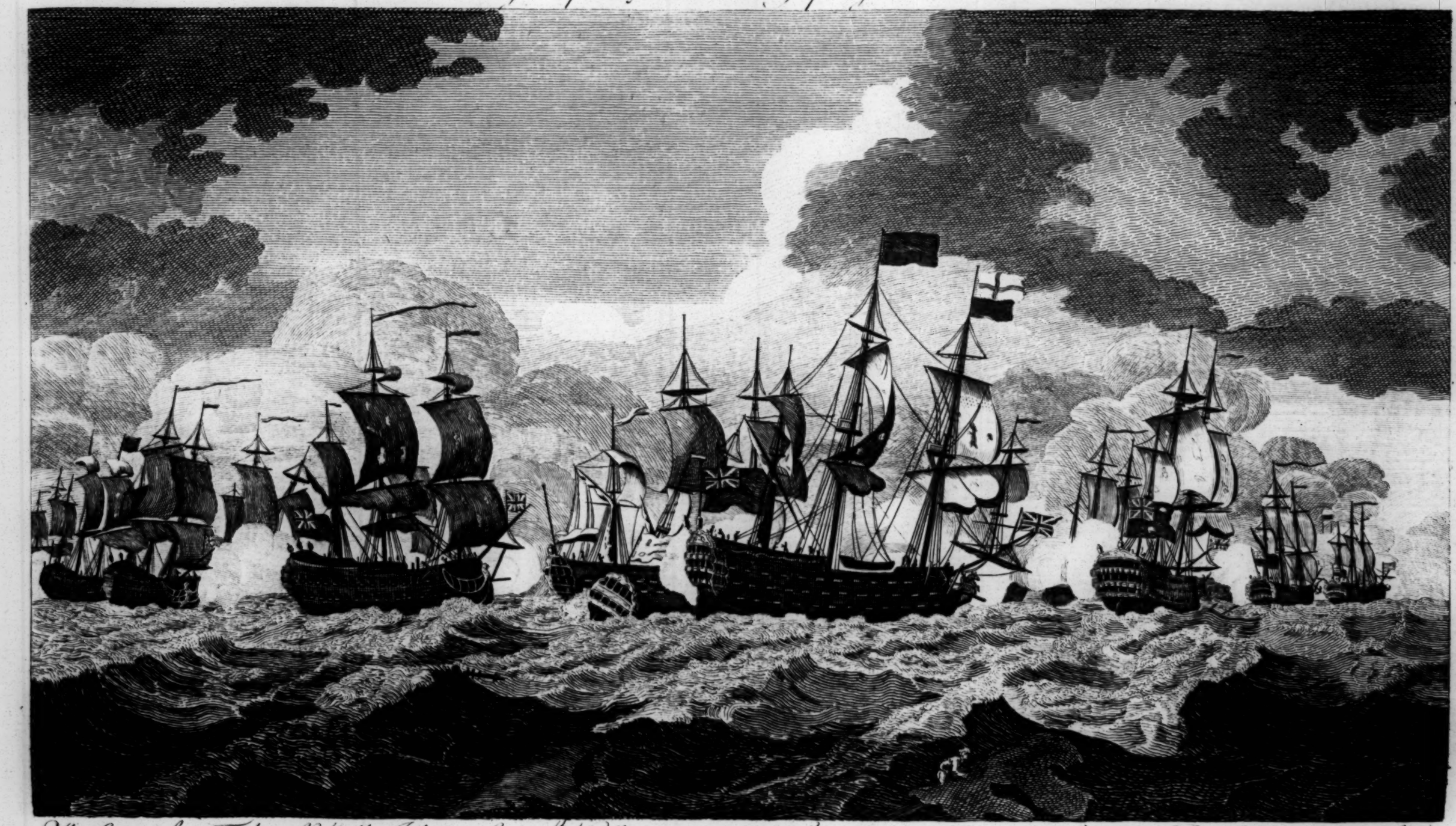

The Great Sea Fight off Belle Isle on the 20th Nov.r 1759 in which the French Fleet under the Command of Marshal Conflans was Defeated by the British Fleet commanded by the Hon.ble Sir Edward afterwards Rt. Hble Lord Hawke.

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three miles from the enemy, and not more than five leagues from the ſhore. About noon the Ocean ran among the breakers; the Redoubtable followed her example, and both endeavoured to land their men; but this, from the roughneſs of the ſea, proved a difficult and tedious taſk. The captains of the Temeraire and Modeſte anchored as near as poſſible to the ſhore.

Admiral Boſcawen ſtood in very near the land himſelf, and ſent the Intrepid and America to deſtroy the Ocean; the former, by coming to an anchor, could not get in; but the latter ſoon performed the ſervice; for, on firing a broadſide, the Ocean ſtruck, and the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of her. M. de la Clue, who had one leg broke, and the other wounded, had been landed about half an hour, but the captain, M. le compte de Carne, and ſeveral officers and men were on board.

The Ocean was now ſet on fire, as it was found impoſſible to get her off. Captain Bentley, of the Warſpight, was ordered againſt the Temeraire, of ſeventy-four guns, and brought her off with very little damage. At the ſame time, vice-admiral Broderick, with his diviſion, burnt the Redoubtable, which was bulged, and abandoned by the people; and brought off the Modeſte, of ſixty-four guns, which had received very little damage.

The Engliſh fleet obtained this victory at the expence of fifty-ſix men killed, and one hundred and ninety-ſix wounded; but the damage on board the enemy muſt have been much more conſiderable, as M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French ambaſſador at Liſbon, acknowledged, that on board the Ocean, one hundred men were killed on the ſpot, and ſeventy dangerouſly wounded. But what added to the concern of the enemy, was the loſs of four capital ſhips, two of which were deſtroyed, and the other two brought to England in triumph, to increaſe the naval force of Great Britain.

Though the intended invaſion of Great Britain was retarded by the defeat of Monſieur de la Clue, yet the preparations for it were ſtill carried on. With this view, Thurot received inſtructions to ſail the firſt opportunity from Dunkirk, round the northern coaſt of Ireland, and make a diverſion from that part, where Conflans intended to diſembark his forces. The tranſports and ſhips of war were aſſembled at Breſt and Rochford, having on board a train of artillery, and accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland. A body of French troops, including the Iriſh brigade, were kept in readineſs to embark, and the young pretender, having agreed to the terms propoſed in France, remained, with a view to give countenance to a revolt in Great Britain, *incognito*, in the neighbourhood of Vannes.

The execution of this ſcheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Breſt with a fleet of twenty-three capital ſhips; while another ſquadron of ſmall ſhips commanded by captain Duff, continued cruizing along the French coaſt, from Port l'Orient in Britany, to the point of St. Giles in Poictou.

But in the month of November the Britiſh fleet, commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and rear admiral Geary, was driven from the coaſt of France, by ſtreſs of weather, and on the ninth day anchored at Torbay. The French admiral no ſooner received intelligence that the Engliſh were driven from their ſtation, than he ſailed from Breſt with twenty-one ſail of the line, in order to deſtroy the ſquadron commanded by captain Duff, before the larger could return from the coaſt of England.

Sir Edward Hawke, having received intelligence that the French fleet was ſailed, immediately put to ſea, in order to deſtroy them; and in the mean time, the government iſſued orders for guarding all thoſe parts of the coaſt that were expoſed to a deſcent.

The Britiſh admiral directed his courſe for Quiberon bay, where he had reaſon to think the French fleet would rendezvous; but a hard gale fruſtrated his attempt, and drove him to the weſtward, where he was joined by the Maidſtone and Coventry, two of his majeſty's frigates. Theſe ſhips he ordered to keep a head of the ſquadron, one on the ſtarboard and the other on the larboard bow. On the morning of the 20th of November, the Maidſtone made a ſignal for ſeeing a fleet, upon which the admiral hove out a ſignal for forming the line a-breaſt, in order to draw all his ſquadron together; and about ten they were diſcovered to be the enemy. They were then in chace of captain Duff's ſquadron; but on diſcovering the Engliſh fleet, they made off with all the ſail they could carry, and captain Duff, with ſome difficulty, joined Sir Edward, who, perceiving the French were endeavouring to eſcape, threw out a ſignal for ſeven of his ſhips that were neareſt the enemy to chace, and endeavour to detain them, till they could be ſuſtained by the reſt of the ſquadron, which, in order to ſave as much time as poſſible, were ordered immediately to form into a line a-head.

The Engliſh van began the engagement with the rear of the French about half an hour after two o'clock in the neighbourhood of Belleiſle. They did not, however, ſtop the purſuit, but having poured in a broadſide on the ſternmoſt of the French, continued their courſe towards the van, leaving the rear to the ſhips that followed.

Admiral Hawke, in the Royal George of one hundred guns, reſerved his fire in paſſing through the rear, and ordered the maſter of the ſhip to put him along-ſide the French admiral, who commanded in perſon on board the Soliel Royal, carrying eighty guns and twelve hundred men. The pilot remonſtrating, that he could not obey his commands, without the moſt imminent danger of running upon a ſhoal, the undaunted hero replied, "You have done your duty in pointing out "the danger, now you are to obey my order, and "lay me along-ſide of the Soliel Royal." The maſter readily obeyed, and the gallant veteran ſoon ſaw the Royal George range up with the French admiral.

In the mean time another large ſhip of the enemy, called the Theſee, obſerving the danger of Conflans, ran in between the two commanders, and received the fire that had been reſerved for the Soliel Royal. It proved, however, fatal to her commander, who endeavouring to return the ſalute, the ſea ruſhed in at the lower deck ports, and the ſhip ſoon went to the bottom. Notwithſtanding the weather was boiſterous many of the ſhips on both ſides fought with equal fury, and, for ſome time, with doubtful ſucceſs, but victory at laſt declared for the Engliſh.

The Formidable ſtruck her colours about four in the afternoon; and the Superb ſhared the unhappy fate of the Theſee. The Heros hauled down her colours, in token of ſubmiſſion, and came

came to an achor; but the wind was ſo high that no boat could be ſent to ſecure the conqueſt. By this time night came on, under cover of which great part of the French fleet eſcaped.

The tempeſt now raged with great violence, and Sir Edward, fearing his ſhips might run on the unknown ſhoals and iſlands, made the ſignal for coming to an anchor on the weſt ſide of the ſmall iſland Dumet, where the fleet continued the whole night, in a very dangerous road, alarmed by the fury of the ſtorm, and the continual firing of guns of diſtreſs.

Under ſhelter of the darkneſs the Soliel Royal had come to an anchor in the midſt of the Britiſh ſquadron; but as ſoon as dawn appeared, M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and ſhe drove aſhore to the Weſtward of Croize, which, when perceived by the Engliſh admiral, he made a ſignal to the Eſſex to ſlip her cable, and purſue her. The ſignal was immediately obeyed, but the Eſſex unfortunately ran on a ſand bank, called Le-four, where the Reſolution, another Engliſh ſhip, was already aground; and where they were both irrecoverably loſt, notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance that could be given them. The greateſt part of their ſtores, together with all their men, were ſaved, and, to prevent the wrecks from falling into the hands of the enemy, they were ſet on fire, and thereby totally deſtroyed.

In the interim the Soliel Royal lay beating on the ſhore; and the French, obſerving the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, approaching to deſtroy her, ſet her on fire. The Engliſh, therefore, returned and deſtroyed the Heros, which was likewiſe a-ground, and the Juſte, another of their large ſhips, periſhed in the river Loire.

On the 23d the admiral, diſcovering ſeven of the line riding at anchor between Point Penva and the river Vilaine, made the the ſignal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the ſtorm increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and ſtrike top-gallant maſts. In the mean time, the French ſhips threw overboard their guns and ſtores, and the weather being more moderate under the land, took the advantage of the flood to paſs the bar, at the mouth of the river Vilaine, where they came to an anchor, within a mile of the entrance, and were protected by ſeveral occaſional batteries erected on the ſhore.

Only thirty-nine men and one lieutenant were killed, and about two hundred wounded, in this extraordinary engagement; a trifling loſs when put in competition with the victory obtained, by which the projected invaſion that had ſo long alarmed the apprehenſions of the ſubjects of Great Britain was rendered abortive, and a finiſhing blow given to the naval power of France. Sir Edward Hawke was, therefore, emboldened, by conſcious integrity, to make the following declaration in his letter to the ſecretary of the admiralty; "When I conſider the ſeaſon of the year, the hard gales on the day of action, a flying enemy, the ſhortneſs of the day, and the coaſt we are on, I can boldly affirm, that all that could poſſibly be done has been done. As to the loſſes we have ſuſtained, let it be placed to the account of the neceſſity I was under of running all riſks to break this ſtrong force of the enemy: had we but two hours more day-light, the whole had been totally deſtroyed or taken, for we were almoſt up with their van when night overtook us."

The gallant Hawke continued cruizing off the coaſt of Britany for a conſiderable time after the the defeat of Conflans, and took particlar care to block up the Vilaine, that the ſeven ſhips might not eſcape, and join the ſhattered remains of their ſquadron, which had found means to reach Rochford. At length, the admiral was recalled, and preſented to his ſovereign, who received him very graciouſly, and conferred on him a conſiderable penſion, as a reward for the courage and conduct he had ſo repeatedly and ſo eminently diſplayed in the ſervice of his country.

The next great object of national importance was the reduction of the iſland of Martinico; and for that purpoſe a fleet failed from St. Helen's, under the command of commodore Hughes, conſiſting of eight ſail of the line, one frigate, four bomb ketches, and a number of tranſports, having on board ſix regiments of infantry, and a detachment of artillery, beſides eight hundred marines diſtributed among the ſhips of war. The land forces were under the command of major general Barrington, colonels Armiger and Haldane, and lieutenant colonels Trapand and Clavering acting in the capacity of brigadiers.

The fleet reached the iſland of Barbadoes after a paſſage of ſeven weeks, and were there joined by commodore Moore, who aſſumed the command of the united ſquadrons, amounting to ten ſhips of the line, beſides frigates and bomb ketches. Having taken on board a ſupply of wood and water, together with a number of negroes to aſſiſt in drawing the artillery, they ſailed from Carliſle bay on the thirteenth of January; but by this time the troops, unaccuſtomed to a hot climate, were conſiderably weakened and reduced, by fevers, fluxes, and the ſcurvy. Next morning the ſquadron came in ſight of the iſland of Martinique, the place of their deſtination.

The chief fortification of the iſland of Martinique was the citadel of Port Royal, a regular fort, garriſoned by four companies, which did not exceed one hundred and fifty men, thirty-ſix bombadiers, eight Swiſs, and fourteen officers. One hundred barrels of beef conſtituted the whole ſtore of proviſions, and they were deſtitute of all neceſſaries. The only preparation they had made for receiving the Engliſh, were ſome trifling intrenchments thrown up at Pierre, and a place called Caſenavire, where they thought the forces would attempt to make their deſcent.

On the 15th day of the month, the ſquadron entered the great bay of Port Royal, and the next day the firſt attack on the iſland was made at Fort Negro, a ſtrong battery of ſeven embrazures, and within three miles of the citadel. The Briſtol, Rippon, and Lyon were ordered for this ſervice; but the Lyon afterwards driving out to ſea, the Briſtol and Rippon ſtood in for the fort, and the Briſtol, having anchored cloſe in with it, began to attack the place. Soon after, the Rippon anchored a-ſtern of her, when the battery being ſilenced, the marines and ſome ſailors from both ſhips landed in the flat bottomed boats, and took poſſeſſion of the fort, the enemy having abandoned it with the utmoſt precipitation. The Britiſh colours were immediately hoiſted and the detachment ordered to keep poſſeſſion of the battery.

The Wincheſter, Woolwich, and Roebuck, were ſent to attack a fort in the bay of Cas-des-Navires, a ſmall bay about two miles to the northward of Fort Negro, where it was propoſed to land

land the troops. Having ſilenced this battery, and blown up the magazine, the three ſhips lay by to cover the flat-bottomed boats upon landing, and kept a conſtant fire upon the ſhore, in conjunction with the Briſtol and Rippon.

Some French troops who had been ſent from the citadel to oppoſe the landing, obſerving the whole Britiſh ſquadron, already within the bay, and Fort Negro poſſeſſed by the marines, deſerted the beach and withdrew to Port Royal, ſo that the Engliſh troops were diſembarked without oppoſition, and advanced towards the fort.

At noon the Britiſh forces advanced towards an eminence that overlooks the town and citadel, when all appearances at firſt ſeemed to promiſe ſucceſs. But at two o'clock general Hopſon ſent to acquaint the commodore, that he found it impoſſible to maintain his ground, unleſs the ſquadron could give him aſſiſtance, by landing ſome heavy cannon at the Savanna, near the town of Port Royal, or that the commodore would attack the citadel on the bay, at the ſame time he did it on ſhore. But both theſe expedients, however, being thought impracticable, the attempt upon Port Royal was given up, and the troops being recalled from their advanced poſts were re-embarked without moleſtation about four o'clock.

A council of war being now held, it was reſolved to make an attack upon St. Pierre; the fleet, therefore, proceeded to that part of the iſland, and entered the bay on the nineteenth. The commodore declared he made no doubt of being able to reduce the town of St. Pierre, but the ſhips might be diſabled in the attack, ſo as not to be in a condition to proceed immediately on any other material ſervice; and as the taking the iſland of Guadaloupe would be of great benefit to the ſugar colonies, he propoſed that the armament ſhould proceed to that iſland, and the general agreed to the propoſal. Accordingly, they left the iſland of Martinique, and ſteered for Guadaloupe, which lies diſtant from it about thirty leagues to the weſtward.

This iſland is divided into two parts by a ſmall arm of the ſea, or rather a narrow paſs, through which no ſhip can venture; the inhabitants paſs it in a ferry boat. The country on the weſt ſide is called Baſſe-terre, and here the metropolis ſtands, defended by a citadel, and other fortifications. The eaſtern part, called Grand-terre, is defended by fort Louis, with a redoubt which commands the road, in the diſtrict of Goſier.

The Britiſh ſquadron being arrived at Baſſeterre, the chief engineer reconnoitred the town and pronounced it abſolutely impregnable to ſhipping; notwithſtanding which the commodore reſolved to attack it early the next morning.

Accordingly the Lyon began to engage the firſt battery of nine guns, about eight o'clock, when ſhe was raked by a ſmall one of two guns a-ſtern of her to the ſouthward, and by the citadel with what guns they could bring to bear. The reſt of the ſhips continuing to move on in line of battle to the reſpective batteries, they were ordered to engage, the citadel playing upon them as they advanced. At half paſt nine the Cambridge, Norfolk, and St. George, began to engage the citadel, and, after an almoſt inceſſant fire, ſilenced it about five in the afternoon. Near ten captain Shuldham, in the Panther, began to engage the twelve gun battery, and continued it warmly for many hours, doing great execution, and beating down moſt of the buildings near it, when, having ſilenced all the guns, he lay by till called off by the commodore. The Burford, which was to have ſupported the Panther in this attack, and the Berwick, which was to have engaged the ſeven gun battery, drove off to ſea, by which means the Rippon, which followed, became expoſed to the fire of three other batteries, and received great damage in her hull and rigging. At twelve, all the line of battle ſhips, the Burford and Berwick excepted, were warmly engaged, and all the forts in and about the town briſkly cannonaded, till after an obſtinate defence for ſome time, the enemy were entirely driven from all the batteries to the ſouth of the town, and quitted their guns. On the north ſide remained unſilenced the ſeven gun battery, and the fort at the Morne Rouge, where the Rippon lay aground engaging them both; and at two in the afternoon had actually ſilenced the guns at the Morne; but the enemy obſerving the ſhip to be aſhore, aſſembled in great numbers on the brow of the hill, and lined the trenches, from which they kept a briſk fire of ſmall arms, and killed and wounded numbers of her men, by raking her fore and aft.

Eight men were either killed or wounded out of twenty-three which were quartered in the poop, and ten out of thoſe remaining were obliged to be ſent forwards, to aſſiſt the men on the forecaſtle: the reſt of the marines were employed at the great guns. A large box of cartridges blew up on the poop, and ſet fire to the ſhip, when they threw out a ſignal of diſtreſs to the ſquadron, ſoon after which the fire was happily extinguiſhed.

The ſituation of the Rippon being at this time obſerved by captain Leſlie of the Briſtol, he came from ſea, and ran between the ſhip and the ſeven gun battery, which had played upon her from the beginning of the engagement, pouring in a whole broadſide upon the enemy; the marines in the Briſtol at the ſame time flanked the militia in the lines, ſo that the fire upon the Rippon ſlackened. At five the commodore made the ſignal to prepare to land the troops, which was afterwards countermanded, it being too late, and growing dark, by which means many of the flat-bottomed boats, in returning back to the rendezvous of their brigade, were in danger of being run down by the men of war, now coming from the batteries: at ſeven in the evening the flat bottomed boats diſperſed, and the troops returned to their reſpective tranſports; all the line of battle ſhips, except the Rippon, having now rejoined the fleet, and all the batteries of the enemy being ſilenced, the four bombs ſtood in for the ſhore, and threw ſhells and carcaſes into the town. The houſes and churches were every where ſoon in flames, the magazines of powder were blown up, and the whole place exhibited a ſcene of general conflagration.

After great pains and labour to lighten her forwards, and the other neceſſary methods had been uſed, about midnight the Rippon gave a ſudden ſtart, and was got off, to the great joy of the officers and men, and in a ſhort time ſhe came to an anchor in thirteen fathom water. According to the gunner's report, this ſhip had fired one thouſand three hundred great ſhot and upwards, and the marines two thouſand cartridges. The rigging was greatly damaged, the foremaſt ſhot thro', and the mizen-yard almoſt cut away.

In this engagement the ſquadron ſuſtained but little loſs of men; only ſix were killed, and twenty wounded on board the St. George, which, for ſo many hours, had engaged the citadel.

Next day the fleet came to an anchor in the road

of Baſſe-terre, where they found the hulls of ſeveral ſhips which the enemy had ſet on fire at their approach. At five in the afternoon the troops landed without oppoſition, and took poſſeſſion of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. Information being given by a deſerter of a deſign formed by the enemy for blowing up the powder magazines in the citadel, immediate orders were given to cut off the train and ſecure the magazine.

Part of the troops occupied an advantageous poſt upon the hill, about a mile to the weſtward, and part entered the town, and lined the ſtreets, which ſtill remained on fire, and continued burning all night.

At break of day the enemy appeared, to the number of two thouſand, throwing up intrenchments near a houſe where the governor had fixed his head quarters, at the diſtance of about four miles from the town, declaring he would maintain his poſt to the laſt extremity. The nature of the ground ſeems to have inſpired him with this reſolution, it being contiguous to a paſs called Le Dos d'Ane. The aſcent from Baſſe-terre to this paſs was ſo very ſteep, and the way ſo broken and interrupted by rocks and gullies, that there was no proſpect of attacking it with ſucceſs, except at the firſt landing, when the inhabitants were greatly alarmed. This, however, was but of ſhort duration, for though the governor did not appear to have acquitted himſelf in a manner becoming his ſtation, the people in general afterwards behaved with great ſpirit and activity in defence of their country. They very prudently avoided coming to a general engagement reſolving to weary out our troops by maintaining a kind of petty war in ſeparate parties, which alarmed and harraſſed our men with hard duty in a ſultry climate where they were but ill ſupplied with proviſions and refreſhments; and in conſequence of which both the army and navy were attacked with fevers and other diſeaſes, whereby the hoſpitals were ſo crouded, that it was judged expedient to ſend five hundred of the ſick to the iſland of Antigua where they might be properly attended.

Finding it would be impoſſible to conquer the inhabitants on this ſide of Guadaloupe, the Engliſh reſolved to make an attempt on Grand-terre, and accordingly all the great ſhips were ſent round to that place. On the 13th of February they attacked Fort Louis. when, after a ſevere cannonading, which laſted ſix hours, the marines and Highlanders were landed, and drove the enemy from their intrenchments, with bayonets fixed, hoiſted the Engliſh colours at the fort, and kept poſſeſſion of it, till a detachment arrived from the camp, when they were re-embarked.

General Barrington now ſucceeded to the chief command in the place of general Hopſon, who died at Baſſe-terre a few days after the reduction of Fort Louis, and determined to proſecute the reduction of the iſland with the utmoſt vigour. With this view, the commodore, at the inſtance of the general, ordered the Briſtol to ſail to Euſtatia, and cruize off that port, in order to prevent the Dutch from ſupplying the enemy with proviſions, which they had conſtantly done, from the time that the Engliſh had driven them up the mountains.

On the next morning the general ordered the troops to ſtrike their tents and huts, that the enemy might imagine he intended to continue in this quarter; but a few days after, the detachments at the out-poſts were all drawn in; the batteries in and about the town of Baſſe-terre were blown up and deſtroyed, the whole army brought off, and re-embarked on board the tranſports by break of day, except colonel Deſbriſay, who was left in the citadel with Watſon's regiment, and a detachment from the artillery; and the commodore with the fleet ſailed for Grand-terre, leaving the St. George and Buckingham behind, which, in caſe of an attack from the enemy, were to cover the garriſon.

While the general was making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for landing at Grand-terre, the French at the redoubt, and Dos d'Ane, came down upon colonel Deſbriſay in the citadel, and having been ſupplied with a mortar of thirteen inches from Martinique, threw ſhells into it from the neighbouring hills, and erected a battery, from which they kept playing upon the new works thrown up by the governor, and ſometimes made a ſhew of an aſſault upon the body of the place, but were conſtantly repulſed by frequent ſallies which were made, and the fire from the garriſon.

When the Buckingham and St. George were called in to join the ſquadron, upon the arrival of the French fleet at Martinique, the enemy was encouraged to approach nearer to the citadel, which occaſioned a more frequent diſcharge of artillery; and ſoon after a cannon being fired too near a powder magazine, placed at the flanked angle of the ſouth eaſt baſtion, the return of the wadding blew it up, and with it the governor, one lieutenant, two bombardiers, and ſeveral men upon the plat-form. By this unhappy accident the army was deprived of the ſervice of two gallant and experienced officers, and the citadel loſt a bold and active governor to defend it. The French availing themſelves of the diſorder reſulting from the exploſion, came down in great numbers from the hills, but the fire from the garriſon quickly repulſed them.

Major Melville, an active and gallant officer, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at his out-poſt, was appointed governor of the citadel, in the room of captain Deſbriſay, and ſucceeded him likewiſe as lieutenant-colonel of Watſon's regiment.

Colonel Crump landed at Grand terre on the fifth day of April, with a detachment of ſix hundred men, between the towns of St. Anne and St. François, attacked them, and deſtroyed their batteries and cannon.

St. Mary's was the only town that now remained, to prevent the irruption of the troops into the Capeſterre, and was the laſt reſource of the enemy. This poſt was ſtrongly fortified, but, like the reſt, badly ſupported. They were purſued as far as the heights of St. Mary, having retired with great precipitation; upon which the detachment took poſſeſſion of the town, and the next morning broke into the Capeſterre.

As colonel Crump now preſſed cloſe on the French governor, he thought proper to ſend a flag of truce to colonel Barrington, to demand a ceſſation of arms, and to know what terms he would grant; and having conſulted the principal inhabitants, who were of opinion, that it was in vain to hold out any longer, the iſland of Guadaloupe was, on the firſt day of May, ſurrendered to the Engliſh general by capitulation.

This was a moſt fortunate circumſtance for the Britiſh forces; for the agreement was but juſt ſigned, when a meſſenger arrived to inform the natives, that M. de Beauharnois, general of the French iſlands, had landed at St. Anne, with a reinforce-

inforcement from Martinique under convoy of a ſquadron commanded by M. de Bompart, who no ſooner heard of the capitulation, than he reimbarked the troops, and returned to Martinique.

The iſlands of Deſeada, Los Santos and Marigalante were now ſummoned to ſurrender, and they accordingly ſubmitted upon the ſame terms as were granted to Guadaloupe. General Barrington having thus happily concluded the preſent deſigns of this expedition acquainted the commodore, that he propoſed to ſend back part of the troops, with the tranſports to England, the latter end of June.

In conſequence, therefore, of this intimation, the commodore made the ſignal to weigh, and the ſquadron ſailed in two diviſions from Rupert's bay for Guadaloupe; where he was the next day joined by two ſhips of the line from England, which rendered him ſuperior in force to the French ſquadron, which he was informed had retired to the iſland of Granada. But before he could get under ſail, a frigate arrived with intelligence, that Bompart had quitted Granada, and was ſuppoſed to have directed his courſe to Hiſpaniola; upon which the commodore diſpatched information to Admiral Cotes, who commanded the ſquadron at Jamaica.

General Barrington having ſuperintended the repairs of the fortifications at Guadaloupe, ſettled the affairs of the inhabitants, and left a proper garriſon in the place, under the command of colonel Crump, embarked on board the Roebuck, the latter end of June, and, with the tranſports under convoy of captain Hughes, ſailed for England; while commodore Moore, with the greater part of the fleet, directed his courſe to Antigua.

During theſe tranſactions in the Weſt Indies the war in America was carried on with equal vigour. In the month of October the preceding year, a grand aſſembly had been held at Eaſton about ninety miles from Philadelphia, where peace was eſtabliſhed by a formal treaty concluded between Great Britain, and fifteen Indian nations. The conferences continued eighteen days, when every article being ſettled to the general ſatisfaction of the parties, the Indians were gratified with preſents, and returned to their reſpective ſettlements.

Having by this treaty once more reconciled the Indians, every method was taken by the Engliſh miniſtry for reducing the French ſettlements in Canada, and terminating the war in that part of the world. To accompliſh this deſign, it was reſolved to divide the forces in North America, and attack three different parts at the ſame time, that all Canada might be reduced in the ſpace of one campaign.

Three different expeditions were, therefore, planned in ſuch a manner as to aſſiſt each other. General Wolfe was ordered to proceed up the river St. Laurence with a conſiderable armament to undertake the ſiege of Quebec. General Amherſt had inſtructions to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and then croſs the Lake Champlain, and join Wolfe before Quebec. Brigadier-general Prideaux with a third body, reinforced by a number of Indians, had orders to inveſt the French fort near the fall of Niagara, which commanded all the interior part of that continent.

General Amherſt, whoſe ſeparate army was firſt in motion, paſſed Lake George without any oppoſition from the enemy; though the progreſs of his operations had been ſo ſhamefully retarded, by certain individuals of great influence, that the winter was far advanced before he croſſed that collection of water. The enemy at firſt ſeemed diſpoſed to defend the fortreſs of Ticonderoga; but perceiving the Engliſh general was both prudent and reſolute, they retreated from place to place, towards the center of all the military operations before Quebec. In the courſe of their retreat they abandoned the fort, after having in ſome meaſure diſmantled the fortifications. General Amherſt, having taken poſſeſſion of this important fort, allotted a ſtrong garriſon for its defence, and gave orders for the works to be repaired.

On the firſt day of Auguſt, one of the ſcouting parties brought intelligence, that the French had abandoned the fort of Crown-point; in conſequence of which he diſpatched a body of rangers before him to take poſſeſſion of the place, while himſelf embarked with the reſt of the army, and on the fourth landed at the fort, where the rangers where already encamped. His next ſtep was to lay the foundation of a new fort to be maintained for the ſecurity of the Britiſh dominions in that part of the country, and totally prevent the incurſions of ſcalping parties by whom the plantations had been terribly infeſted.

Advice being now received, that the enemy had retired to the other end of the Lake Champlain, and were augmented by very conſiderable and powerful reinforcements, general Amherſt, determined to maintain the ſuperiority on the Lake, ordered captain Loring to build, with the utmoſt expedition, a ſloop of ſixteen guns, and a redeau of eighty-four feet in length, capable of carrying ſix pieces of large cannon, being reſolved to have the ſuperiority on the lake. Theſe veſſels being prepared and manned, the general embarked, and made ſeveral attempts to attack the enemy, but the winter coming on, and the weather being generally boiſterous, he ſaw the impoſſibility of accompliſhing his deſign, and therefore returned to the ſame bay, where he had taken ſhelter, landed his troops, and began his march for Crown-point, which he reached on the twenty-firſt of October. His attention was now wholly employed in erecting the new fortreſs at Crown-point, in opening roads of communication with Ticonderoga, and in making the diſpoſitions for the winter quarters of his troops, ſo as to prevent the enemy from making inroads on the back colonies.

A large body of Indians, commanded by Sir William Johnſon, having reinforced the army under the command of general Prideaux, he advanced to the camp of Niagara, without any obſtruction. Towards the middle of July the general inveſted the fortreſs, and carried on his approaches with great vigour, till the twentieth of the ſame month, when, viſiting the trenches, he was unfortunately killed by the burſting of a cohorn. As ſoon as general Amherſt was informed of this diſaſter, he ſent brigadier-general Gage from Ticonderoga to aſſume the command of that army.

The apprehenſion of loſing a place of ſo much importance alarming the French, they loſt no time in aſſembling a body of regular troops, amounting to twelve hundred men, and theſe, reinforced by a large body of Indians, were ſent under the command of M. d'Aubry, to reinforce the garriſon of Niagara.

As ſoon as their deſign was known to Sir William Johnſon, who had carried on the plan of his predeceſſor with great ability, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for intercepting them in their march.

In

In the mean time the French continued their route, and about eight in the morning diſcovered the Engliſh army drawn up in order of battle. The Indians, on ſeeing the enemy, advanced to ſpeak with their countrymen, who ſerved under d'Aubry, but the conference was declined by the latter, who immediately uttered a horrible ſcream called the war-whoop, and began the action with great fury. But they met with ſuch a warm reception in front from the Britiſh forces, while the Indian auxiliaries fell upon their flanks, and galled them in ſuch a manner, that in about half an hour their whole army was routed, their general, with all his officers taken, and great numbers of the fugitives ſlain in their attempt to eſcape through the woods.

When the purſuit was over, the general ſent major Hervey to the commander of the fort, with a liſt of the officers taken in the late battle, and to adviſe him to ſurrender, while he had it in his power to reſtrain the ferocity of the Indians; the governor having aſſured himſelf of the truth by ſending an officer to viſit the priſoners, conſented to treat, and ſoon after the capitulation was ſigned. The garriſon were ſuffered to march out with all the honours of war, in order to embark in veſſels on the lake, and be conveyed from the iſland in the moſt expeditious manner. All the women were, at their own requeſt, ſent to Montreal, and great humanity was exerciſed towards the ſick and wounded, who could not bear the fatigue of travelling.

Thus were Crown-point and Niagara, by the valour and intrepidity of our troops, reduced in a very ſhort time; but the conqueſt of Quebec proved a much more difficult and hazardous enterprize.

In the month of February, the fleet deſtined for this expedition ſailed from England, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, officers of approved courage and conduct.

They came within ſight of Cape Breton on the twenty-firſt of April, but the harbour being frozen over, they were obliged to bear away for Hallifax in Nova Scotia. It was, however, thought proper to detach admiral Durell with a ſmall ſquadron up the river St. Lawrence, to ſail as far as the iſle de Coudres, in order to intercept any ſupplies that might be ſent from France to Quebec. In the mean time admiral Saunders arrived at Louiſbourgh, and the troops being embarked on board the tranſports, proceeded with all expedition up the river St. Lawrence. The land forces were commanded by major-general Wolfe, aſſiſted by brigadiers Monckton, Townſhend, and Murray.

About the latter end of June the forces were landed on the iſle of Orleans, which is ſituated a little below Quebec; and the general publiſhed a manifeſto, importing, "that the king of Great Britain, his maſter, for equitable cauſes, had fitted out an armament, in order to reduce the moſt important French ſettlements in America; that he intended not the leaſt act of hoſtility to the induſtrious peaſants, their families, or the miniſters of their religion, and that he would maintain them in their temporal poſſeſſions, as well as in the exerciſe of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and not intereſt themſelves in the diſpute between the two crowns."

Though there was no ſmall degree of generoſity in this declaration, yet it did not produce the deſired effect; nor could the Canadians rely on the faith of a nation, which their prieſts had repreſented not only as heretical, but implacably cruel.

In conſequence, therefore, of their prejudices and bigotry, they rejected the lenity of a brave general, and expoſed themſelves to inevitable ruin, by joining the ſcalping parties of Indians, falling on the Engliſh ſtraggling parties, and butchering them with inhuman barbarity. The generous Wolfe, whoſe noble nature was ſhocked at theſe ſcenes of cruelty, ſent a letter to the French general, complaining of ſuch enormities as were repugnant to the rules of war obſerved by civilized people, diſhonourable to the French nation, and diſgraceful to humanity; and requeſting, that the Canadians and Indians might be reſtrained from the commiſſion of acts ſo horrid; otherwiſe he ſhould be under the diſagreeable neceſſity of retaliating ſuch cruelties as ſhould be perpetrated on the ſubjects of his maſter, on the perſons of ſuch priſoners as were in his poſſeſſion, or might fall into his hands hereafter.

No good effect, however, was produced from this letter; they perſiſted in their infernal practices; and general Wolfe was obliged to connive at ſome irregularities committed by his people, in order that what had been in vain attempted by gentle methods might be effected by ſeverity.

M. de Montcalm carefully avoided coming to an engagement, depending on the ſtrength of the country, which appeared almoſt inſurmountable. The city of Quebec was ſtrongly fortified, well ſupplied with ammunition and proviſions, as well as defended by a very numerous garriſon. The French general had taken poſt in a very advantageous ſituation, every acceſſible part of his camp being deeply intrenched.

General Wolfe ſaw the difficulties that muſt attend the ſiege; but conſoled himſelf with conſidering that he could always retreat, while the Britiſh ſquadron maintained its ſtation in the river; nor was he without hopes of being joined by general Amherſt. Theſe conſiderations, added to the impulſe of a martial genius, determined him to undertake the hazardous enterprize.

Having received information that a detachment of the enemy, with a train of artillery, was poſted at Point Levi, on the ſouth ſhore, oppoſite to the city of Quebec, he ſent brigadier Monckton at the head of four battalions, who paſſed the river in the night, and next morning, after ſkirmiſhing with ſome of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that poſt, which the Engliſh troops immediately occupied.

By this time Montcalm was convinced of his error in not fortifying Point Levi, and foreſeeing the effect of a battery raiſed by the Engliſh, detached a body of 1600 men acroſs the river to deſtroy the works before they ſhould be completed; but the attempt miſcarried. The detachment fell into diſorder on their landing, fired upon each other, and retired in confuſion. The battery was ſoon after finiſhed, and played with ſuch ſucceſs, that the upper town was conſiderably damaged, and the lower one entirely demoliſhed.

The fleet was all this time expoſed to the greateſt danger. A few days after the troops landed on the iſle of Orleans, a furious ſtorm aroſe; many tranſports drove foul of each other, a number of boats and ſmall craft were foundered, and ſeveral ſhips loſt their anchors. The enemy, reſolved to avail themſelves of the confuſion inevitable from this diſaſter, ſent down ſeven fire ſhips at midnight from Quebec among the tranſports. But this ſcheme failed of ſucceſs: the Britiſh admiral ſaw them approach, and ordered the boats of the ſhips to be manned

manned and armed, to prevent the deſtruction of the fleet; the tars obeyed with alacrity, and reſolutely boarding the fireſhips, towed them faſt aground, where, without doing any kind of damage to the Engliſh ſhips, they were burnt to the water's edge. A ſecond attempt of that kind was made, but proved as fruitleſs as the former.

The works for the ſecurity of the hoſpital, and the ſtores on the iſland of Orleans being now compleated, the Britiſh forces croſſed the north channel in boats, and, landing under the cover of two ſloops, encamped on the ſide of the river Montmorenci, which ſeparated them from the left of the enemy. In reconnoitering the river a ford was diſcovered about three miles above; but the oppoſite ſide, which was naturally ſteep, and covered with woods, had been fortified by the enemy in a manner almoſt impregnable. From a careful ſurvey of the ſituation of the enemy's camp, general Wolfe, perceiving the difficulty that muſt attend his attacking them, deferred the attempt, till he had taken a view of the river St. Lawrence above Quebec, in hopes of finding a place more favourable for a deſcent. Having taken an exact ſurvey, he found that the attack could not be made without imminent danger, and therefore returned to Montmorenci, where, during his abſence, general Townſhend had, by a ſuperior fire, prevented the French from erecting a battery on the bank of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade the Engliſh camp, which was pitched on the oppoſite ſide; general Wolfe, therefore, reſolved to attack the enemy though poſted to great advantage, and prepared to give them a very warm reception.

As the water was ſo ſhallow that the men of war could not come near enough to annoy the enemy in their intrenchments, the admiral prepared two tranſports, which might, on occaſion, be run aground to favour a deſcent. With the aſſiſtance of theſe veſſels, the general propoſed to make himſelf maſter of a detached redoubt near the water's edge, and ſeemingly beyond muſquet ſhot of the enemy's intrenchments on the hill.

Accordingly diſpoſitions were made for ſtorming the redoubt. On the thirty-firſt of July in the afternoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and a part of brigadier Monckton's brigade from the point of Levi. The two brigades under the brigadiers Townſhend and Murray were ordered to be in readineſs to paſs the ford, when it ſhould be thought neceſſary. To facilitate their paſſage, the admiral had placed the Centurion in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford; at the ſame time two tranſports were run a-ground near the redoubt, the better to favour the deſcent of the troops.

An evident confuſion among the French being produced by theſe previous meaſures, the general came to the reſolution of ſtorming the intrenchments without delay, and orders were given that the three brigadiers ſhould, at a certain ſignal, put their troops in motion, which was accordingly made at a proper time of the tide; but many of the boats, in rowing towards the ſhore, grounded upon a ledge that runs off a conſiderable diſtance. This accident occaſioned ſome diſorder, by which ſo much time was loſt, that the general was obliged to ſend an officer to ſtop brigadier Townſhend's corps, which he then obſerved to be in motion. As ſoon as this diſorder was rectified, the general, aſſiſted by ſeveral ſea officers, ſounded the ſhore, in order to find a place where the troops might diſembark with the greateſt ſafety. This being diſcovered, thirteen companies of grenadiers, and two hundred men of the ſecond American battalion were the firſt who landed.

The grenadiers were ordered to form themſelves into four diſtinct bodies, and to begin the attack, ſupported by brigadier Monckton's corps, as ſoon as the troops had paſſed the ford, and were at hand to aſſiſt. But inſtead of forming themſelves as they were directed, they ran towards the enemy's intrenchments in the utmoſt confuſion, without waiting for the troops that were to join them, and aſſiſt in the attack. Brigadier Monckton was not landed, and brigadier Townſhend was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance, though upon his march to join the grenadiers in very great order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's firſt fire, and obliged to ſhelter themſelves under the redoubt, which the French had abandoned at their approach. In this ſituation they continued for ſome time, unable to form under ſo hot a fire; and having many brave officers wounded, who, careleſs of their perſons, had been ſolely intent on their duty. General Wolfe then ordered them to retreat, and form behind Monckton's brigade, which was by this time come up. It was now almoſt night, a ſudden ſtorm came on, and the tide began to make, ſo that the general thought it prudent to deſiſt from ſo difficult an attempt, and, in conſequence of this reſolution, the troops returned to their camp, on the other ſide of Montmorenci. The admiral ordered two veſſels, which were a-ground, to be ſet on fire, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy.

Brigadier Murray was now ſent with twelve hundred men in tranſports above the town, to act in concert with rear-admiral Holmes, whom admiral Saunders had ſent up the river, in order, if poſſible, to deſtroy the French ſhips. Brigadier Murray, purſuant to theſe directions, made two unſucceſsful attempts to land on the northern ſhore; but the third proved more fortunate. He landed unexpectedly at Chambaud, and burnt a conſiderable magazine, filled with arms, cloathing, proviſion, and ammunition.

Here he received the firſt news of the reduction of Niagara and Crown-point, and that general Amherſt was making preparations for an attack on the corps poſted at the iſle Aux Noix under M. Bourlemarqu. This intelligence gave the gallant Wolfe the utmoſt ſatisfaction; but at the ſame time it convinced him that the hope he had entertained of aſſiſtance from Amherſt was now no longer to be depended on. At length a continual ſucceſſion of care, watching and fatigue brought on a dyſentry, which, for ſome time, rendered this great officer unable to perform his duty; but during his confinement he held conſultations with his officers for the public utility. They agreed in opinion, that as more ſhips and proviſions were now got above the town, they ſhould endeavour, by conveying four our five thouſand men up the river, to draw the enemy from their ſituation, and bring on a general engagement. This meaſure, however, was not adopted till the general and admiral, aſſiſted by the chief engineer, had attentively reconnoitered the town of Quebec, in order to be ſatisfied whether a general aſſault could be made with any proſpect of ſucceſs. Purſuant to the opinion of the officers in conſultation, the troops quitted their camp at Montmorenci, and, with the artillery, were reimbarked and landed at Port Levi. They then paſſed up the river in tranſ-

ſports, while admiral Holmes made a motion with his ſhips to amuſe the enemy, now poſted along the northern ſhore. As no probability appeared of annoying the enemy above the town, it was determined to make a total change in the plan of operations. It was agreed to convey the troops farther down in boats, and land them during the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hopes of aſcending the heights of Abraham, (which riſe abruptly with a ſteep aſcent from the banks of the river) that they might take poſſeſſion of the ground on the back of the city, where the fortifications were weaker than in any other part.

Hazardous as this undertaking was, Wolfe reſolved to attempt it; accordingly, the time was fixed, and the neceſſary preparations made. Admiral Holmes advanced with his ſquadron up the river above the intended landing-place, in order to amuſe M. de Bougainville, whom Montcalm had detached with fifteen hundred men to watch the motion of this ſquadron; but the Engliſh admiral was directed to fall down in the night, and protect the landing of the forces, which orders he punctually executed. The firſt embarkation was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the brigadiers Monckton and Murray, though general Wolfe accompanied them, and was one of the firſt that landed. The boats fell down the river, but by the rapidity of the tide and the darkneſs of the night, they paſſed the place originally intended, and landed the troops a little below it.

This was no ſooner accompliſhed than the boats were ſent back for a ſecond embarkation, which was under the direction of brigadier Townſhend. In the mean time, colonel Howe, with the light infantry and highlanders, diſlodged a captain's guard, that defended a paſſage, by which alone the reſt of the troops could reach the ſummit, where the enemy were entrenched. The whole army then mounted without moleſtation, and as faſt as the troops arrived, the general drew them up in order.

M. de Montcalm was no ſooner informed that the Engliſh had gained the heights of Abraham, than he determined to hazard a battle, and having collected his whole force from the ſide of Beauport, immediately ſet forward on the march.

General Wolfe, perceiving that the French were croſſing the river St. Charles, formed his own line, which conſiſted of ſix battalions and the Louiſbourg grenadiers: the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray. Colonel Howe, with his light infantry, was poſted in the rear of the left.

M. de Montcalm advancing in ſuch a manner as ſhewed his intention was to flank the left of the Engliſh, brigadier Townſhend was ſent with the regiment of Amherſt, which he formed in ſuch a manner as to preſent, as it were, a double front to the enemy.

He was afterwards reinforced by two battaliions, and the reſerve conſiſted of one regiment drawn up in eight ſubdiviſions, with conſiderable intervals.

The enemy advanced to the charge, about nine in the morning, with great ſpirit as well as order, though their fire was both irregular and ineffectual. The Engliſh reſerved their ſhot, till the enemy approached within forty yards of their line, when they poured in a diſcharge with ſuch violence as could not fail of doing terrible execution. The brave general Wolfe had ſtationed himſelf in the warmeſt part of the attack, and ſoon received a ſhot in his wriſt, which did not, however, oblige him to quit the field. Having a handkerchief about his hand, he continued to give his orders without the leaſt emotion; and advanced at the head of the grenadiers with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breaſt of this young hero, who fell an honour to his profeſſion, and his country, and at the moment when every part of the Britiſh army ſeemed to exert itſelf with ſingular valour.

While the right puſhed on with their bayonets, brigadier Murray advanced briſkly with the troops under his command, and ſoon broke the enemy's center; when the highlanders, drawing their broad ſwords, fell upon, and drove them with great ſlaughter into the town, and the works they had raiſed at the bridge over the river St. Charles. Colonel Howe frequently attacked the flanks of the enemy, and drove them into heaps, while brigadier Townſhend advanced platoons againſt their front; ſo that the right wing of the French were prevented from carrying their firſt deſign into execution.

General Wolfe being ſlain, and brigadier Monckton dangerouſly wounded, the command devolved on brigadier Townſhend, who haſtened to the center, and finding the troops diſordered by the purſuit, formed them again with all poſſible expedition. He had hardly performed this neceſſary part of his duty, when M. de Bougainville appeared in the rear of the Engliſh, at the head of two thouſand freſh forces.

Two battalions with two pieces of artillery were immediately ordered to advance againſt him, and at their approach he retired among woods and ſwamps, where general Townſhend did not think it prudent to follow them.

During the action, M. de Montcalm was mortally wounded, and conveyed to Quebec, where he died. His ſecond in command was left wounded on the field, and being conveyed on board an Engliſh ſhip, expired the next day. About five hundred of the enemy were ſlain on the field of battle; and not leſs than a thouſand, including a great number of officers, were made priſoners.

In this memorable action the Engliſh had only fifty men killed and about five hundred wounded. But the death of the brave Wolfe was a national loſs, as he might juſtly be ranked among the greateſt generals who have adorned the Britiſh annals. He was an honour to ſociety, as a man poſſeſſed of a ſoul ſuſceptible of every generous and ſublime ſentiment, that can aggrandize humane nature, or influence to actions worthy a rational being. His dying breath witneſſed his ardent love of his country; for being rouzed from fainting in the laſt agonies by the ſound of *they run*, he eagerly aſked who run; and being told, the French, he ſaid, "Then, I thank God, I die contented:" and inſtantly expired.

The battle of Quebec was fought on the 12th of September, and on the 17th a flag of truce was ſent from the town with propoſals of capitulation, which being maturely conſidered by the general and admiral, were accepted and ſigned at eight next morning. By theſe articles it was agreed, that the garriſon of the town ſhould march out with all the honours of war, and be embarked as ſoon as convenient, in order to be landed at the firſt port in France; that the inhabitants ſhould not be removed nor obliged to quit their houſes, until their condition ſhould be ſettled by a definitive treaty between their moſt Chriſtian and Britannic

tannic majeſties; that the exerciſe of the Romiſh religion ſhould be permitted, as well as of all epiſcopal and clerical functions, till the poſſeſſion of Canada ſhould be determined between their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties; that the ſick, wounded, and all perſons employed in the hoſpitals ſhould be treated agreeable to the cartel ſettled between their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties; that before delivering up the gate and entrance of the town to the Engliſh forces, their general ſhould ſend ſome ſoldiers to be placed as ſafeguards at the church, convents, and chief habitations; and the commander of the city of Quebec ſhould be permitted to ſend advice to the marquis of Vandreuil, governor-general, of the reduction of the town, and alſo be allowed to tranſmit accounts of the ſame nature to the court of Verſailles.

The capitulation was no ſooner ratified, than the Britiſh forces took poſſeſſion of Quebec on the land ſide, and guards were poſted in different parts of the town to preſerve order and diſcipline. In the mean time, the inhabitants of the country came in great numbers to take the oaths of fidelity to the new government, and to deliver up their arms.

General Townſhend, having provided every neceſſary for the defence of Quebec, and left a garriſon of five thouſand effective men, under the command of brigadier Murray, embarked with admiral Saunders, and arrived in England about the beginning of the winter. Brigadier Monckton was carried to New York, where he happily recovered of his wounds.

A general joy was now transfuſed throughout the Britiſh dominions; a day of thankſgiving was appointed by proclamation, and the principal cities and corporations preſented addreſſes to his majeſty. The parliament petitioned the king, that he would order a monument to be erected in Weſtminſter-abbey to the memory of general Wolfe; and reſolved at the ſame time, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the generals and admirals employed in this ſucceſsful expedition.

The ſame ſucceſs attended the arms of Great Britain in the Eaſt Indies, where colonel Ford, who commanded the troops in Bengal, obtained a compleat victory over the French general Conflans, in the neighbourhood of Muſulipatam, which he entered in triumph. At the ſame time colonel Maitland was detached from Bombay with fifteen hundred ſeapoys, and nine hundred Europeans to inveſt the town and caſtle of Surat, which he attacked with ſuch fury, that both ſoon ſurrendered, on condition of being ſuffered to march out with their effects.

On the firſt of September vice-admiral Pocock ſailed from Madraſs in queſt of the enemy, and next day diſcovered their fleet conſiſting of fifteen ſail; but his endeavours to bring them to an engagement proved ineffectual, till the tenth, when the French admiral made a ſignal for battle. The action was maintained with great fury for two hours, when the whole French ſquadron bore away to the ſouthward under a crouded ſail. The Engliſh were in no condition to purſue them, many of their ſhips having ſuſtained much damage in their maſts, yards, and rigging. They loſt likewiſe above three hundred men, including captain Michie, who commanded the New-caſtle, captain Gore of the marines; the captains Somerſet and Brereton, with about two hundred and fifty men, were wounded. The Britiſh admiral with his ſquadron returned to the harbour of Madraſs. The French directed their courſe to the iſland of Mautitius, in order to refit, leaving the Engliſh maſters of the Indian coaſt; and this ſuperiority was ſoon confirmed by the arrival of rear-admiral Corniſh with four ſhips of the line, who joined admiral Pocock at Madraſs.

The Dutch, who during the the preſent war had maintained a puſillanimous and in ſome reſpects moſt inſiduous neutrality, were now excited by envy and jealouſy, and inſtigated by the governor of Batavia, to open acts of hoſtility in the Eaſt-Indies. They ſeized on ſeveral ſmall veſſels on pretence of retaliating affronts received from the Engliſh, and the Calcutta Indiaman, commanded by captain Wilſon ſailing down the river, the Dutch commodore gave him to underſtand, that if he preſumed to paſs, he would ſink him without further ceremony. Captain Wilſon, being in no condition to diſpute with ſuch ſuperior force, returned to Calcutta, where two other Indiamen were lying at anchor, and reported his adventure to colonel Clive, who immediately ordered the three ſhips to prepare for giving battle to the Dutch commodore. The ſhips having made the neceſſary preparations, and each of them taken on board two additional twelve-pounders, fell down the river, till they came near the Dutch ſhips, which drew up in line of battle to receive them. Three of the Dutch men mounted thirty-ſix guns, three twenty-nine, and one nineteen.

The duke of Dorſet, commanded by captain Forreſter, began the engagement with a broadſide, which was immediately returned. A ſevere conteſt was now maintained, till two of the Dutchmen ſlipping their cables bore away, and a third was driven on ſhore. Their commodore being thus weakened, after a few broadſides ſtruck his flag to captain Wilſon, and the other three followed his example.

On the part of the Engliſh there was not a ſingle man loſt in obtaining this victory, a circumſtance the more remarkable, as the Dorſet was torn almoſt to pieces, having received about ninety ſhot in her hull. Captain Wilſon took poſſeſſion of the prizes, and ſent the priſoners to colonel Clive at Calcutta.

The Engliſh arms were alſo crowned with ſucceſs on the coaſt of Coromandel, under the conduct of colonel Coote, who had lately arrived from England. This brave officer inveſted and reduced the fort of Wandewaſh, defeated the French army under general Lally, and finiſhed a hot and laborious campaign, with equal advantage to his country and honour to himſelf.

While the arms of Britain were thus extending their conqueſts in the Indies and America, their military operations in Europe were attended with the moſt fortunate events. It was now hoped by the friends of mankind, that the belligerent powers, whoſe reſources were nearly exhauſted, would have cloſed the ſcene of blood, and given repoſe to the world; but theſe pleaſing expectations vaniſhed, and each party prepared afreſh to decide the conqueſt by the ſword.

Freſh reinforcements from England, and recruits from different parts of Germany, had been ſent to ſtrengthen the forces of prince Ferdinand, who ſtill commanded the allied army. He had already formed a ſcheme for the operations of the enſuing campaign, the main drift of which was the expulſion of the enemy from Frankfort, before they could receive their expected reinforcements. This enterprize being determined on, he aſſembled

aſſembled all his forces near Fulda, amounting to forty thouſand choice troops, and began his march on the tenth of April. On the thirteenth he came in ſight of the enemy, whom he found ſtrongly encamped about the villageof Bergen,between Frankfort and Hanau. Their general, the duke of Broglio, who was conſidered as one of the beſt officers in France for conduct and intrepidity, no ſooner received intelligence of the prince's intention, than he diſpoſed his army in ſuch a manner as prevented the allies from making the attack any way but by the village.

Prince Ferdinand ſaw the advantage of their ſituation, notwithſtanding which he reſolved to give them battle. Accordingly, about ten in the morning the battle began; but the allies being repulſed in three attacks, and having loſt about two thouſand men, among whom was the prince of Yſſembourg, prince Ferdinand thought proper to retreat to Windehen; from whence, in a few days, he continued his march to Munſter.

This defeat was of the utmoſt conſequence to the French; for while their army enjoyed plenty in the neighbourhood of Duſſledorp and Crevelt by means of the Rhine, the allies laboured under a dearth of proviſions, becauſe the country they occupied was already exhauſted, and the ſupplies were brought from a greater diſtance.

The French army being encamped at Stadſburg, the duke of Broglio who commanded the right wing, advanced from Caſſel into the territories of Hanover, where he took poſſeſſion of Gottingen without oppoſition; while prince Ferdinand was obliged to retire as they advanced, after leaving ſtrong garriſons in Lipſtadt, Retberg and Minden.

But theſe precautions proved fruitleſs, for Retberg was ſurprized by the duke de Broglio, after which he took Minden by ſtorm; nor was it long before Munſter and Liſtpadt were obliged to ſubmit. The regency of Hanover, alarmed at the progreſs of the enemy, exerted their utmoſt endeavours to reinforce prince Ferdinand, which having done, the allied army now began to advance, and fixed their camp in an advantageous manner at Peterſhagen, a place about three leagues from the enemy.

From Peterſhagen prince Ferdinand marched towards Hillen, a village at a conſiderable diſtance on his right. He had the day before detached the hereditary prince with ſix thouſand men, to make a compaſs towards the enemy's left flank, and to poſt himſelf in ſuch a manner as to cut off the communication of their convoys from Paderborn. He had alſo left on the banks of the Weſer a body of forces, under the command of general Wangenheim, which extended to the town of Dodenhauſen, where they were entrenched, and ſupported by a conſiderable train of artillery.

The marſhal de Contades, having come to a reſolution of attacking the allied army, he ordered Broglio to repaſs the river with his corps, which being done, he advanced in eight columns, and about midnight croſſed the rivulet of Barta that runs along the moraſs, and falls into the Weſer at Minden. At day-break he drew up his army in order of battle, and began to cannonade the prince's quarters at Hillen, upon which two pieces of artillery were immediately conveyed to that place, and the officer of the piquet-guard poſted there received orders to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity.

The allied army now advanced in eight columns, and occupied the ground between Halen and Hemarn, while general Wangenheim's corps filled up the ſpace between this laſt village and Dodenhauſen. The chief attack made by the enemy was on the left,with a deſign to force Wangenheim's corps, and penetrate between it and the body of the allies; but they received a moſt ſevere check from a battery of thirty pieces of cannon erected on purpoſe to receive them. About five in the morning both armies cannonaded each other; and at ſix the fire of the muſquetry began with great fury. The weight of the battle was in a great meaſure ſuſtained by the Engliſh infantry, and ſome corps of Hanoverians, who ſtood the reiterated charges of ſo many bodies of horſe, with an intrepidity which was never exceeded. They cut to pieces, or totally routed, theſe bodies. Two brigades of foot attempted to ſupport them, but they ſoon vaniſhed before the Engliſh infantry. Waldegrave's and Kingſley's regiments diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a particular manner, nor were their commanders leſs conſpicuous. The enemy's horſe, which compoſed their center, being entirely defeated, and their right, which attacked Wangenheim, unable to make the leaſt way, they thought of nothing but a retreat.

At this inſtant prince Ferdinand diſpatched orders to lord George Sackville, who commanded the whole Britiſh, and ſeveral brigades of German cavalry, to advance. But the critical minute paſſed away, through ſome delay in waiting for an explanation of the orders, and the cavalry were not brought up time enough to have any part in the glory of the day. The enemy, however, were repulſed in every attack with conſiderable loſs; at length they gave way in all parts, and about noon abandoned the field of battle to the victors, who purſued them to the ramparts of Minden, the garriſon of which place ſurrendered next day at diſcretion.

In this action the loſs of the French amounted to about ſeven thouſand men killed, wounded, and taken priſoners, while that of the allies did not exceed two thouſand, twelve hundred of whom were Engliſh, for as they obtained the greateſt glory on this important day, ſo they were the greateſt ſufferers.

The next day prince Ferdinand paid the due honours to thoſe gallant corps, as well as to ſeveral of the Hanoverians, who had exhibited ſimilar tokens of valour; and upon the whole, gave the moſt undeniable proofs of his penetration to diſcern, as well as diſpoſition to reward, true bravery, and genuine merit. Notwithſtanding theſe extraordinary marks of his approbation of the conduct of ſome, there were expreſſions that ſeemed to convey very ſevere reflections on the behaviour of others. The prince required, with particular ſtreſs, that his orders by his aids de-camp ſhould, for the future, be more punctually obeyed; he alſo expreſſed his concern, that the marquis of Granby had not been inveſted with the command of the Britiſh cavalry; for his highneſs ſeemed to entertain no doubt but that the ſucceſs of the day would have been much more complete, if that brave officer had commanded.

The people of England were equally tranſported and incenſed at the news of a victory ſo glorious to the Britiſh forces, and a cenſure ſo diſgraceful to their commander, who, a few days after the battle, reſigned his command, and returned to London, where he was deprived of all his military employments. The marquis of Granby, whom the

opinion of prince Ferdinand, and the deſires of the whole army had pointed out, ſucceeded him in his command. An ardent courage, an affability of manners, a generous openneſs of ſoul, an extenſive benevolence, in ſhort, all qualities that compoſe the ſoldier or make the man, endeared him to the whole army, of which, indeed, he had long been the particular favourite.

No opportunity was now loſt by prince Ferdinand, of harraſſing the enemy, and driving them from place to place. Having defeated them in divers ſkirmiſhes, and made himſelf maſter of the town and caſtle of Marpurg, he proceeded with the army to Nerder-Weimar, and there encamped, while Contades remained at Gieſſen, on the ſouth ſide of the river Lahne.

Contades and Broglio had mutually accuſed each other of miſconduct, but the latter ſeemed to gain credit at the court of Verſailles, and in a little time he aſſumed the command of the French army, while Contades, d'Etrées, with ſeveral other general officers, received orders to return to Paris.

While the two armies lay encamped near each other, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the light troops and little excurſive parties. In the mean time the duke of Wirtemberg having occupied the town of Felda, the hereditary prince reſolved to beat up his quarters, and accordingly arrived with a ſelect body of forces before that place on the 30th of November about one in the morning. The troops of Wirtemberg, who were detached about in ſmall parties, retired haſtily into the town; whither they were followed by the hereditary prince, who purſued them to the other ſide of it, where four battalions were routed and taken. The duke de Broglio, who, (as the hereditary prince was detached with a party from the main army of the allies,) thought this a favourable opportunity for diſtinguiſhing the commencement of his command. Accordingly, on the twenty-fourth of December, he attempted to attack prince Ferdinand's army by ſurprize; but finding him perfectly prepared, and all his poſts well guarded, he was convinced that it would be more prudent to return to his former quarters, than to attack the camp of the enemy. This abortive attempt cloſed the operations of the campaign in Germany, and the reſpective armies retired into their winter quarters. Having thus given a particular detail of the operations of this campaign as far as they relate to the intereſts of Britain, we ſhall return to our affairs at home.

Mr. ſecretary Pitt preſented to the houſe of commons, on the nineteenth day of January, the copy of a convention between their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties, concluded and ſigned at London two days before; and alſo the copy of a convention between his majeſty and the landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, ſigned the ſame day. By the latter, nineteen thouſand of the troops of Heſſe Caſſel were taken into the pay of Great Britain, inſtead of twelve thouſand, the number then employed in the Engliſh ſervice; and the landgrave, in conſequence of the immenſe loſſes he had already ſuſtained in ſupport of the common cauſe, was to receive, beſides the ordinary pay of theſe troops, the ſum of ſixty thouſand pounds; and by the former, five hundred and twenty thouſand pounds were to be paid to his Pruſſian majeſty.

His majeſty ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, on the thirtieth day of May, informing them, that he had received advice, that the French court was making preparations for an invaſion of this kingdom; and though he was perſuaded, that, by the united zeal and affection of his people, any ſuch attempt muſt, under the bleſſing of God, end in the deſtruction of thoſe who engaged in it; yet he apprehended, that he ſhould not act conſiſtently with that paternal care and concern, which he had always ſhewn for the preſervation of his people, if he omitted any means in his power, that might be neceſſary for their defence. His majeſty had, therefore, thought proper to acquaint the parliament with his having received repeated intelligence of the actual preparations making in the French ports to invade this kingdom, and the imminent danger of ſuch an invaſion being attempted; in order that his majeſty might, if he thought proper, cauſe the militia, or ſuch part of it as might be thought neceſſary, to be drawn up and embodied, and to march as occaſion might require.

This meſſage was no ſooner read, than both houſes preſented addreſſes to his majeſty, giving him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that they would, with vigour and ſteadineſs, ſupport his majeſty in taking the moſt effectual meaſures to defeat the deſigns of his enemies; to preſerve and ſecure his perſon and government, the proteſtant ſucceſſion in his royal family, and the religion, laws, and liberties of theſe kingdoms. The ſeſſion of parliament was cloſed with a ſpeech to both houſes, in which his majeſty not only thanked the commons, but applauded the firmneſs and vigour with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging, that notwithſtanding the preſent burthens, the making ample proviſion for carrying on the war was the moſt probable means of bringing it to an honourable and happy concluſion. He aſſured them that no attention ſhould be wanting, on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted. They were informed, that his majeſty had nothing further to deſire, but that they would carry down the ſame good diſpoſitions, and propagate them in their ſeveral counties, which they had ſhewn in their proceedings, during the ſeſſion. As ſoon as this ſpeech had been delivered, the parliament was immediately prorogued.

In the month of June, this year, the prince of Wales having compleated the one and twentieth year of his age, the anniverſary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings, and his majeſty received the compliments of congratulation on the occaſion from the nobility, gentry, city of London, and many other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in profeſſions of attachment; nor was there the leaſt trace of diſaffection perceivable at this juncture, in any part of his majeſty's dominions.

The Britiſh miniſtry having, with becoming ſpirit and reſolution, retaliated the illicit commerce which the Dutch had carried on with the French, in the capture of ſeveral of their veſſels; the ſtates-general ſent three miniſters extraordinary to London, to make repreſentations, and remove, if poſſible, the cauſes of thoſe miſunderſtandings that had ariſen between Great Britain and the United Provinces.

Hereupon, the credentials were delivered to his majeſty, who aſſured them in reply, that he ſhould endeavour, on his part, to remove the obſtacles in queſtion; expreſſing, at the ſame time, his ſatisfaction, that the deputies were come over for that purpoſe.

But notwithſtanding theſe proceedings, the Dutch ſtill perſiſted in their inſidious conduct, and ſeized every opportunity of ſhewing a partiality in favour of the French.

Major general Yorke, the Britiſh miniſter at the Hague, therefore preſented a memorial to the ſtates-general, remonſtrating, that the merchants of Holland carried on a contraband trade in favour of France, by tranſporting warlike ſtores from the Baltic to Holland, in Dutch bottoms, under the borrowed names of private perſons. He deſired that an immediate ſtop might be put to practices ſo repugnant to the treaty ſubſiſting between the two nations. He obſerved, that the care his majeſty had taken to reſtrain the exceſſes of privateers, demanded their regard to his remonſtrances; that their trading towns felt the effects of theſe reſtrictions, and that if they ſeriouſly deliberated on the affair, they muſt neceſſarily acquit his majeſty of any hoſtile intention, or wilful infringement of treaty.

This memorial had ſome little effect for a ſhort ſpace of time, but the Dutch, who are too ſtrongly characteriſed for perfidy and avarice, ſoon lapſed into their former conduct, and, from venal motives, afforded aſſiſtance to the enemies of Great Britain.

The parliament being aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the fourteenth of November, the ſeſſion was opened by commiſſion, and the lord keeper made a ſpeech to both houſes, in which they were given to underſtand, that his majeſty had deſired him to aſſure them, that he thought himſelf perfectly happy in being able to call them together, at a time when the ſituation of affairs was ſo glorious to his crown, and advantageous to his kingdom. He told them, that he was commanded by his majeſty to acquaint them, that the happy progreſs of ſucceſs, from the taking of Goree on the coaſt of Africa, to the taking of many important places in America, with the defeat of the French army in Canada, and the reduction of their capital city of Quebec, effected with ſo much honour to the adminiſtration, and his majeſty's officers; together with the important ſucceſs of his majeſty's fleet off Cape Lagos, and the effectually blocking up, for ſo many months, the principal part of the navy of France, in their own ports, were events that muſt have filled the hearts of his majeſty's ſubjects, as well as his own, with the ſincereſt joy; and convinced his parliament, that there had been no want of vigilance or vigour on his part, in the exertion of thoſe means which they had put into his hands. He added, that this general joy muſt be greatly heightened by the advantages obtained over the enemy in the Eaſt-Indies; the victory gained at Minden, and the great and able conduct of his majeſty's general, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick. He told them, that his majeſty's good brother and ally, the king of Pruſſia, attacked and ſurrounded by ſo many conſiderable powers, had, by his magnanimity and abilities, and the bravery of his troops, been able, in a ſurpriſing manner, to prevent the miſchiefs concerted with ſuch united force againſt him. He declared, by the command of his ſovereign, that as his majeſty entered not into this war from views of ambition, ſo he did not wiſh to continue it from motives of reſentment; that his majeſty ſincerely deſired to ſee a ſtop put to the effuſion of human blood; that whenever ſuch terms of peace could be eſtabliſhed, as ſhould be juſt and honourable for his majeſty and his allies; and by procuring ſuch advantages, as, from the ſucceſſes of his majeſty's arms, might in reaſon and equity be expected, ſhould bring with them full ſecurity for the future; he ſhould rejoice to ſee the repoſe of Europe reſtored on ſuch ſolid foundations, and his faithful ſubjects happy in the bleſſings of peace: but in order to this great and deſirable end, he ſaid his majeſty was confident the parliament would agree with him, that it was neceſſary to make ample proviſion for carrying on the war, in all parts, with the utmoſt vigour. Finally, he repeated the aſſurances from the throne, of the high ſatisfaction his majeſty took in that union and good harmony, which was ſo conſpicuous in his loving ſubjects; and obſerved, that experience had ſhewn how much the nation owed to this union, by which alone the true happineſs of the people could be ſecured.

In the beginning of this year died the princeſs dowager of Orange and Naſſau, governante of the united provinces and eldeſt daughter of his Britannic majeſty, ſincerely regretted by the republic, as well as the court of London.

Her highneſs, by her will, appointed the king her father, and princeſs dowager of Orange, her mother-in-law, honorary tutors; and prince Louis of Brunſwick, acting tutor to her children.

The death of this amiable princeſs was ſoon followed by that of the princeſs Elizabeth Caroline, ſecond daughter of his late royal highneſs Frederic, prince of Wales, who died at Kew, in the month of September, before ſhe had attained the eighteenth year of her age.

This year the liberal arts ſuſtained an irreparable loſs by the death of George Frederic Handel, the moſt conſummate muſician of his age. He was a native of Germany, but had ſtudied in Italy, and afterwards ſettled in England, where he lived the darling of the ſons of Apollo, univerſally admired for his extraordinary genius for the ſublime in muſical compoſitions.

A. D. 1760. The parliament continued ſitting till the 22d of May, when a great number of bills were paſſed by commiſſion, after which the lord keeper cloſed the ſeſſion.

It has been already obſerved, that Thurot, as commodore of a ſmall ſquadron of five ſail had, in the preceding year, received from the French miniſtry inſtructions to ſail from Dunkirk, round the northern coaſt of Scotland in order to alarm the coaſt of Ireland, and favour an intended deſcent. It appears in the ſequel, that Thurot had been purſued by commodore Boys, and that on the Britiſh commander's being under a neceſſity of putting into Leith for a ſupply of proviſion, the Frenchman, before he could put to ſea again, had taken ſhelter at Gottenburgh in Sweden in the month of October. From thence they proceeded to Bergen in Norway, and this year, about the latter end of January, he ſailed again for the northern part of Ireland, with a deſign of making a deſcent about Derry; but before this project could be put in execution, they were driven out to ſea by a violent ſtorm, and in the night loſt one of their ſhips which never joined them again. As ſoon as the weather would permit, Thurot ſteered for the iſland of Iſla, where he landed his forces in hopes of finding ſome refreſhment, and accordingly they were ſupplied with ſome black cattle, and a little oatmeal, for which they paid a reaſonable price.

By this time the arrival of this enterprizing adventurer in the Britiſh ſeas had alarmed the whole nation. Bodies of regular troops and militia were poſted along the coaſts of Ireland and Scotland, and beſides the ſquadron under commodore Boys, who ſailed to the northward in purſuit of Thurot,

ſeveral ſhips of war were ordered to ſcour the Briſtol channel, and cruize between Scotland and Ireland.

In the mean time Thurot's ſquadron ſailed from Iſla to Carrickfergus, where they anchored at twelve, and at three in the afternoon landed their forces, amounting in number to ſix hundred men.

The people on ſhore having diſcovered and ſuſpected them to be enemies, while they were bringing their fleet to an anchor, the troops were immediately aſſembled, and orders were ſent to the caſtle to continue the guards under arms. Lieutenant Hall went off with a reconnoitring party, and took poſt on a riſing ground, where he could plainly perceive eight boats landing armed men; he therefore gave orders to his non-commiſſioned officers and men, to watch their approaches, and take particular care they did not get round them by going along the foot of the hill. He then went to the town himſelf, and acquainted lieutenant-colonel Jennings with what he had done; upon which the colonel, with the troops on the parade, ordered the gates and avenues of the town to be defended by detachments made from the main body.

Thurot's people were, by this time, in full march, and a few ſtraggling huſſars, mounted on horſes they had picked up after landing, attempted to enter the gates; they retired on the firſt fire, but were ſoon ſupported by parties of foot, who attacked both the North and Scotch gates, but theſe were alſo repulſed, and kept back as long as the men had ammunition. Before the gates of the caſtle were ſhut, the enemy appeared in the market place, and finding our fire now grow ſlack, they attacked the gates, and at length forced them and marched in. Lieutenant-colonel Jennings, lord Wallingford, captain Bland, lieutenant Ellis, with ſome other gentlemen, and about fifty men, ſtill made a ſtand, and repulſed the enemy.

But all their ammunition being at length exhauſted, and lieueenant-colonel Jennings finding it would be in vain any longer to reſiſt, ſurrendered on condition that the troops ſhould march out with all the honours of war, and the officers be on their parole in Ireland; that an equal number of French priſoners ſhould be ſent to France within one month, or as ſoon as ſhips could be got ready for that purpoſe; that the caſtle of Carrickfergus ſhould not be demoliſhed, nor any of the ſtores deſtroyed or taken out of it; and that the town and country of Carrickfergus ſhould not be plundered or burnt, on condition that the French troops were furniſhed with neceſſary proviſions by the mayor and corporation. The enemy, however, were ſoon obliged to abandon their conqueſt, for Thurot having received intelligence that a conſiderable body of forces were, by this time, collected, he ordered his men to re-embark immediately.

Advice from the lord lieutenant of Ireland having, in the interim, been tranſmitted to captain Elliot, commander of his majeſty's ſhip Æolus, of thirty guns, who was ſtationed at Kinſale, that three French ſhips had appeared off Carrickfergus, he ſailed with the Pallas and Brilliant, two frigates of thirty-ſix guns each, in queſt of them. On the evening of the twenty-ſixth of February he made the port of Carrickfergus, but the wind blowing contrary, he could not poſſibly get in. On the 28th he got ſight of the enemy, and about nine o'clock came along ſide of the commodore; in a few minutes the action became general, and having continued about an hour and a half, all the enemy's ſhips ſtruck their colours. The French loſt their gallant commander Thurot, and about three hundred men. The brave Thurot, whoſe humanity was equal to his valour, was unfortunately killed, after he had ordered his colours to be ſtruck, and two men were killed at the ſtaff, while they were endeavouring to ſtrike them.

Only five men were killed, and thirty-one wounded, in this engagement, on the part of the Engliſh; the enemy's ſhips were much damaged in their maſts and rigging, and were brought by captain Elliot into Ramſay bay, in the iſle of Man, to refit. The Belleiſle, the French commodore's ſhip, was, with the utmoſt difficulty, prevented from ſinking, after having loſt her bowſprit, mizenmaſt and main yard.

The attention of the public, which had been engroſſed by this event, was ſoon afterwards wholly engaged by the trial of lord George Sackville, for diſobeying the orders of prince Ferdinand, at the battle of Minden. In order to invalidate the charge brought againſt him, he made a very elaborate defence. But from the depoſitions of ſeveral principal officers it was deemed equivocal; thoſe gentlemen poſitively denying the facts upon which it was founded. The court martial, having examined the evidence, and heard the defence, gave judgment in theſe words: "The court, upon due "conſideration of the whole matter before them, "is of opinion, that lord George Sackville is "guilty of diſobeying the orders of prince Ferdi-"nand of Brunſwick, whom he was by his com-"miſſion and inſtructions directed to obey as com-"mander in chief, according to the rules of war; "and it is the further opinion of the court, that "the ſaid lord George is, and he is hereby "adjudged, unfit to ſerve his majeſty in any "military capacity whatſoever." His ſentence was confirmed by the king, who, moreover, ſignified his pleaſure, that it ſhould be given out in public, not only in Great Britain, but in America, and every quarter of the globe, where any Engliſh troops happened to be, that officers being convinced, that neither high birth, nor great employments can ſhelter offences of ſuch a nature; and, that ſeeing they are ſubject to cenſure much worſe than death, to a man who is not loſt to all ſenſe of honour, they may avoid the fatal conſequences ariſing from diſobedience of orders. His majeſty alſo ordered the name of lord George Sackville to be ſtruck out of the liſt of privy counſellors.

This ſummer was diſtinguiſhed by the trial and execution of Laurence earl Ferrers, who perpetrated a deliberate murder on one Mr. Johnſon, his own ſteward. Lord Ferrers had, ſome time before, married a very amiable lady, but behaved to her in ſo unbecoming a manner, that application was made to the houſe of peers, and a ſeparation effected by act of parliament. In conſequence of this ſtatute, truſtees were appointed, and Johnſon was to receive the revenues of the earl's eſtate. This act exaſperated his lordſhip to the higheſt degree, and ſuſpecting Johnſon to have joined with the reſt of his family againſt his intereſt, he laid a plan for his deſtruction. Accordingly, he ſent for him to his houſe under pretence of conſulting with him on buſineſs of importance. Johnſon, ſuſpecting nothing of this diabolical contrivance, attended, and was received with appearance of friendſhip. But ſoon after the earl ſhot the unfortunate victim with a piſtol he had loaded for that purpoſe. A

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premeditated deſign of ſo horrid a nature alarmed the whole nation, and the people, with one voice, cried aloud for juſtice. Nor did they implore in vain: he was tried before the houſe of peers, and the lord keeper Henley, who was appointed lord high ſteward on the occaſion, after having made a ſhort ſpeech touching the heinous nature of the offence, pronounced the ſame ſentence of death upon the earl, which the loweſt claſs of malefactors undergo; that from the Tower he ſhould, on the Monday following, be carried to the common place of execution, there to be hanged by the neck, and his body be afterwards diſſected and anatomized; but the lords, his judges, by virtue of a power veſted in them, reſpited his ſentence for one month, that he might have time to ſettle his concerns.

The criminal was extremely ſhocked at the laſt part of the ſentence; he changed colour, his jaw quivered, and he appeared to be in the utmoſt agitation: but he behaved with aſtoniſhing compoſure and unconcern during the remaining part of his life.

From the paſſing of the ſentence to the time of execution, he had recourſe to various methods, in order to ward off the fatal ſentence, but perſuaded, at length, of the inefficacy of all efforts to obtain ſo undeſerved a pardon, he ſent a letter to his majeſty, remonſtrating on the ignominy of the death to which he was aſſigned, and requeſting that he might be allowed to ſuffer in the Tower; but this indulgence was refuſed.

His body being demanded by the ſheriffs on the fifth day of May, at the Tower gate, in conſequence of a writ under the great ſeal of England, directed to the lieutenant of the Tower, he was delivered up, and then attended to the place of execution by one of the ſheriffs and the chaplain of the Tower, followed by the chariots of the ſheriffs, a mourning coach and ſix filled with his friends, and a hearſe for the conveyance of his body.

On his approaching the place of execution, he expreſſed an earneſt deſire to ſee and take leave of a certain perſon, who waited in a coach, for whom he entertained a ſincere regard; but the ſheriff prudently obſerving that ſuch an interview might ſhock him, at a time which required the exertion of all his fortitude, he declined it, and delivered to him a pocket book, a ring, and a purſe, deſiring they might be given to that perſon, whom he then declined ſeeing.

He had been conveyed from the Tower in his landau, at his own requeſt; and when he came to Tyburn, he got out of it, and aſcended the ſcaffold with an undaunted countenance. He refuſed to join the chaplain in his devotion, but kneeling with him, he repeated the Lord's prayer, and added, with great energy, "O Lord, forgive me "all my errors, and pardon all my ſins." The ſtage was then removed from under his feet, and the fatal ſentence executed as adjudged, after which his body was conveyed to Surgeons Hall, where it remained for ſome days, and was then taken away and privately interred by direction of his friends.

The only conſiderable damage ſuſtained by the navy of Great Britain ſince the beginning of this year, was the loſs of the Ramillies, a magnificent ſhip of the ſecond rate belonging to the ſquadron which admiral Boſcawen commanded on the coaſt of France, in order to watch the motions, and diſtreſs the commerce of the enemy. The admiral was obliged, by ſtreſs of weather, to return to Plymouth in the beginning of February, where he arrived with much difficulty; but the Ramillies overſhot the entrance to the ſound, and being embayed near a point called the Bolt-head, about four leagues higher up the channel, was daſhed in pieces among the rocks, after all her cables had given way. All her officers and men, amounting to ſeven hundred, periſhed on this occaſion, except one midſhipman and twenty-five ſeamen, who ſaved their lives by leaping on the rocks, as the hull was thrown forwards, and raiſed up by the ſucceeding billows.

The war in America was carried on with the ſame vigour as in the preceding year. The French emiſſaries from the province of Louiſiana had, by their arts, induced the Cherokees, a numerous and powerful nation of the Indians ſettled on the confines of Virginia and Carolina, to break out in open acts of hoſtility againſt the Engliſh, which they began by plundering, maſſacreing and ſcalping ſeveral Britiſh ſubjects of the more ſouthern provinces. In conſequence of theſe inſtances of cruelty and injuſtice, application was made for aſſiſtance to general Amherſt, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in America. He forthwith detached twelve hundred choſen men to South Carolina, under the command of colonel Montgomery, brother to the earl of Eglington. Immediately after his arrival at Charles Town, he proceeded to the Twelve-mile river, which he paſſed without oppoſition in the beginning of the month of June.

From Twelve-mile river he proceeded, by forced marches, until he arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town called Little Keowee, where he encamped in an advantageous ſituation. Determined to ſurprize the enemy, he left his tents ſtanding, with a ſufficient guard for the camp and waggons, and marched through the woods towards the Cherokee town of Eſtatoe, and in this rout detached a body of light-horſe and infantry to deſtroy the village of Little Keowee, where they were received with a ſmart fire, but they ruſhed in with their bayonets, and killed all their opponents.

In the mean time, the main body continued their rout towards Eſtatoe, which they reached in the morning, but it had been abandoned about half an hour before their arrival. Some few of the Indians, who had not time to eſcape, were ſlain; and the town, conſiſting of two hundred houſes, was deſtroyed.

In order to intimidate theſe ſavages, it was thought neceſſary to make ſome examples of ſeverity; and the ſoldiers became obdurate when they found in one of the Indian towns the body of an Engliſhman, whom they had ſcalped that very morning.

Colonel Montgomery proſecuted his devaſtation with great rapidity; in the ſpace of a few hours, he deſtroyed Sugar-town, and every village and houſe in the lower nation. All the men that were taken ſuffered immediate death, but the greateſt part had eſcaped with the utmoſt precipitation.

Having thus taken vengeance on the perfidious Cherokees, the colonel returned to Fort Prince George, with about forty Indian women and children, whom he had made priſoners. Two of their warriors were ſet at liberty, and deſired to inform their nation, that though they were yet in the power of the Engliſh, they might ſtill reap the advantages and bleſſings of peace if they would make proper ſubmiſſion.

This meſſage, however, produced no effect, upon which colonel Montgomery reſolved to make a ſecond irruption into the middle ſettlements of the Cherokees, and began his march on the twenty-fourth of June.

After having ſuſtained a very troubleſome fire from the enemy, they at length arrived at the town of Etchowee, which the inhabitants had forſaken, having taken every thing of value away with them. For the ſpace of two days after this, the colonel purſued his rout without interruption; but afterwards ſuſtained ſome ſtraggling fires from the woods, though the parties of the enemy were put to flight as often as they appeared. In the beginning of July, he arrived at Fort Prince George, having loſt about ſeventy men, killed and wounded, in this expedition.

The Cherokees now aſſembled a conſiderable number, and formed the blockade of Fort Loudon, a ſmall fortification near the confines of Virginia, defended by an inconſiderable garriſon, and ill ſupplied with proviſions and neceſſaries. Having ſuſtained a long ſiege, and being reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs, the commander held a council of war, to deliberate on their then ſituation, when they were unanimouſly of opinion, that as it was impoſſible to prolong their defence, they ſhould accept of an honourable capitulation; and captain Stuart ſhould be ſent to treat with the warriors about the conditions of their ſurrender. This officer, being diſpatched with full powers, obtained a capitulation of the Indians, by which the garriſon was permitted to retire.

The garriſon evacuated the Fort in conſequence of this treaty, and had marched about fifteen miles on their return to Carolina, when they were ſurprized by a large body of Indians, who maſſacred all the officers except captain Stuart, and ſlew five and twenty of his ſoldiers: the reſt were made priſoners, and diſtributed among the different towns and villages of the nation.

Attakullakulla, or the Little Carpenter, one of the Indian chiefs, generouſly interceded for the life of captain Stuart, and having ranſomed him at the price of all he could command, conducted him ſafe to Holſton river, where he found major Lewis had advanced with a body of Virginians.

During theſe tranſactions in the ſouthern colonies of America, the military tranſactions in the more northern parts were carried on with equal vigour.

The garriſon of Quebec, which was left under the command of general Murray, had ſuffered greatly from the exceſſive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetable and freſh proviſions; inſomuch, that before the end of April, near two thouſand ſoldiers were ſo ill of the ſcurvy as to be unfit for ſervice, and about one thouſand had died of that diſorder.

Such was the ſituation of the garriſon when general Murray received intelligence that the French commander, the chevalier de Levy, was employed in aſſembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal; and that he determined to undertake the ſiege of Quebec, whenever the river St. Lawrence ſhould be clear of ice, and he could make proper uſe of his veſſels.

Being informed on the night of the twenty-ſixth, that the enemy had landed at Point au Tremble, to the number of ten thouſand men, with five hundred ſavages, he ordered all the bridges over the river Caprouge to be broken down, ſecured the landing places of Sylleri, and the Foulon, and marching the next day with a ſtrong detachment, and two field pieces, took poſſeſſion of an advantageous ſituation, and thus defeated the ſcheme which the French commander had projected, for cutting off the poſts which the Engliſh had eſtabliſhed. Theſe being all withdrawn, the general marched back to Quebec, with little or no loſs, although his rear was much harraſſed by the enemy. There he formed a reſolution of hazarding a battle, on failure of which he determined to hold out the place to the laſt extremity, then to retreat to the iſle of Orleans, or Condres, and there wait, with the remainder of the garriſon, for a reinforcement.

Having taken theſe reſolutions, he gave the neceſſary orders over-night, and on the twenty-eighth of April, in the morning, marched out with his ſmall army of three thouſand men, which he formed on the heights, in order of battle. The right brigade, commanded by colonel Burton, conſiſted of the regiments of Amherſt, Anſtruther, and Webb; and the ſecond battalion of Americans conſtituted the corps de reſerve; major Dallings's corps of light infantry covered the right flank: the left was ſecured by captain Huzzen's company of rangers, and one hundred volunteers, under the command of captain Donald Macdonald; and two field pieces were allotted for the ſecurity of each batalion.

The general, having reconnoitred the enemy, perceived that their van had taken poſſeſſion of the riſing ground about three quarters of a mile from his front, but that the army was on their march in one column. Determined to attack them before they were formed, he advanced towards them with equal order and expedition. After a warm conteſt, they were driven from the heights, and in the mean time their army advanced and formed in columns. Their van conſiſted of ten companies of grenadiers, two of volunteers, and four hundred ſavages; their center, of eight battalions formed in four columns, with ſome bodies of Canadians; their rear of two battalions and ſome Canadians in the flanks; and two thouſand Canadians formed the reſerve. Their whole army conſiſted of twelve thouſand men. Major Dalling bravely diſpoſſeſſed their grenadiers of a houſe and a windmill, which they occupied in order to cover their left flank; and in this attack the major and ſome of his officers were wounded; nevertheleſs, the light infantry purſued the fugitives to a corps, which was formed to ſuſtain them; the purſuers then halted, and diſperſed along the front of the right, a circumſtance which prevented that wing from taking advantage of the firſt impreſſion they had made on the left of the enemy. The light infantry being ordered to regain the flank, were, in attempting this motion, furiouſly charged, and thrown into diſorder; they then retired to the rear in ſuch a ſhattered condition, that they could never again be brought up during the whole action. Otway's regiment was immediately ordered to advance from the body of reſerve, and ſuſtain the right wing, an attempt to penetrate which the enemy had twice made in vain.

In the mean time, the left brigade of the Britiſh forces had diſpoſſeſſed the French of two redoubts, and ſuſtained, with amazing intrepidity, the whole efforts of the enemy's right, until being overpowered by numbers, they were fairly fought down. The French now attacked them with great impetuoſity, and a freſh column of the regiment of Rouſillon penetrating the left wing of the Britiſh army,

it gave way; the diſorder was ſoon communicated to the right, ſo that after a very obſtinate diſpute, which laſted an hour and a half, general Murray was obliged to quit the field, with the loſs of the greateſt part of his artillery, and above a thouſand men killed and wounded. The enemy, however, loſt twice that number of men without deriving any eſſential advantage from their victory. On the very evening of the battle, the French opened the trenches before the town, which the general, having made the neceſſary preparations, reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity.

Lord Colville had ſailed from Hallifax, with the fleet under his command, on the twenty-ſecond of April, but was retarded in his paſſage, by great ſhoals of ice which floated down the river, thick fogs and contrary winds. Commodore Swanton, who had ſailed from England with a ſmall reinforcement, arrived about the beginning of May, at the iſle of Bec, in the river St. Lawrence, where, with two ſhips, he propoſed to wait for the reſt of the ſquadron, which had ſeparated from him in his paſſage: but one of theſe, the Loweſtoffe, had entered the harbour of Quebec on the ninth of May, and informed the governor that the ſquadron was arrived in the river.

As ſoon as commodore Swanton was informed that Quebec was beſieged, he ſailed up the river, and on the fifteenth in the evening landed at Point Levy, where the general expreſſed an earneſt deſire that the French ſquadron above town might be removed. The commodore, therefore, ordered captain Schomberg, of the Diana, and captain Deane of the Loweſtoffe, to ſlip their cables early the next morning, and attack the enemy's fleet, conſiſting of two frigates, two armed ſhips, and a large number of ſmaller veſſels. They were no ſooner in motion, than the French ſhips fled in the utmoſt confuſion. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran aſhore, and was burnt, at Point au Tremble, and all the other veſſels were either deſtroyed or taken.

The enemy, having received undoubted information that a ſtrong Engliſh fleet was already arrived in the river St. Lawrence, and being much intimidated by the above diſaſter, on the following night they thought proper to raiſe the ſiege of Quebec, and retreat in the moſt precipitate manner, leaving their proviſions, implements, and artillery behind them.

The attempts of the French againſt Quebec being thus defeated, they began to take meaſures for the preſervation of Montreal, againſt which the force under general Amherſt was directed; but of ſo little effect were all their ſchemes, that on the ſeventh of September, general Amherſt took full poſſeſſion of it, and thus compleated the conqueſt of Canada; a conqueſt, the moſt important of any atchieved by the Britiſh arms, as by theſe means the ſafety of the Engliſh colonies in America was effected; the Indian furr trade, in its full extent, veſted in the hands of the Engliſh; the French intereſt among the ſavage Indians totally extinguiſhed; and their American poſſeſſions reduced to a ſmall track on the weſt of the Miſſiſſippi, which, on any future occaſion, might be eaſily conquered.

The Britiſh arms were no leſs ſucceſsful in the Eaſt Indies. The ſettlement of Carical was reduced by the ſea and land forces under the command of rear admiral Corniſh and major Monſon. Colonel Coote had defeated Lally in the field, and ſubdued ſeveral ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel. Five ſhips of the line, commanded by captain Haldane, blocked up Pondicherry by ſea, while Col. Coote carried on the ſiege by land. The garriſon defended the town with great reſolution: at length, however, the city of Pondicherry, with a garriſon of about fourteen hundred European ſoldiers, a vaſt quantity of military ſtores, and great riches, were given up at diſcretion to the conquerors. A ſmall French ſettlement on the coaſt of Malabar was next reduced, by which means Great Britain commanded the whole trade of the vaſt peninſula of India, from the Ganges to the Indies, the moſt extenſive and profitable ſphere of commerce in the known world.

The general joy which muſt naturally have ariſen from a ſeries of ſucceſſes not to be paralleled in the hiſtory of any nation, was now totally damped by the death of his majeſty king George the Second, who expired early on the morning of the 25th of October, at his palace at Kenſington, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, and thirty-fourth of his reign. He had not the leaſt warning of this fatal ſtroke, having ariſen at his uſual hour, drank his chocolate according to cuſtom, enquired about the wind as if anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails, and ſignified, as the weather was calm and ſerene, his intention of walking in the gardens. But a few minutes after he had given this intimation, and while he remained alone in his chamber, he fell on the floor, the noiſe of which brought in ſeveral of his attendants, who lifted him on the bed, where, in a faint voice, he deſired that Amelia might be called; but before the princeſs could reach the apartment, her royal father expired. It appeared on examination, that the cauſe of his death was beyond the reach of the healing art, being a rupture of the right ventricle of the heart, which occaſioned an immediate ſtoppage of the whole circulation.

George II. attained to a greater age than any of his predeceſſors, and exceeded the greater part of them in the length of his reign. Nor was this protracted ſeries undiſtinguiſhed by that public tranquillity and domeſtic felicity, to which monarchs, from a variety of cauſes, are too frequently ſtrangers. In his days commerce flouriſhed, agriculture and manufactures were daily improving, and the liberal arts were cultivated and cheriſhed by the wiſe regulations of parliament, and the generous aſſiſtance of learned and virtuous individuals. He had the ſingular pleaſure, at the laſt period of his reign, to ſee the ſpirit of party, which had long and malignantly raged in theſe kingdoms, wholly extinguiſhed; and his people firmly united in the proſecution of a war as general and expenſive as had diſturbed the world for many centuries.

To crown his happineſs, he had ample demonſtration that he reigned in the hearts of his ſubjects, as well as that he was the dread and terror of the perfidious and ambitious houſe of Bourbon, and the admiration of the firſt characters in the known world. If his parts were not the moſt lively nor brilliant, his judgment was ſolid and comprehenſive. He was well verſed in the political ſyſtem of Germany, from which originated the continental wars during his reign; and ſuch was his attachment to the general rights and intereſts of mankind, that he always oppoſed, to the utmoſt of his abilities, every attempt that tended to affect the ballance of power. Though his temper might be haſty and impetuous, his diſpoſition was humane; and, to ſum up his character, the whole tenour of his actions apparently beſpeaks the great prince and the good man.

George the ſecond had iſſue by queen Caroline, two ſons and five daughters, who arrived at years of maturity; Frederick, late prince of Wales, the father of his preſent majeſty; William, late duke of Cumberland; Anne, the princeſs royal, married to the late prince of Orange, and mother to the preſent ſtadtholder; Mary, landgravine of Heſſe Caſſel; Louiſa, late queen of Denmark; and Amelia and Caroline, who were never married.

Remarkable Occurrences during the Reign of George II.

A. D.

1729 On the firſt of January this year there happened ſo great a fog in London, that ſeveral chairmen miſtook their way in St. James's Park, and fell with their fares into the canal: many perſons fell into Fleet-ditch, and conſiderable damage was done on the Thames by boats and barges running foul of each other.

1730 This year five Cherokee chiefs arrived in England, and ſubmitted themſelves and country to the Engliſh government.

Copper firſt imported into England from Virginia.

1731 Forgery firſt puniſhed with death in England.

This year the national debt amounted to 48,985,638l. 12s. 9½d.

1734 Franking of letters firſt permitted to members of parliament.

1735 The number of gin-ſhops this year in London amounted to upwards of ſeven thouſand.

On the 16th of February the tide in the Thames roſe ſo high that the lawyers were obliged to be carried out of Weſtminſter-hall in boats, and by the great quantity of rain that fell on that day numbers of cattle were deſtroyed in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, particularly in the marſhes of Eſſex.

1739 This year was remarkable for one of the ſevereſt froſts ever known in England. It began on Chriſtmas-day, and continued without intermiſſion upwards of ſeven weeks. The Thames was frozen over in ſuch a manner, that a public fair was held on it, and booths erected for the reception of all thoſe whoſe curioſity led them thither. The hardſhips of the poor were extremely great; but, to the everlaſting honour of the Engliſh, let it be recorded, that they did every thing in their power to alleviate the diſtreſſes of their ſuffering fellow-ſubjects. From the king, down to the humble tradeſman, each ſeemed anxious to be moſt forward in acts of benevolence; ſo that a national calamity revived decaying charity.

The firſt ſtone of Weſtminſter-bridge laid on the 29th of January, and in the month of October was laid the firſt ſtone of the Manſion-houſe.

1741 In the ſummer of this year the city of London, and places adjacent, were viſited with an epidemic fever, which, for ſeveral months together, carried off great numbers of people. The cauſe of it was ſuppoſed to ariſe from the heat of the weather, which occaſioned a coagulation of the blood, or a ſtagnation thereof in the capillary arteries. This diſtemper ſpread all over the nation; and was alſo ſenſibly felt in Ireland.

1744 Tar water firſt recommended in medicine.

1748 On the 25th of March, early in the morning, a dreadful fire broke out at the houſe of Mr. Eldridge, a peruke-maker in Exchange-alley, Cornhill. The flames were ſo furious, that notwithſtanding there was the greateſt ſupply of water and engines, with every other poſſible aſſiſtance, yet before noon upwards of 80 houſes were entirely conſumed, beſides many others very conſiderably damaged. Mr. Eldridge and his family all periſhed in the flames: and Mr. Cook, a merchant, who lodged in the houſe, broke his leg by jumping out of the window, and died ſoon after. The damage occaſioned by this accident was eſtimated at 200,000l.

In the ſame year, in the evening of the 4th of Auguſt, many ſwarms of locuſts were ſeen in the air in different parts of London. They were ſuppoſed to have come from Poland and Hungary, where they had this ſummer ſettled in vaſt quantities, and deſtroyed all the fruits of the earth. The next day great numbers of them were found in Pall-mall, St. James's Park, and Southwark. They ſoon, however, diſappeared, as was ſuppoſed from the difference of our climate to that from whence they came; and this tranſient viſit rather produced an amuſement to exerciſe the curioſity of the people, than any preſage of danger.

On the 2d of December, in the ſame year, there aroſe a prodigious hurricane of wind, which continued for near eight hours. A great number of houſes were intirely blown down, others ſtripped of their roofs, and many trees torn up by the roots. Several perſons, in paſſing the ſtreets, were greatly hurt by the falling of chimnies and ſigns; and a child who was ſtanding by the fire was killed by the bricks of the chimney falling within-ſide the houſe. The moſt conſiderable damage was done to the ſhipping and ſmall craft in the river, and ſeveral perſons were drowned. Many ſhips were driven on ſhore, and great damage done on the coaſts of Kent and Suſſex.

1750 In the beginning of this year two ſhocks of an earthquake were felt in London, the firſt of which happened on the 8th of February, and the ſecond on the 8th of March.

1752 The new ſtile took place in England Sept. 3, which was made the 14th.

With reſpect to the ſtate of learning during the reign of George II. it continued advancing towards perfection. Many great men appeared in the literary world, and although they did not make ſuch ſhining figures as ſome have done in the preſent reign, yet they laid a foundation for the nobleſt improvements in every art and ſcience. Simpſon, Saunderſon, and M'Laurin carried the knowledge of the mathematics to an height unknown before. Phyſic and natural hiſtory were cultivated by many learned gentlemen, among whom were Dr. Mead and Sir Hans Sloane; and Doctors Warburton and Newton ſtood forth in defence of Divine Revelation. In a word, the reign of George II. produced many great men, ſome of whom are now bright ornaments to their country, while ſuch as are dead have left behind them the moſt illuſtrious examples.

BOOK

BOOK XVI.

From the Acceſſion of GEORGE III. to the preſent Time.

GEORGE III.

CHAP. I.

Acceſſion of George III. Proſecution of the war. Naval ſucceſſes. Reduction of Belleiſle. Nuptials, and coronation of their Britannic majeſties. Spain declares in favour of France. Mr. Pitt and lord Temple reſign their employments. War declared againſt Spain. Reduction of Martinico, the Havannah, and the Manillas. Succeſs of the Britiſh arms by ſea and land. Birth of the prince of Wales. Preliminaries of peace ſigned at Fontainbleau. Peace proclaimed with France and Spain. Public entry of the Venetian ambaſſadors. Proceedings relative to Mr. Wilkes. His expulſion from the houſe of commons. Marriage of the princeſs Auguſta with the hereditary prince of Brunſwick. Tranſactions in the Eaſt Indies and in North America. Peace concluded with ſeveral Indian nations by Sir William Johnſton. German emigrants relieved by public benefactions, and ſent to South Carolina. Bill for ſtamp duties in America. New regulations there. Trial and acquittal of lord Byron for the murder of Mr. Chaworth. Regency bill. Eaſt India affairs. Conſequences of the ſtamp act in America. Death of the duke of Cumberland. Repeal of the ſtamp act. Marriage of the princeſs Carolina Matilda with the king of Denmark. Riots on account of the exorbitant price of proviſions. Cognizance taken by government of the proceedings of the India company. Diſturbances encreaſe in America. King of Denmark arrives in England. Mr. Wilkes again expelled the houſe. Re-elected. Changes in the miniſtry. Tumults at Boſton. Dreadful fire in Portſmouth dock. Advice of Falkland's iſlands being ſeized by the Spaniards. The lord mayor (Braſs Croſby, Eſq.) and Mr. Alderman Oliver committed to the Tower, but releaſed at the prorogation of parliament.

MR. Secretary Pitt no ſooner received the melancholy information of the death of his late ſovereign, than he immediately repaired to Kew, and communicated the important event to the heir-apparent. The lords of the privy council were immediately aſſembled, and next day his majeſty king George III. was proclaimed with the uſual ſolemnity. His majeſty then addreſſed himſelf to the council aſſembled at Carlton houſe in a ſpeech, implying his reſolution to proſecute the ſame meaſures which had been planned under the late king; which being made public, the apprehenſions of ſome perſons, who vere fearful of a change in the adminiſtration of affairs, were entirely removed.

His majeſty then took and ſigned the oath relating to the ſecurity of the church of Scotland, and ſubſcribed two inſtruments thereof; one of which was tranſmitted to the court of ſeſſion, and afterwards lodged in the public regiſter of Scotland; the other remained among the records of the council. Both houſes of parliament were immediately aſſembled, and the members ſworn in by the proper officers; a proclamation having been publiſhed, requiring all perſons in poſts of authority or government on the demiſe of the late king to proceed in the execution of their reſpective offices. A proclamation was iſſued for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and the prevention and puniſhment of prophaneſs and immorality.

Never did prince aſcend the throne of his anceſtors with greater eclat than this young monarch, who, at the time of his acceſſion, was in the 23d year of his age. Such was the tide of popular affection, that addreſſes flowed in from every part of the kingdom. The houſes of parliament led the way, and were followed by the magiſtrates and merchants of London, the clergy, and the principal cities and corporations throughout the kingdom. Indeed, the people in general ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of loyalty and affection to their new ſovereign.

On the evening of the 10th of November, the body of the late king was removed from Kenſington to the Prince's Chamber, where it lay in ſtate till next day, when it was interred with great funeral pomp, in the royal vault in the chapel of Henry VII. the duke of Cumberland acting as chief mourner on the ſolemn occaſion.

The parliament being aſſembled on the 18th, his majeſty addreſſed both houſes in a moſt elegant ſpeech from the throne, importing, the juſt concern he felt for the loſs of the late king; the critical time in which he was called to the government; his reliance on the bleſſing of heaven, and their united aſſiſtance; the peculiar glory of his having been born and educated in this country, and his title to the name of Briton; aſſurances of his inviolable attachment to the civil and religious liberties of his ſubjects, and fixed purpoſe to encourage the practice of religion and virtue; his peculiar ſatisfaction in the ſucceſſes with which the Britiſh arms had been crowned in the different quarters of the globe; his reſolution to reward the valour of his officers by ſea and land; and deſired they would, in concurrence with the king of Pruſſia, proſecute the war with vigour. With this view, he requeſted of the houſe of commons the neceſſary ſupplies, and aſſured them of a faithful application, as well as regular œconomy on his part; and concluded with reminding them, that the eyes of Europe were upon them, and that the iſſue of a war of ſuch great importance to themſelves and their allies, muſt depend on the vi-

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

His Majesty King
GEORGE
III.

Metz delin. *Heath sculp.*

Born
June 4. 1738.

Published as the Act directs by T. Verdon Mar. 1. 1781.

Crowned
September 22. 1761.

528-1

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*

Her Majesty
QUEEN
CHARLOTTE

Metz delin. *Grignion sculp.*

Published as the Act directs July 26 1783.

Born 19. May 1744 ——— *Crowned 22. Sept. 1761.*

528-2

gour, unanimity, and diſpatch of their proceedings.

As at the commencement of every reign, it is cuſtomary for the members of both houſes to repeat the oaths; that ceremony was performed with the uſual ſolemnity, as ſoon as the king retired; after which each houſe prepared an addreſs, replete with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of loyalty and affection.

A. D. 1761. In conſequence of a motion which was made for granting a ſupply to his majeſty, the commons voted for the ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the dignity of the crown, during his life, ſuch a revenue, as, together with the annuities payable by virtue of any act of parliament made in the reign of the late king, of the hereditary civil liſt revenues, ſhould amount to the yearly ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds, to commence from the demiſe of his late majeſty; to be charged upon, and made payable out of the aggregate fund. At the ſame time they reſolved, that the ſeveral revenues payable to his late majeſty, during his life, which continued to the time of his demiſe (other than ſuch payments as were charged, and iſſuing out of the aggregate fund,) ſhould be granted and continued from the time of the ſaid demiſe, to his preſent majeſty during his life; and the produce of the ſaid revenues, together with that of the hereditary revenues, which were appointed towards the ſupport of the late king's houſhold, ſhould be, during the ſaid term, added to, and conſolidated with, the aggregate fund.

But we muſt now advert to the affairs of the continent. Early in the year, the French king, in conſequence, doubtleſs, of the loſſes he had ſuſtained through the victories with which the Britiſh arms had been crowned in every quarter of the globe, began to throw out hints by means of his ambaſſadors at different courts of his diſpoſition to reſtore the peace of Europe, and affected a peculiar moderation with reſpect to Great Britain, provided ſhe ſhould appear in any degree to acquieſce in reaſonable terms.

In conſequence of this intimation the courts of Peterſburg, Vienna, France, Sweden and Poland, having made ſeveral declarations which were ſigned at Paris, and delivered at London the thirty firſt of March; the counter declaration of Great Britain and Pruſſia appeared on the third of April; and Augſburg was appointed for the place of congreſs, as being moſt conveniently ſituated for the ſeveral powers at war.

Lord Egremont, lord Stormont, ambaſſador in Poland, and general Yorke, ambaſſador in Holland, were nominated as plenipotentiaries for England; and the count de Choiſeul was appointed on the part of France. The public converſation was now diverted from ſcenes of horror, to the more agreeable contemplation of this public ſcene of magnificence, and the events, which, in all probability, would happen conſequent thereon.

It was unanimouſly agreed, with a view to render the negotiation as unembarraſſed as poſſible, to admit none but the principal parties, and their allies to this treaty. As the German war was referred to the treaty of Augſburg, the great and main object of the general war, the limits of America were ſeparately conſidered at London and Paris. For this purpoſe, miniſters were mutually ſent from thoſe courts; M. de Buſſy on the part of France, and Mr. Stanley on that of England.

But unhappily, the plan of the treaty was more eaſily adjuſted than the ſubſtance. The proper quarrel of France was no ſooner ſeparated from the general cauſe, than ſhe had every diſadvantage in the negotiation; the reſource, ſhe, therefore, ſought was in Spain, which ſhe imagined could not be an idle ſpectator of the humiliation of the principal branch of the houſe of Bourbon. Thus, in effect, all the advances which France ſeemingly made towards a peace, were ſo many ſteps towards the renovation of the war; and whilſt at London ſhe breathed nothing but moderation, and the moſt earneſt deſire of putting a period to the calamities of Europe; at Madrid ſhe was taking the moſt vigorous meaſures to encreaſe and continue them.

There were yet many obſtacles on the part of Great Britain. The extenſive conqueſts of he arms had raiſed proportionable expectations in the minds of the people, who deemed it unreaſonable to make almoſt any conceſſions to a nation, whoſe every public procedure was founded on ambition, and to whom they now thought they had a right to give laws.

The miniſtry, on the other hand, were by no means inſenſible, from the ſituation of the allies in Germany, that though their caſe was in the plan ſeparated from the main object in diſpute between the courts of France and England, it muſt have an influence on the final determination of the treaty.

In this ſituation of doubt and perplexity, they thought the beſt means they could purſue was, a vigorous proſecution of the war; accordingly, prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick was empowered to carry into execution the operations he had planned in the beginning of the winter; and another expedition was prepared in England, the object of which was kept a profound ſecret.

The French had entirely poſſeſſed themſelves of Heſſe before the cloſe of the laſt campaign; they had driven the allies from the Lower Rhine, where they kept a conſiderable body of troops on that ſide; on the right they poſſeſſed the town of Gottingen, in which they had placed a very ſtrong garriſon, ſo that the allies were ſhut up on this quarter alſo, whilſt the Hanoverian dominions were left entirely open to the enterprizes of the enemy.

Prince Ferdinand, ſenſible of the inconvenience of his ſituation, and of the advantages the enemy had over him, determined, on this emergency, to act with vigour. In the beginning of February he aſſembled his army, and began his march towards Caſſel on the 11th, in four columns; the command of the vanguard being aſſigned to the marquis of Granby, who advanced to Kirkberg and Metz.

In the mean time the hereditary prince, having received intelligence that the French garriſon of Fritzlar was not prepared for a defence, marched thither with a few battalions in hopes of carrying the place by aſſault. But unfortunately the garriſon was prepared and reſolute, and though he attacked it with great ſpirit, he was obliged to draw off with conſiderable loſs, and wait for the arrival of ſome artillery, which was uſed with ſuch vigour that the governor was compelled to capitulate on honourable terms.

The marquis of Granby was employed, with ſucceſs, in reducing the forts and caſtles in this neighbourhood. The allied army boldly advanced, and the French continually retired, abandoning poſt after poſt, and fell back almoſt to the Maine. They fired their magazines as they retreated, but the allies purſued with ſuch alacrity, that they ſaved five capital ſtores, which, affording proviſion for

the cavalry, was of the utmoſt ſervice in promoting their advances.

Prince Ferdinand now reſolved to reduce Caſſel, before the duke de Broglio ſhould receive any reinforcements. As it was neceſſary, previous to the ſiege of this place, to clear the adjacent country of the enemy, and to cut off the communication of the garriſon and their grand army, the prince, after Broglio had been driven out of Heſſe, and retreated towards Franckfort, ceaſed to advance, and formed that part of the army which was with him, into a chain of cantonments, making a front towards the enemy; thus he propoſed to watch the motions of Broglio's army, to cover the ſiege of Caſſel, and the blockades of Marpurg and Zeingenheim, which he had ordered to be inveſted. The ſiege of Caſſel was carried on by the count of Dippe Schaumberg, a ſovereign prince of the empire, reputed one of the ableſt engineers in Europe. Trenches were opened on the firſt of March, and all eyes were turned to this point, on the ſucceſs of which depended the whole fortune of the campaign, as the inferior places muſt inevitably fall with it if that was reduced.

M. de Broglio, in order to relieve this important place, called in, though with the utmoſt difficulty, his moſt diſtant poſts, embodied his army, inſpired them with new ſpirit, and made them capable, by a more exact order in their diſcipline and a great ſuperiority in their numbers, of attempting ſome important enterprize.

Prince Ferdinand had three ſtrong poſts of the enemy in his rear, and their grand army united in his front. This obliged him to call in general Sporcken's body, which had effected its purpoſe and could beſt be ſpared. However, the prince kept his poſition as long as poſſible; and the ſiege was carried on with as much vigour as a winter operation, and the ſpirited defence of a numerous garriſon, under an able commander, could admit.

By this time the duke de Broglio was joined by all the detachments he expected from the Lower Rhine, and advanced towards the allies, who were then unable to meet him in the field. On the 21ſt of March the detachment, under the hereditary prince, was on its advance from Heimbach, encountered by a numerous body of the enemy near the village of Stangerode in the neighbourhood of Grunberg. The attack was made by the enemy's dragoons, the very firſt ſhock of which broke the whole foot of the allies, conſiſting of nine regiments of Hanoverians, Heſſians, and Brunſwickers. The French, on this occaſion, though very few were killed or wounded on either ſide, took two thouſand priſoners, together with ſeveral trophies of victory.

The ſeverity of this blow was ſuch, that the allies, who could no longer think of making head againſt the French, or of maintaining their ground in Heſſe, raiſed the ſiege of Caſſel, retired behind the Dymel, and fell back near to the quarters they poſſeſſed before this undertaking.

Notwithſtanding the loſſes the French ſuſtained in the Eaſt Indies by the evacuation of Pondicherry and other ſettlements, they found means to intereſt in their cauſe a prince of the Mogul empire, called Shah Zadda, who took the field at the head of fourſcore thouſand men, againſt the forces of the Engliſh company, commanded by major John Carnack, and reinforced by the ſuba of Bengal. This army conſiſted of five hundred Europeans, two thouſand five hundred ſeapoys, and twenty thouſand black troops, with twelve pieces of cannon. The ſhah made an effort to join two rajas, who had taken up arms againſt the ſuba; but receiving intelligence that they were already reduced by the Engliſh troops, he ſurrendered at diſcretion to the ſuba, and promiſed to ſupport him in his pretenſions to the Mogul empire, with the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh company.

In the courſe of this year rear-admiral Holmes, commander of the ſquadron at Jamaica, made ſome important captures. The iſland of Dominique, which the French had ſettled and fortified, was attacked by a ſmall body of troops under the command of lord Rollo, together with four ſhips of the line and ſome frigates. After ſuſtaining a ſhort but vigorous ſiege, the inhabitants delivered up their arms, and took the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic majeſty. The Engliſh cruizers in the channel met with the greateſt ſucceſs, and ſeveral commanders of frigates ſignalized their valour on divers occaſions.

The miniſtry were determined at all events to ſubdue Belliſle, the longeſt of all the European iſlands belonging to the French king. Accordingly, the fleet, which was commanded by commodore Keppel, and the land forces by general Hodgſon, arrived before Belliſle on the ſeventh of April, and on the eighth agreed to attempt a landing on the ſouth eaſt of the iſland, in a ſandy bay, near Lochmaris point. The attempt was made in three places with great reſolution; a few grenadiers got on ſhore and formed themſelves: but, as they were not ſupported, they were for the greateſt part made priſoners. The reſt of the army, after ſeveral brave efforts, being unable to force the enemy's lines, or make good their landing, were obliged to retire with loſs; the chief cauſe of this diſaſter was, that ſeveral of the flat-bottomed boats were deſtroyed or damaged in a hard gale, which ſprang up while the Engliſh were retiring from the ſhore; near five hundred men, killed, wounded, and taken priſoners, were loſt in this attack.

The weather was ſo bad that the Engliſh were unable to make a ſecond attempt for ſome conſiderable time after the firſt; but, however, they found at length a convenient opportunity, and the attempt was accordingly made. Beſides the principal attack, two feints were made at the ſame time to deceive the enemy, whilſt the men of war directed their fire with great judgment towards the hills, which produced a conſiderable effect.

In the mean time Brigadier Lambert pitched upon the rocky point of Lochmaris, where captain Paterſon, at the head of Beauclerk's genadiers, and captain Murray with a detachment of marines, climbed the precipice and ſuſtained the fire of the enemy, till they were ſupported by the reſt of the troops, who now landed very faſt, when the French were obliged to abandon their batteries. All the forces were landed on the 25th of April, without further moleſtation; and the loſs in this daring, tho' ſucceſsful attempt, was inconſiderable. The great difficulty which now remained was, to bring forward the cannon, which were to be dragged up the rocks, and afterwards, for two leagues along a very rugged road. This was at length effected, the ſiege commenced, and the garriſon, commanded by the chevalier de St. Croix, an experienced officer, threatened a long and obſtinate defence. The enemy made ſome ſallies, one of which had a conſiderable effect, major-general Crawford being made priſoner on the occaſion. But the Engliſh, rouzed by theſe checks, made a furious attack upon the enemy's lines, which covered the town, and

Her Majesty QUEEN CHARLOTTE *landing at* HARWICH,
on her way to St. James's Palace Sept.r 7. 1761.

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they were carried without much loſs, chiefly by the intrepidity of a new raiſed regiment of marines.

The enemy now entirely abandoned the town, and the defence was confined to the citadel. As the Engliſh fleet cut off all communication with the continent, and conſequently all hopes of relief, the place muſt neceſſarily be reduced; but the chevalier, though he could not maintain it, was determined to ſell it as dear as poſſible. Accordingly, there was no mention made of ſurrendering, till the ſeventh of June, when there was not the leaſt proſpect of ſuccour; and the place was by no means ſafely tenable. In conſequence of this the French general capitulated, and the garriſon marched out with the honours of war. In this expedition, the loſs of the Engliſh, in killed and wounded, amounted to about eighteen hundred men.

The members of the privy council, having aſſembled in the month of July, his majeſty informed them that, "having nothing ſo much at heart, "as to promote the welfare and happineſs of his "people, and to render the ſame ſtable and per"manent to poſterity, he had, ever ſince his ac"ceſſion to the throne, turned his thoughts towards "the choice of a princeſs for his conſort, and, now, "with great ſatisfaction, acquainted them, that, "after the fulleſt information, and matureſt deli"beration, he had come to a reſolution to demand "in marriage the princeſs Charlotte, of Meck"lenberg Strelitz; a princeſs diſtinguiſhed by "every eminent virtue, and amiable endowment; "whoſe illuſtrious line had conſtantly ſhewn the "firmeſt zeal for the proteſtant religion, and a "particular attachment to his family; that he had "judged proper to communicate to them theſe his "intentions, that they might be fully apprized of "a matter ſo highly important to him and his "kingdoms, and which he perſuaded himſelf "would be moſt acceptable to all his loving ſub"jects." The then council unanimouſly requeſted that his majeſty, for the ſatisfaction of his people in general, would make this declaration public.

The ambaſſador extraordinary appointed on this occaſion to the court of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, was the earl of Harcourt, who was authorized to demand the princeſs, and ſign the contract of marriage; and the royal yachts were prepared, under convoy of a ſquadron, commanded by lord Anſon, to convoy the princeſs to England. The dutcheſſes of Ancaſter and Hamilton were appointed ladies of the bed-chamber, to attend her from the court of Mecklenburg, in her paſſage to England, and embarking at Harwich, the whole fleet ſet ſail for Stade, on the eighth of Auguſt. On the ſeventeenth the princeſs, accompanied by the reigning duke her brother, ſet out with all her attendants for Mirow, and proceeded to Perleberg, where the count de Gotton complimented her in the name of his Pruſſian majeſty. On the twenty-ſecond ſhe arrived at Stade, under a general diſcharge of cannon, and amidſt the acclamations of the people. Next day ſhe embarked in a yatcht at Cuxhaven, where the Britiſh ſquadron, aſſembled for her convoy, ſaluted her with a diſcharge of cannon.

The eager and anxious curioſity of the people of England was never more conſpicuous than during this interval. After a tedious voyage of ten days, during which the fleet was expoſed to contrary winds and tempeſtuous weather, the princeſs landed on the ſeventh of September, in the afternoon, at Harwich; from whence ſhe proceeded with her attendants, by the way of Colcheſter, to Witham, and lodged at a houſe belonging to the earl of Abercorn. In the mean time the king, being apprized by couriers of her arrival, diſpatched his own coaches, with a party of horſe-guards, who met her at Rumford, and conducted her to London, through innumerable crowds of people: thus accompanied, the princeſs proceeded to the garden gate of the palace of St. James's, where ſhe was handed out of her coach by the duke of Devonſhire, in quality of lord-chamberlain. At the gate ſhe was received by the duke of York, and in the garden ſhe was met by the king. When ſhe made her obeiſance, he raiſed her by the hand, and led her up to the palace, where they dined, together with the whole royal family. At nine the nuptial ceremony was performed in the royal chapel, which had been magnificently decorated on the occaſion. Beſides the royal family, all the great officers of ſtate, the nobility, peers, and peereſſes, and foreign miniſters were preſent at the ſervice, the concluſion of which was announced to the people by the diſcharge of the artillery in the Park, and at the Tower; and the cities of London and Weſtminſter were illuminated in honour of this auſpicious event. His majeſty received congratulatory addreſſes from the city of London, the univerſities, and the cities, towns, and corporations, in all parts of the Britiſh dominions, on this happy occaſion.

Nothing now remained but the ſplendid ceremony of the coronation, which was appointed to be performed on the 22d of September. Weſtminſter-hall was accordingly prepared for the banquet, by removing the courts of judicature, erecting canopies, and building galleries for the accommodation of ſpectators. All the houſes and ſtreets within ſight of the proceſſion were crowded with benches and ſcaffolding, which, when filled with people of both ſexes dreſſed in the moſt ſplendid manner, filled the mind with an aſtoniſhing idea of the wealth and proſperity of Great Britain.

While the court of London was thus engaged, the allied army under prince Ferdinand continued their vigilance and activity; nor did the French remain motionleſs.

A reſolution to attack the allied army having been formed by mareſchal de Broglio, he united his troops to thoſe of the prince of Soubiſe, at a place called Soeſt, between Lipſtadt and Ham. On the other hand, as ſoon as the general of the allies was apprized of the French mareſchal's intention, he poſted his army in a very advantageous manner. The left wing he placed between the rivers Aeſt and Lippe, the left extremity of which, under general Wutgenau, extended to the Lippe, by which it was perfectly ſecured; and the right was ſupported by the village of Kirch Denkern, ſituated immediately on the Aeſt. The marquis of Granby commanded in that wing, with the aſſiſtance of lieutenant-general Howard, and the prince of Anhalt, who were poſted near the above village. Behind the river Aeſt, on a conſiderable eminence, was placed the center, commanded by general Conway: and, on a continuation of the ſame eminence, the right wing, under the hereditary prince, ſtretched out towards the village of Werle, and was well defended on the flank by rugged and buſhy ground.

On the 15th of July in the evening, the enemy made a furious attack on lord Granby's poſt, which was ſuſtained with the moſt intrepid bravery, till the arrival of general Wutgenau, who, advancing on his

his left, and charging them in flank, obliged them to retire into the woods with precipitation.

The diſpoſition of the allies was compleated by the next morning; and it was evident, that the French were prepared for a more furious attack than the former. M. Broglio commanded againſt the left wing of the allies; the prince de Soubiſe led the left wing and center of the French.

At three in the morning the whole French army advanced again to the attack on the ſide where Wutgenau was poſted, and there was a ſevere and continual fire for upwards of five hours, before the leaſt effect could be perceived on either ſide. About nine the prince diſcovered that the enemy were preparing to erect batteries on an eminence in the front of the marquis of Granby's camp: he therefore immediately ordered a body of troops to anticipate this operation by making a vigorous charge. Accordingly, they advanced with the greateſt intrepidity, and attacked the enemy with ſuch fury, that they were ſoon obliged to give way, and abandon the field to the conquerors. The French would, in all probability, have ſuffered a total defeat, had the nature of the ground permitted the artillery to act. They had, however, about three thouſand killed and taken priſoners in this attack, loſt ſome colours and a few pieces of artillery. Prince Ferdinand's loſs did not exceed five hundred men.

The French, notwithſtanding the conſiderable loſs they had ſuſtained, were ſtill ſuperior in number. Broglio now penetrated ſtill farther into the electorate of Hanover, took poſſeſſion of Keſter, and fortified the place. The allied army being greatly inferior to the French, prince Ferdinand retired to Dumolt, and called in moſt of his detachments. The French general encamped near him on the heights of Neim, and ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened between the two armies, in one of which prince Henry, brother to the hereditary prince, was mortally wounded.

During theſe tranſactions general Luckner, at Caſſel, routed a large body of the enemy, and took many priſoners. Nor were the French inactive. Broglio, having paſſed the Weſer with his whole army, prince Ferdinand made a forced march, paſſed the Dymel, and advanced to Caſſel. The French general, perceiving he could not now advance to the city of Hanover without bringing on a general engagement with the allied army, thought proper to retreat; after which prince Ferdinand proceeded to Paderborn, and eſtabliſhed his head quarters at Buhne. After different attacks, ſkirmiſhes, and operations on both ſides with various ſucceſs till about the middle of the month of November, the duke de Broglio quartered his troops in and about Caſſel, and along the Lower Rhine. The allies were diſtributed throughout ſeveral places in the neighbourhood of Munſter. The Britiſh cavalry wintered in Eaſt Frieſland, and the infantry in the biſhopric of Oſnaburg.

While war was thus raging in almoſt every quarter of the globe, the congreſs at Augſburg was intended to be opened for a general peace; but ſuch was the ſubtle and politic prevarication of the French, and the unprecedented interpoſition of the Spaniards, that the intention was rendered abortive, and the congreſs never took place. The Spaniſh ambaſſador was called upon to diſavow the repreſentation he had made, but ſo far from that, he returned, as authorized by the court of Madrid, a written anſwer, in which he juſtified the ſtep he had taken as agreeable to the ſentiments of his maſter. He declared that the kings of France and Spain were united not only by the tie of blood, but by a mutual intereſt; he applauded his moſt Chriſtian majeſty for the humanity and greatneſs of mind he had demonſtrated in the propoſition that was complained of. He inſiſted much on the ſincere deſire of peace, the only motive which influenced the conduct of the two monarchs; and he preſumptuouſly added, "That if "his maſter had been governed by any other prin- "ciples, his Catholic majeſty, giving full ſcope "to his greatneſs, would have ſpoken for him- "ſelf, and as became his dignity."

From the whole of this paper it plainly appeared, that the court of Spain, as a kind of party, was regularly apprized of every ſtep that was taken in the negotiation; that her judgment was appealed to upon every point, and her authority called in aid to force the acceptance of the terms offered by France; that there was a perfect union of affections, intereſts, and councils between thoſe two courts; and M. de Buſſy the French agent, ſo far from denying or palliating this conduct, ſeemed to make it a matter of boaſt and triumph.

Without entering into a tedious detail of the ſeveral memorials which were delivered in, or referring numerically to the ſeveral articles, ſuffice it to obſerve, that the Engliſh miniſtry, having the greateſt reaſon to doubt the ſincerity of the French, ſent directions to Mr. Stanley to return to England, and to deſire that M. Buſſy ſhould, on the part of his court, receive the ſame orders; accordingly, on the twentieth of September, an end was put to this negotiation.

From a variety of circumſtances, Mr. Pitt was fully perſuaded that the intentions of Spain were equivocal, and that their partiality, which they ſtrongly avowed, not only by declarations, but by facts, would drive them into all the meaſures of France. He therefore declared, that a war, on that account, was inevitable; that we ought to conſider the evaſions of that court as a refuſal of ſatisfaction, and that refuſal as a declaration of war; that we ought from prudence as well as ſpirit, to ſecure to ourſelves the firſt blow; that to carry on this war with vigour, it was only neceſſary to continue our preſent efforts, no new armament would be neceſſary; and that if any war could provide its own revenues, it muſt be a war with Spain; that their flota had not yet arrived, and that the taking of it would at once diſable their hands and ſtrengthen ours; that this procedure, ſo ſuited to the nation, and the inſults it had received, would be a leſſon to Spain, and to every other power, how they ſhould preſume to dictate in our affairs; and that we ſhould allow our enemies, whether ſecret or declared, no time to recollect themſelves.

Very different, however, were the ſentiments of moſt of the other miniſters on this occaſion. They admitted, that we ought not to be terrified from the aſſertion of our juſt demands by the means of any power; they owned that Spain had taken a very extraordinary and very unjuſtifiable ſtep, but that we ought to allow, and wiſh for an explanation; they declared, that to plunge into ſuch meaſures in the manner propoſed, and upon no better grounds, could not fail to alarm all Europe, and that we could derive no advantage from this precipitate conduct, which would not be more than counterbalanced by the jealouſy and terror it would neceſſarily create in every nation near us. As to the ſeizure of the flota, it was not to be depended upon, as, at the very time of that deliberation, it might

might be expected to be safe in its harbour, and, perhaps, if we could succeed in seizing it, we might perform a service not very advantageous to our own commerce, and by no means agreeable to neutral nations.

By this opposition, Mr. Pitt declared, that "this "was the time for humbling the whole house of "Bourbon; that if this opportunity was let slip, it "might never be recovered, and if he could not "prevail in this instance, he was resolved that this "should be the last time he would sit in that "council. He thanked the ministry of the late "king for their support; said he was himself called "to the ministry by the voice of the people, to "whom he considered himself accountable for his "conduct, and that he would not remain in a situ-"ation, which made him responsible for measures "he was no longer allowed to guide."

On the division Mr. Pitt and lord Temple were the only voices in favour of the immediate declaration of war; upon which, after stating their reasons in writing, they resigned their employments; his majesty, the day following, in consideration of his eminent services, settled a pension of three thousand pounds per annum on Mr. Pitt for three lives, and at the same time his lady was made countess of Chatham in her own right.

This able and upright minister with very little parliamentary, and less court influence, maintained a sway both in the council and the senate, and, under his guidance, Great Britain carried on the most extensive war with the most signal success.

The new parliament assembled at Westminster on the third of November, when his majesty, being seated on the throne, commanded the attendance of the commons, to whom he signified his pleasure, by the lord-high-chancellor, that they should return to their house and chuse a speaker. Accordingly, their unanimous choice fell upon Sir John Cust, baronet, a gentleman of capacity and great probity.

The king, having approved of the speaker, on his next going to the house of peers, addressed the parliament in a speech, wherein he told them that the military operations had not only been carried on with vigour, but crowned with success, in the reduction of Belleisle, Dominique, and Pondicherry; as well as the defeat of the enemy's projects, by the able conduct of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, and the valour of his troops, and by the abilities and bravery of the king of Prussia; that he was persuaded they would concur in opinion with him, that the vigorous prosecution of the war was the most probable means of procuring a lasting peace; and that no consideration should induce him to depart from the true interest of these his kingdoms, and the honour and dignity of his crown. He informed the house of commons, that he had ordered the proper estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before them; and desired such supplies as might enable him to prosecute the war with vigour, assuring them of the faithful application of whatever might be granted. He told them, that he doubted not but their affectionate regard for him and the queen would induce them to make an honourable provision for her in case she should survive him; and concluded with a general declaration, that from a confidence of the zeal and good affections of his parliament, he was well assured they would pursue the most proper measures without any particular exhortations on his part.

Both houses presented to his majesty addresses filled with the warmest expressions of duty and loyalty, together with congratulations on the success of his arms in the four quarters of the globe. The commons had hardly settled the supplies, when advice was received from the earl of Bristol, his majesty's ambassador at Madrid, importing, that having demanded a categorical declaration with respect to the part his Catholic majesty intended to act in the disputes between the courts of London and Versailles, he had received at first a very evasive and unsatisfactory answer. The ambassador added, that on repeating his remonstrance, he was answered, that the Spanish monarch had already taken his measures in concert with the court of Versailles; that war was that moment declared against Great Britain, and that therefore the earl might return home when he thought proper. Soon after the count de Fuentes, ambassador from Spain at the court of London, delivered to the earl of Egremont, who had succeeded Mr. Pitt, as secretary of state for the southern department, a paper calculated for sewing jealousies, and fomenting divisions among the subjects of Great-Britain, containing bitter invectives against the person of Mr. Pitt.

A. D. 1762. On the fourth of January, war was declared in form against Spain. Letters of marque were issued, and preparations made with the greatest diligence and dispatch for humbling that proud and ambitious monarch. On the 19th his majesty went to the house of peers and addressed the parliament in a speech, in which he expressed his reliance on the divine blessing, on the justice of his cause, on the zealous and powerful assistance of his faithful subjects, and the concurrence of his allies; who must find themselves involved in the pernicious, and extensive projects of his enemies. The two houses then presented addresses to his majesty, assuring him, in the most affectionate and loyal manner, that they would vigorously support the justice of his cause.

Some time before Mr. Pitt resigned the seals of his office, he had determined to employ a very considerable part of the British forces against the French colonies in the West-Indies. A strong squadron was accordingly fitted out and sailed from Spithead in the month of October in the preceding year, having under their convoy a number of transports, with four battalions from Belleisle, to join at Barbadoes a strong body from North America, together with some regiments and volunteers from Guadaloupe, and the Leeward islands, and proceed in concert with the fleet already on that station, and make a conquest of Martinique, which, since the attempt of general Hodgson, had been strengthened by a large body of men, and the building of new fortifications.

The reduction of this island was an object of the highest importance to Great-Britain, not only on account of its own intrinsic worth, and the detriment the loss of it must occasion to the enemy, but likewise for the security of the English trading ships, which the privateers of Martinique had greatly annoyed.

The armament from North America and England, under the command of major general Monckton and rear admiral Rodney, amounting to eighteen battalions and as many ships of the line, besides frigates, bombs, and fire ships, having rendezvoused at Barbadoes in the month of December, proceeded from thence on the fifth of January; and on the eighth the fleet and transports anchored in St. Ann's bay, in the eastern part of Martinique, after the ships of war had silenced some batteries, which the enemy had erected on that part of the coast.

In the course of this service, the Raisonable, a

ſhip of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from whence ſhe could not be got off; the men, however, were happily ſaved, together with her ſtores and artillery. The general being of opinion that this was an improper place for landing, two brigades, commanded by the brigadiers Haviland and Grant, were detached under convoy to the bay of Petitenſe, where a battery was cannonaded and taken by the ſeamen and marines. Theſe brigades were ſoon followed by the whole army, and the reſt of the ſquadron, and other batteries being ſilenced, general Monckton and the forces landed without oppoſition on the ſixteenth in the neighbourhood of Cas des Navires. The brigadiers Haviland and Grant had made a deſcent in the other place, and marched to the ground oppoſite Pidgeon Iſland, but general Monckton altered his firſt deſign on finding the roads impaſſable for the artillery.

The troops being landed at Cas des Navires, and reinforced with two battalions of marines, the general reſolved to beſiege the town of Fort Royal, but, in order to make his approaches, he found it neceſſary to attack the heights of Garnier, and Tortueſon, which the enemy had fortified, and ſeemed reſolved to defend to the laſt extremity. For this purpoſe he raiſed a battery to protect the paſſage of a ravine which ſeparated him from thoſe heights, and made a diſpoſition for the attack, which, on the twenty fourth of January, was carried into execution.

About break of day brigadier Grant, at the head of the grenadiers, ſupported by lord Rollo's brigade, attacked the advanced poſts of the enemy, under a briſk fire of the batteries; while brigadier Ruſarne, with his brigade, reinforced by the marines, marched up on the right to attack the redoubts that were raiſed along the ſhore; and the light infantry under colonel Scot, ſupported by the brigade of Walſh, advanced on the left of a plantation, in order, if poſſible, to turn the enemy. By nine in the morning they were in poſſeſſion of Morne Garnier. Major Leland with his light infantry, finding no reſiſtance on the left, advanced to the redoubt which was abandoned; and the brigadiers Walſh, Grant, and Haviland moved up in order to ſupport him, ſo that by nine at night the Engliſh troops were in poſſeſſion of this very ſtrong poſt, that commanded the citadel, againſt which their own artillery was turned in the morning. The French regular troops had fled into the town, and the militia diſperſed in the country. The governor of the citadel, perceiving the Engliſh employed in erecting batteries on the different heights by which he was commanded, ordered the chamade to be beat, and ſurrendered the place by capitulation.

The gate of the citadel was delivered up to the Engliſh on the fourth of February, and next morning the garriſon, to the number of eight hundred, marched out with the honours of war.

Fort Royal was no ſooner reduced, than deputations were ſent from different quarters of the iſland, deſiring a capitulation; but the governor-general, M. de la Touche, retired with his forces to St. Pierre, which he propoſed to defend to the laſt extremity. On the ſeventh, Pidgeon iſland, which was ſtrongly fortified, and deemed one of the beſt defences of the harbour, ſurrendered at the firſt ſummons.

This conqueſt was obtained at the ſmall expence of about four hundred men including a few officers killed and wounded, in the different attacks; but the loſs of the enemy was much more conſiderable. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Fort Royal, and a much greater number from other ports in the iſland were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in conſequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who, in all other reſpects, were treated in the moſt humane manner.

General Monckton was juſt ſetting out for the reduction of St. Pierre when two deputies arrived with propoſals of capitulation for the whole iſland, on the part of M. de la Touche, the governor-general. The terms were adjuſted, and the capitulation ſigned on the fourteenth, and on the ſixteenth the Engliſh commander took poſſeſſion of St. Pierre, and all the poſts in that neighbourhood, while the French governor general with M. Rouille, the lieutenant governor, the ſtaff-officers, and about three hundred and twenty-grenadiers, were embarked in tranſports to be conveyed to France.

The conqueſt of Martinique naturally drew on the ſurrender of all the Caribbees, and that chain of iſlands, extending from the eaſtern point of Hiſpaniola, almoſt to the continent of South America.

It was now determined to make a vigorous impreſſion on Spain, not only by attempting the reduction of the Havannah, but alſo by making a deſcent on the iſland of Manilla in the Eaſt Indies. For the firſt of theſe expeditions, lord Albemarle was appointed commander in chief of the land forces, and admiral Pocock of the fleet. On the 5th of March they ſailed from Portſmouth, and on the 27th of May were joined at Cape Nichola, on the north-weſt point of Hiſpaniola, by a ſquadron from Martinique under the command of Sir James Douglas. With this junction the armament amounted to nineteen ſhips of the line, eighteen ſmaller veſſels of war, and near one hundred and fifty tranſports, which conveyed about ten thouſand land forces. A ſupply of four thouſand had been ordered from New York, and was expected to join them, about the time that it was imagined their operations would begin.

On the 5th of June they arrived off the Havannah, the harbour of which is entered by a narrow paſſage, upwards of half a mile in length, which afterwards expands into a large baſon, and is ſufficient in extent and depth to contain a thouſand ſail of the largeſt ſhips, having almoſt throughout ſix fathom water, and being ſheltered from every wind.

The narrow entrance already mentioned is ſecured on one ſide by a very ſtrong fort, called the Moro, built upon a projecting point of land; on the other it is defended by a fort called the Puntal, which joins the town. The town itſelf, which is ſituated to the weſtward of the entrance of the harbour, and oppoſite to the Moro fort, is ſurrounded by a good rampart, flanked with baſtions, and covered with a ditch.

As preparations for a war had been, for ſome time paſt, making by the Spaniards, they had formed a conſiderable fleet in the Weſt-Indies, amounting to near twenty ſail, ſome of the line, which lay in the baſon of the Havannah; but they had not at that time received an authentic account from their court, concerning the commencement of hoſtilities between the two nations.

As ſoon as admiral Pocock had given directions to the maſters of the tranſports with reſpect to the landing of the forces, and left commodore Kep-

pel with a ſufficient force to ſuperintend this ſervice, he ſtood with the reſt of the fleet to the weſtward, and ran down off the harbour; and the next morning manned his boats with marines, making a feint to land about four miles to the weſtward of the Havannah. In the mean time the earl of Albemarle, with the whole army, landed between the rivers Bocanao and Coxemoor, about ſix miles to the weſtward of the Moro.

The Spaniſh fleet now lay quiet in the harbour, and the only uſe they made of their ſhipping, in defence of the place, was to ſink three of them behind a boom which they laid acroſs the mouth of the harbour. The principal part of the army was deſtined to act upon the eaſt ſide, and was divided into eight corps, one of which was advanced a conſiderable way up the country, in order to cover the ſiege, and to ſecure the Engliſh parties employed in watering, and procuring proviſions. This corps was commanded by general Elliot. The other was immediately occupied in the attack of Fort Moro, to the reduction of which the efforts of the Engliſh were principally directed, as the Moro commanded the town, and the entrance of the harbour. This attack was conducted by major general Keppel; and a detachment under colonel Howe was encamped to the weſtward of the town, to make a diverſion in favour of this grand operation.

The utmoſt hardſhips and difficulties were ſuſtained by the Engliſh in carrying on the ſiege of the Moro; and the earth was every where ſo thin, that it was with great difficulty they could cover themſelves in their approaches. Epidemical diſtempers began to make terrible havock both in the army and navy, and their malignancy was rendered ſtill more fatal by the want of neceſſaries and refreſhments peculiar to that climate. This misfortune was likewiſe increaſed by the great numbers of ſick, whereby the neceſſary duty became more fatiguing to thoſe who were well. Nevertheleſs, in ſpite of all difficulties, batteries were raiſed againſt the Moro, and all along the hill upon which the fort ſtood, in order to drive the enemy's ſhips into the harbour, and thus prevent them from moleſting the approaches of the Engliſh.

The fire on both ſides, which was kept up with the utmoſt vivacity, was for a long time nearly equal. The Spaniards in the fort communicated with the town, from which they were recruited and ſupplied: they did not rely ſolely on their works, but made a ſally on the twenty-ninth of June, with ſufficient reſolution, and a conſiderable force, but with little ſucceſs. They were obliged to retire, with the loſs of between two and three hundred men left dead on the ſpot.

The day the batteries on ſhore were opened, three of the largeſt ſhips, the Dragon, the Cambridge, and the Marlborough, commanded by the captains Burnet, Gooſtrey and Hervey, laid their broad ſides againſt the fort, and began a terrible fire, which was returned with great conſtancy. This firing was continued without intermiſſion for the ſpace of ſeven hours.

But the Moro was ſituated too high to be much affected by the ſhot from the men of war; while on the other hand the balls from the caſtle did them conſiderable damage in their rigging, and killed a great number of men; captain Gooſtrey was among the ſlain.

The enemy continued to make ſo vigorous a defence, that the ſiege was protracted much longer than was generally expected; and, to add to the difficulty and perplexity of the beſiegers, their principal battery took fire, and the flames raged with ſuch fury, that the whole work was nearly conſumed.

In the midſt of this ſevere conteſt, attended with hardſhips almoſt beyond the endurance of human nature, the hopes of the beſiegers were revived by the appearance of the Jamaica fleet under convoy of Sir James Douglas, who had himſelf parted from the admiral immediately after their junction of his ſquadron with the grand fleet. Soon after, they received a conſiderable part of the New York reinforcement, which, added to the proviſion on board the fleet, infuſed double life into their operations. The Engliſh now made themſelves maſters of the covered way before the point of the right baſtion, and began a new ſap at this lodgment. The foot of the wall was acceſſible only in one place, and even this was nothing more than a thin ridge of rock to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwiſe have been open to the ſea. On this narrow ridge the miners, wholly uncovered, but with very little loſs, paſſed the ditch on the twentieth of July.

While the miners were thus employed, a ſerjeant and twelve men ſcaled the walls by ſurprize, but the garriſon being alarmed before they could be ſuſtained, they were obliged to retreat with precipitation. In return for this attempt the garriſon, at four in the morning of the ſucceeding day, made a ſally from the town. Fifteen hundred men fell upon the beſiegers in three different places, while a warm fire was kept up in their favour from the fort of Puntal, the weſt baſtion, the lines and flanks of the entrance, and their ſhipping in the harbour. The conflict was very ſmart, but at laſt the aſſailants were repulſed, and obliged to make ſo haſty a retreat, that a conſiderable number of them were drowned. Their loſs amounted to four hundred killed and taken priſoners, while that of the Engliſh did not exceed fifty men.

The miners, now left to themſelves, compleated their buſineſs on the thirtieth of July; a part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch, leaving a breach, which, though very narrow and difficult, the general and engineer judged practicable, and determined to make the attempt.

Accordingly the troops mounted it, entered the fort, and formed themſelves with ſo much alacrity, and with ſuch ſurprizing coolneſs and reſolution, that the enemy, who were drawn up to receive them, aſtoniſhed at their intrepidity, threw down their arms and flew on all ſides. About four hundred were killed on the ſpot, or ran into the water, where they periſhed; and four hundred more obtained quarters on throwing down their arms.

Don Lewis de Velaſco, the governor, and the marquis de Gonzales, his ſecond in command, both fell in the attack, and nobly expired on the bed of honour.

Thus, after an obſtinate defence of forty-four days, the important fort of the Moro fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Nothing was wanted to avail themſelves of this great advantage; not only the fire of the fort was turned againſt the town, but a line of batteries was erected by major-general Keppel on the hill of the Cavannos, on the extremity of which the town ſtands. Preparations for an attack were alſo made, and batteries erected to the weſtward of the town, which on that ſide had hitherto been only watched.

As ſoon as theſe preparations were ready to take effect

effect, the Engliſh general ſent a meſſage to the governor, in which he repreſented the irreſiſtable nature of the operations now completed, and which, to prevent the farther effuſion of human blood, he was willing to ſuſpend, that the Spaniards might have leiſure to capitulate. The haughty Spaniard, however, returned for anſwer, "that he would defend the place to the laſt extremity."

Lord Albemarle, willing to convince the governor of the truth of his repreſentation, on the very next morning, ordered a general fire from the batteries, ſo that in ſix hours almoſt all the enemy's guns were ſilenced; and, to the inexpreſſible joy of the fleet and army, a flag of truce appeared from every quarter of the town.

A capitulation was now ſet on foot, by which the eſtabliſhed religion, the former laws, and private property, were ſecured to the inhabitants. The garriſon, which was reduced to about ſeven hundred men, marched out with the honours of war, and were to be conveyed to Spain. About five hundred of the Britiſh troops including fifteen officers, were killed or died of their wounds during the progreſs of this ſiege, and about ſeven hundred, among whom were nine officers, were carried off by ſickneſs. Beſides the town there was yielded up to the Engliſh a diſtrict of one hundred and eighty miles weſtward of the Havannah. The Spaniards ſtruggled a long time to ſave the men of war; but this, being a point of eſſential conſequence, could not be admitted. They alſo attempted to have the harbour declared neutral, during the war; but this, being of equal importance with the former, was refuſed.

In the end, the Spaniards being obliged to give up theſe points, the Engliſh troops were put in poſſeſſion of the Havannah, on the fourteenth of Auguſt, when they had been before it two months and eight days.

All the advantages to be expected from any war reſulted from the conqueſt of this place; as thereby the enemy loſt a whole fleet, and in ſpecie and merchandize a computed ſum of three millions ſterling; acquiſitions to the conquerors equal to the greateſt naval victory, by their effect on the enemy's marine, and by the plunder, which equalled the produce of a national ſubſidy.

An incidental piece of ſucceſs equally fortunate crowned this expedition: this was the capture of a large Spaniſh regiſter ſhip, called the Hermoine. She ſailed from Lima on the ſixth of January bound for Cadiz, was taken on the twenty-firſt of May off Cape St. Vincent, by two Engliſh frigates, and carried into Gibraltar.

Her cargo conſiſted of near two millions of money, regiſtered, and the unregiſtered was likewiſe very conſiderable, beſides two thouſand ſcrons of cocoa, and other articles of merchandize to a large amount. This moſt important conqueſt was ſoon followed by a deſcent on the iſland of Manilla in the Eaſt Indies. Manilla, its chief city, is extenſive, populous and tolerably well fortified. It is the center of the Spaniſh trade, and the port from whence two large ſhips are ſent annually to the port of Acapulco, one of the ſea ports of Mexico, laden with the richeſt merchandize of India. The trade and conſequence of Manilla are well known at Madraſs, and there the plan of attack was accordingly formed. This attempt was to be made by part of the ſquadron of vice-admiral Corniſh, and the troops deſtined for the expedition were to be under the command of brigadier-general Draper. On the twenty-third of September they anchored in the bay of Manilla, and the troops were diſembarked without the loſs of a ſingle man. The Spaniards exerted themſelves with vigour on the occaſion, and feats of valour were atchieved both by the aſſailants and the beſieged in divers inſtances. At length, however, the Engliſh mounted the breach they had made; the enemy fled in confuſion, and our troops entered the town with very little difficulty. The governor and principal inhabitants retired to the citadel, but that being ſoon demoliſhed, they ſurrendered priſoners of war. The Spaniſh officers were enlarged on their parole, and all the Indians diſmiſſed in ſafety. By the capitulation, the iſland and forts depending upon Manilla were to be delivered up to his Britannic majeſty; and four millions of dollars paid as a ranſom for the city and the effects of the inhabitants, who, in return, were to be protected in their religion and private property. This valuable acquiſition coſt the Engliſh only one hundred men, including officers. Various and important ſucceſſes attended the navy, and a number of ſignal exploits were performed by the Britiſh arms at ſea during the courſe of this year, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, Lord Colville, commodore Moore, and other brave and experienced officers. In a word, Great Britain at this period may be ſaid to have reached the ſummit of glory.

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the ſecond of June, and cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he expreſſed his approbation of their zeal, unanimity and diſpatch, in the courſe of their proceedings; intimated, that though it was his earneſt wiſh to reſtore the bleſſings of peace to his people, it was his fixed reſolution, with their concurrence and ſupport, to proſecute the war with vigour till that deſirable end could be obtained; that the united attack of the houſe of Bourbon on his ancient ally the king of Portugal, required the continuance of their military preparations, and augmentation of their fleets and armies; and finally aſſured them of his reliance on the Divine favour in the uſe of thoſe means, which might tend to promote the dignity of his crown, and the commercial intereſts of his people. He told the commons, that he could not but lament the heavy, though neceſſary burthens impoſed on the people; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, of the moſt exact œconomy in the application of what might be hereafter granted; returned them thanks for their teſtimony of regard to him and his family, in the ample proviſion they had made for the queen, and concluded with declaring, that the grand end of all his actions ſhould ever be to promote the welfare and happineſs of his people.

Between ſeven and eight o'clock in the morning of the twelfth of Auguſt, the queen was ſafely delivered of a prince, and a few days after the royal infant was created prince of Wales and earl of Cheſter.

It was by this time apparent to the court of France, that Great-Britain was neither intimidated by the threats of the formidable alliance, nor at all likely to be reduced by the exertion of its forces, and ſhe therefore came ſincerely into thoſe pacific ſentiments, which before ſhe had only counterfeited. The ſlow progreſs of the Bourbon troops in Portugal, the retrogade motion of the French army in Germany, the taking of Martinique and its dependencies, and the reduction of the important city of the Havannah, all conſpired

His
Royal Highneſs
GEORGE
Prince of Wales.

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to humble the pride, and defeat the hopes of the Bourbon alliance.

The ſpirit of party now raged in a violent degree, and was not a little enflamed by an alteration in the miniſtry, which ſuddenly took place. The duke of Newcaſtle reſigned his office of firſt lord of the treaſury, and was ſucceeded by the earl of Bute; and many other very unpopular changes were made in the adminiſtration.

While the ſtate of affairs was thus diſtracted, the conduct of the war became difficult, its continuance unſafe, and its ſupplies uncertain; eſpecially as the ancient and known connection between the chiefs of the moneyed intereſt and the principal perſons in the oppoſition, muſt have greatly perplexed the then government.

Notwithſtanding the ſituation of Portugal, againſt which the houſe of Bourbon determined to unite their efforts in a formidable invaſion, the king behaved in ſuch a manner as muſt tranſmit his name with honour to poſterity. In ſpite of the memorial, and menaces of the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors at the court of Liſbon, he rejected all their propoſals of joining them in a war againſt Great Britain, and determined to preſerve an inviolable neutrality reſpecting that power to the laſt extremity. However, the wheels of government were now ſo clogged, and the political ſyſtem ſo embarraſſed, that the court of Great Britain began ſeriouſly to apply itſelf to methods of pacification, which were readily embraced by their humbled, impoveriſhed foes. As ſoon as terms were propoſed, each, in order to give a pledge to their mutual ſincerity, agreed, that this treaty ſhould not be negotiated, as the former had been, by ſubordinate perſons, but that the two courts of London and Verſailles ſhould depute a perſon of the firſt conſequence and diſtinction in either kingdom. Accordingly, the duke of Bedford was ſent to negotiate on the part of England, and the duke de Nivernois on that of France. The preliminaries were ſigned at Fontainbleau on the third of November, and the definitive treaty about three months after.

The parliament met on the 25th of November; and his majeſty, going to the houſe of peers, opened the ſeſſion, by telling them, that nothing was more deſirable to him than a laſting peace, procured on ſuch honourable terms as would ſecure the happineſs of his people. For that purpoſe, he had once more condeſcended to renew the negotiation that had been broken off before; and he ſpoke of the conduct of his army and navy in the higheſt terms of applauſe. He took notice, that he had been obliged to ſend an armed force to ſupport his good ally the king of Portugal, who was threatened by the whole Spaniſh army, in conſequence of the intrigues of the French, who, notwithſtanding their numerous loſſes, ſeemed ſtill averſe to peace. He concluded by telling them, that nothing gave him ſo much unhappineſs as the conſideration that his ſubjects were burthened with taxes; but then there was a neceſſity for it, otherwiſe it would have been impoſſible to have defeated the enemy's ſchemes, and rendered their undertakings abortive.

His majeſty acquainted the houſe of commons, that he had ordered the proper eſtimates to be laid before them, and ſhould proceed to make whatever reductions might be found conſiſtent with wiſdom and ſound policy, aſſuring them of his concern that the burthens of his people could not be immediately ſo much alleviated as he could deſire, and concluded with obſerving, that, induced chiefly by principles of policy, and views of humanity, he had entered early into negotiation, in order to make a progreſs in it before the fate of many operations was known, and ſo to haſten the concluſion of it as to prevent the neceſſity of making preparations for another campaign; and concluded with reminding them, that the ſame unanimity would be neceſſary to make a proper uſe of the advantages of peace, as had been requiſite for the maintenance of an expenſive war.

The preliminaries of the peace underwent a rigorous ſcrutiny, and incurred very heavy cenſure from ſeveral able ſpeakers and acknowledged ſtateſmen in both houſes as inglorious, inadequate, and inſecure, and, in a word, injurious to the commerce, and derogatory to the dignity, of the nation. They were, however, approved by a great majority, and addreſſes were preſented from the lords and commons, in which they declared, "That they owed "the utmoſt gratitude to his majeſty for the re- "eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity upon "terms of honour to the crown, and of advan- "tage to the people."

Soon after the reſpective ſignatures, conferences were opened at Hubertſbourg, and a treaty concluded between his Pruſſian majeſty and the empreſs queen. The wiſe and valiant king of Pruſſia, having withſtood for ſix years the united efforts of almoſt all the great powers in Europe, enjoyed at length the rewards of his magnanimity, retaining his dominions in their full extent, and reaping the ſatisfaction of delivering his country from the encroachments of ambitious foes. He then turned his attention to domeſtic policy, and, by well concerted regulations, gave the moſt demonſtrative proofs, that his genius for war was no way ſuperior to his capacity for cultivating the arts of peace.

A. D. 1763. The definitive treaty of peace was ſigned at Paris on the 10th of February, and being tranſmitted to England, was laid before the parliament according to uſual cuſtom. By this treaty Canada, Nova-Scotia, and the iſland of Cape Breton, were ceded to Great Britain; the river Miſſiſippi was to be the boundary between the Britiſh and French colonies in North America; and in the Weſt-Indies, the king of Great Britain gave up to the French the conquered iſlands of Martinico and Guadaloupe, with all the ſmaller ones depending on them. The iſland of Belliſle was given in exchange for Minorca; and the Grenades, with all the other iſlands depending on them, were ceded to Britain. All our conqueſts on the river of Senegal were confirmed to us; and in the Eaſt-Indies part of the French ſettlements were reſtored, and part retained. The French were obliged to give up ſuch places as they had taken poſſeſſion of in Germany; and in conſequence of the king of Spain's giving up all pretenſions to Florida, and ceding it to the Engliſh, the Havannah, with the whole iſland of Cuba, were to be reſtored. The king of Pruſſia was to remain in the ſame condition he was in before the commencement of the war; and the ſame was to take place with reſpect to the empreſs queen.

Such were the principal articles in this treaty, which, like the preliminaries, occaſioned violent debates in both houſes, where, after a variety of arguments on each ſide, the queſtion being put, it was carried in the affirmative by a very conſiderable majority.

To the honour of the metropolis of this kingdom it may not be improper to obſerve, that Mr. Beckford maintained the office of mayor this year with peculiar dignity and ſplendor, and was favoured with the company of ſome of the firſt perſonages in the kingdom, at a magnificent entertainment preſented by him at the manſion houſe.

The marquis of Granby arrived in the beginning of the year from Germany, to the general joy of the nation, and the people omitted no opportunity of teſtifying their approbation of his valour and generoſity.

In conſequence of his majeſty's warrant iſſued for that purpoſe, peace was, on the twenty-ſecond of March, proclaimed in London with the uſual ceremony, and in the uſual places. On the 18th of April two ambaſſadors extraordinary from the republic of Venice to the court of London made their public entry in a very pompous and ſplendid manner. On the 19th his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, delivered a ſpeech, gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, and then prorogued the parliament.

The following event, at this time, wholly engroſſed the attention of the public. A rule for an information was granted by the court of King's Bench againſt the publiſhers and ſuppoſed printers of a paper called the North Briton, of the nineteenth of March, and on the 30th of April, the publiſher, ſuppoſed printers, and Mr. Wilkes, the ſuppoſed author of that paper, were taken into cuſtody by the meſſengers of ſtate.

When the meſſengers entered the houſe of Mr. Wilkes, in order to ſeize his perſon, he excepted to the generality of the warrant, as his name was not mentioned in it; and threatened the firſt who ſhould offer violence to his perſon in his own houſe at that unſeaſonable hour of the night, upon any pretended verbal order, which they might, or might not have received for that purpoſe; upon which the meſſengers thought proper to defer the execution of their warrant till next morning, when they took him into cuſtody without oppoſition, and carried him before the ſecretaries of ſtate for examination. On the intimation of this event, a motion was made in the court of Common Pleas, then ſitting in Weſtminſter-hall, for a Habeas Corpus, which, as the prothonotary's office was not open, could not be granted till four in the afternoon. During the interval, ſeveral gentlemen applied for admittance to him; which was peremptorily refuſed, on pretence of an order from the ſecretaries of ſtate, which order, however, was never produced. Though it was well known that the court of Common Pleas had granted an Habeas Corpus, and Philip Carteret Webb, Eſq. was aſſured of the fact, Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower of London, where many of his friends, even after repeated ſolicitations, were alſo denied admittance to him.

Being brought to the bar of the court of Common Pleas, on the 3d of May, he made a ſpeech, ſetting forth his grievances, the oppreſſive manner in which he had been treated, and aſſuring them, that he only wanted an opportunity to ſhew that he had ever been ſuperior to the arts of corruption, and proof againſt every venal temptation. The caſe was then learnedly argued on both ſides, and the court, after making a polite excuſe to Mr. Wilkes for the delay, took time to conſider the affair and to give their opinion; and therefore remanded him priſoner to the Tower till the ſixth, on which day he attended, and, in an eloquent ſpeech, ſet forth the aggravated nature of the injuries he had ſuſtained, the violation of liberty that might reſult therefrom, as well as aſſerted the privileges to which, by Magna Charta, he was entitled as an Engliſhman.

Lord chief juſtice Pratt then ſtood up, and delivered the opinion of the court reſpecting the principal heads inſiſted on by the council. Theſe were the legality of Mr. Wilkes's commitment; the neceſſity for a ſpecification of thoſe paſſages in No. 45 of the North Briton, which had been deemed a libel; and his privilege as a member of parliament.

Theſe points were diſcuſſed by his lordſhip in a manner, which will redound to his honour, as a judge and an Engliſhman, to the lateſt poſterity; and his opinion having deſervedly met with the approbation of the whole court, Mr. Wilkes was diſcharged. He had not, however, quitted the court when a perſon of eminence in the law ſtood up, and told the lord chief juſtice, that he had juſt received a note from the attorney and ſolicitor-general, to intreat his lordſhip to detain Mr. Wilkes till their arrival, which would be inſtant, as they had ſomething to offer againſt his plea of privilege: the motion was, however, rejected, and Mr. Wilkes took his leave of the court in a very polite manner, after having addreſſed them with great ſpirit on their generous and patriotic deciſion. The audience teſtified their joy on this occaſion by frequent and repeated acclamations.

Mr. Wilkes now cauſed a printing preſs to be ſet up under his own direction, at his houſe in Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, where he advertiſed the proceedings of the adminiſtration, with all the original papers; and the North Briton was again publiſhed.

In the mean time an information was filed againſt him in the court of king's bench, at his majeſty's ſuit, as author of the aforeſaid North Briton, No. 45; and on the meeting of the parliament, a meſſage was ſent to the lower houſe, with the informations his majeſty had received, that John Wilkes, Eſq. a member of that houſe, was the author of a moſt ſeditious and dangerous libel: the meaſures that had been taken thereupon, and the examinations and proofs of the ſaid libel were likewiſe laid before the houſe, and the North Briton No. 45 was adjudged "a falſe, ſcandalous, "and ſeditious libel, containing expreſſions of "the moſt unexampled inſolence and contumely "towards his majeſty, the groſſeſt aſperſions upon "both houſes of parliament, the moſt audacious "defiance of the authority of the whole legiſla-"ture, and moſt manifeſtly tending to withdraw "the people from their obedience to the laws of "the realm, and to excite them to traiterous in-"ſurrections againſt his majeſty's government." The paper called the North Briton, No. 45, was then ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

On the day appointed for the execution of this ſentence, a great concourſe of people aſſembled at the Royal Exchange. The North Briton was partly conſumed by means of a link, but ſome ſcraps were carried off in triumph by the populace, who, in the evening, diſplayed them at Temple Bar, where a bonfire was made, and a large jack-boot committed to the flames, amidſt the acclamations of a crowd of ſpectators.

Soon after this, a complaint was exhibited againſt Mr. Wilkes in the upper houſe, for affixing the name of a member of that houſe to a book, intitled, "An Eſſay on Woman," which book was pro-

duced to the eternal disgrace of all concerned in it; but Mr. Wilkes could not prefer his answer, being at that time indisposed, in consequence of a wound he had received in a duel with Mr. Martin, late secretary of the treasury.

Mr. Wilkes, not content with the complaint which he had made to the house of commons of a breach of their privilege on his person, commenced an action in the court of Common Pleas against Robert Wood, Esq; the under secretary, for seizing his papers, and on the sixth of December this cause was tried before lord chief justice Pratt, and a special jury, when Mr. Wilkes obtained damages and full costs of suit.

On the evening of the day on which this verdict was obtained, a person knocked at Mr. Wilkes's door, desiring to speak with him on particular business; but it appearing by his dialect that he was a Scotchman, and being besides an entire stranger, he was refused admittance, on which he went to a coffee-house near Parliament-street, where a person made affidavit, that he overheard him declare, that himself and ten more men were determined to cut off Mr. Wilkes let the event be what it would, and next morning gave information of it by a letter to Mr. Wilkes, desiring him to be on his guard. According to the information, the person sworn against, as was supposed, bringing a letter to Mr. Wilkes's house, signed Alexander Dun, the purport of which was to beg an interview with him on an affair of the most interesting nature, he was desired to call again at one o'clock, which he did accordingly; and seven o'clock being then appointed, as he was going out at the parlour door into Mr. Wilkes's bed-chamber, two gentlemen, who had placed themselves behind it, seized him by the arms, and threw him on his back. On searching him a new penknife was found in his pocket, which he pretended he had purchased about nine months before but, after many equivocations, owned he bought it at Chatham about a fortnight since. Upon this he was taken into custody by a tip-staff then present for that purpose, and carried next morning before one of the judges. A complaint was likewise exhibited against him in the house of commons, who thereupon ordered the officer in whose custody he was, to bring him to the bar; but when he was there, the house discharged him from any farther appearance, as it was evident from his behaviour, that he was disordered in his mind.

When Mr. Wilkes had been wounded, in the duel he fought with Mr. Martin he gave proper notice of it to the house of commons, who thereupon gave him time for his appearance, and afterwards enlarged it on the report of his physician and surgeon; but beginning at last to suspect some collusion betwixt him and them, on the sixteenth of December they ordered Dr. Heberden and Mr. Hawkins to attend him, in order to observe the progress of his cure, and to report the same to the house. Dr. Heberden acquainted the physician with this order, and desired him to communicate it to Mr. Wilkes, that the time of attendance might be settled. Mr. Wilkes, in consequence of the intelligence received by him from his physician, dispatched cards to the two gentlemen appointed to attend him, expressing his sense of the kind care of the house for his speedy recovery, intimating his perfect reliance on the gentlemen to whom he had committed his case (Dr. Brocklesby and Mr. Graves) and assuring them, that though he did not wish to see them at present he was impatient for an opportunity of shewing the just regard he would ever pay to distinguished merit.

On the 24th of December Mr. Wilkes was so well recovered as to set out for France, on a visit to his daughter, who then lay dangerously ill at Paris, at which place he arrived on the twenty-sixth.

On the 18th of April the parliament was prorogued, after a speech from the throne in which his majesty expressed his thanks for the zeal and dispatch they had manifested in their proceedings; informed them, that he had ordered the preliminary articles to be laid before them, in consequence of which he had received the highest satisfaction, on their grateful expressions of their entire approbation; and acquainted them with his firm resolution to form his government on a plan of strict œconomy. He assured the commons, that they might depend on the utmost frugality being observed in the disposition of the supplies they had granted; and when the account of the money arising from the sale of such prizes as were vested in the crown should be closed, it was his intention to direct, that the produce should be applied to the public service. He concluded with declaring, that his future attention should be directed to the extension of the commerce of his subjects, the improvement of the advantages they had obtained, and the increase of the public revenue.

Sir Charles Asgill, who represented the lord-mayor, six other aldermen, the recorder, sheriffs, chamberlain and town-clerk, on the twelfth day of May, waited on his majesty with the city's address on the peace. They were hissed, going and coming, by great numbers of people: and as they passed by St. Bride's church, in their way to St. James's, the great bell began to toll, and a dumb peal struck up, which continued some time: they were treated in the same manner on their return by Bow bells. This address was followed by that of the protestant dissenting ministers, in the cities of London and Westminster: some of the merchants and traders of the city of London: the people called Quakers, and several of the principal corporations in various parts of the kingdom.

Mr. Pitt, having declined accompanying Sir John Sebright, in presenting an address from Bath, caused his sentiments on that subject, as communicated to Mr. Allen, to be inserted in the journal of that city; the substance of which was as follows; "That as the epithet of *adequate*, given to the peace, contained a description of the conditions of it, so repugnant to his unalterable opinion concerning them, as fully declared by him in parliament, it was as impossible for him to obey the corporation's commands, in presenting their address, as it was unexpected to receive such a commission; that with respect to the peace, he formed his opinion with such lights, as his little experience, and small portion of understanding, could afford him; and that though this conviction must remain to himself the constant rule of his conduct, he left it to others, with much deference, to follow their own; expressing, at the same time, the highest veneration for the virtues and friendship of Mr. Allen, though, in relation to that important subject, he very much differed in opinion from him."

On the 16th of August her majesty was delivered of a prince, and on the 14th of September his royal

royal highneſs was baptized at St. James's, in the great council-chamber, by his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury, by the name of Frederic. The ſponſors were his royal highneſs the duke of York, repreſented by the earl of Huntingdon, groom of the ſtole; his moſt ſerene highneſs the duke of Saxe Gotha, repreſented by earl Gower, lord chamberlain; and her royal highneſs the princeſs Amelia, in perſon.

The king went to the houſe of peers on the fifteenth day of November, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he obſerved, that the re-eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity upon terms of honour and advantage to his kingdoms, which was the firſt great object of his reign, had ſince been happily completed and carried into execution, by the definitive treaty; aſſured them that it had been and ſhould be his endeavour to inſure the continuance of the peace, by a ſteady adherence to the conditions upon which it was concluded, and reminded them, that their principal care ſhould be the improvement of their valuable acquiſitions, and the cultivation of the arts of peace. He told the houſe of commons, that he would order the proper eſtimates for the ſervice of the year to be laid before them; reminded them of the heavy debts contracted in the courſe of the late war, and recommended to them the maintenance of a conſiderable fleet, to which paſt ſucceſſes had been ſo much owing, and on which the importance and welfare of Great Britain eſſentially depended. He concluded with a general deſire, that as the intereſts and proſperity of his people were the ſole objects of his care, they would unite their efforts to diſcourage that licentious ſpirit, which was repugnant to the true principles of liberty, and cultivate that unanimity on which it ſo much depended.

His majeſty having been pleaſed to communicate to both houſes of parliament the intended marriage of her royal highneſs the princeſs Auguſta with the hereditary prince of Brunſwick, the houſe of commons allowed her highneſs, on her marriage, a dowry of eighty thouſand pounds.

Both houſes preſented an addreſs to his majeſty during the courſe of this ſeſſion of parliament, ſetting forth their ſurprize and indignation at the publication of the North Briton, as an indignity offered to his majeſty, and a violation of the ſacred regard due to his authority, and preſcribed by the laws and conſtitution of the realm, as well as tending to inflame the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects, againſt his mild and juſt adminiſtration; aſſuring his majeſty, at the ſame time, of their ardent wiſhes, that ſuch wicked deſigns might be defeated, and thoſe who were guilty puniſhed in a manner proportioned to their deſerts.

A. D. 1764. On the 12th of January his moſt ſerene highneſs the hereditary prince of Brunſwick Lunenburgh landed at Harwich, and arrived at Somerſet-houſe. On the evening of the next day the ceremony of his marriage with her royal highneſs the princeſs Auguſta, eldeſt ſiſter to his majeſty, was performed in the great council-chamber, by his grace the archbiſhop of Canterbury, in preſence of a a great number of peers, peereſſes, and foreign miniſters. After the ſolemnization of the nuptials, their ſerene and royal highneſſes repaired to Leiceſter-houſe, where was prepared an elegant entertainment, at which their majeſties, the princeſs-dowager of Wales, and the reſt of the royal family, were preſent.

The military atchievements of the hereditary prince were already ſufficiently known, and his affable and generous behaviour now procured him the affection of the people of England. During his ſhort ſtay he viſited the Royal Society, the Britiſh Muſæum, St. Paul's cathedral, the Tower, Weſtminſter-abbey, and other remarkable places. The duke of Cumberland, Mr. Pitt, the duke of Newcaſtle, the marquis of Granby, and many others of the nobility and gentry attended his ſerene highneſs in his excurſions.

On the twentieth of this month the commons, after long debates, expelled John Wilkes, Eſq; for a contempt of their authority, and publiſhing the North Briton, being adjudged an infamous libel; and iſſued out a writ of election for Ayleſbury in his ſtead.

Addreſſes were preſented to his majeſty on the ſame day, by the houſe of lords, and the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, on the late happy marriage. On the twenty-fifth his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and gave, among others, the royal aſſent to the bill for naturalizing his ſerene highneſs the prince of Brunſwick, who was in the houſe during his majeſty's ſtay. In the mean time, her royal highneſs the princeſs of Brunſwick remained at Leiceſter-houſe, taking leave of the ladies of quality her intimates, with the greateſt tenderneſs and fortitude. In the afternoon their highneſſes took leave of the company; when the prince, on the people's expreſſing their ardent wiſhes for their highneſſes happineſs and proſperity, returned his prayers for the ſucceſs of the Britiſh nation, for which he ſaid he had already bled, and would again, with pleaſure, on any future occaſion.

A great variety of melancholy accounts were received during the courſe of this month of the loſs and damage of ſhips at ſea, and on the coaſts; robberies, with many daring circumſtances, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the magiſtracy, were committed in town and country, where ſharpers exerciſed their various ſtratagems, and murders, the conſequence of paſſion, reſentment, and luſt, were frequently perpetrated.

Great part of the converſation of the public during this year was engaged by the diſputes which prevailed amongſt the proprietors of Eaſt India ſtock.

A ſtop having been put to the payment of the rents of lord Clive's eſtates in India, in conſequence of ſome objections made to his conduct there, his lordſhip, in a letter to the proprietors, gave a ſhort account of his conduct in India; anſwered the objections that had been made againſt it here at home, and laſtly, confuted the reaſons given for that part of their behaviour towards him, which gave riſe to this altercation.

Mr. Sullivan, in a long and tedious detail unintereſting to the public, endeavoured to exculpate himſelf, and to aſſert the company's right to the proceedings of which lord Clive had ſo loudly complained.

In the month of February the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council voted lord chief juſtice Pratt the freedom of the city of London to be preſented to him in due form; they alſo agreed to return thanks to the repreſentatives of that city for their patriotic conduct in parliament.

The trial of John Wilkes, eſq; for the republication of the North Briton in volumes, came on during

during the courſe of this month, before lord Mansfield in the court of king's-bench; of which publication he was found guilty; as he was afterwards of printing and publiſhing "the Eſſay on Woman." The friends of Mr. Wilkes then publiſhed a letter from him, and a certificate ſigned by one of the French king's phyſicians, and a ſurgeon of eminence, and atteſted by two notaries, and the earl of Hertford, ambaſſador from the court of London; wherein it appeared that he was ſo bad with his wound, as not to have been able, during the month of January, to return to England.

About this time the Eaſt India company received advice, "That the diſputes between the company's ſervants and the reigning nabob, Coſſim Aly Cawn, had been productive of ſuch animoſities and jealouſies on the part of the latter, that it was judged highly neceſſary to uſe every means to allay them: for this purpoſe Meſſrs. Amyatt and Hay, two gentlemen of the council, were deputed to wait upon the nabob, with inſtructions to endeavour to adjuſt the difference in an amicable manner.

They accordingly arrived at Mongheer, the place of his reſidence, on the twelfth of May, and had many conferences with him, in which he evidently ſhewed a great averſion to an accommodation upon the terms offered him.

A ſupply of five hundred arms going to Patna was, about this time, ſtopped by the nabob's officers, and other acts of hoſtility were committed; till affairs being come to an extremity, a war with Coſſim Aly was unavoidable. Meſſrs. Amyatt and Hay were recalled, and the former of theſe gentlemen, having received the uſual paſſports, ſet out for Calcutta, accompanied by Meſſrs. Amphlett, Wollaſton, and Hutchinſon; lieutenants Jones, Gordon, and Cooper, and Dr. Crooke, Meſſrs. Hay and Gulſton remaining with the nabob as hoſtages. As the boats were paſſing the city of Moorſhedabad, they were attacked by a number of troops, aſſembled for that purpoſe, on both ſides the river, and ſome of the gentlemen in the boats were killed.

Mr. Amyatt immediately landed with a few ſeapoys, whom he forbad to fire. He then endeavoured to make the enemy underſtand that he was furniſhed with the nabob's paſſports, and had no deſign of committing any hoſtilities: but their horſe advancing, ſome of the ſeapoys immediately fired, and in the confuſion that enſued, Mr. Amyatt, with moſt of his ſmall party, were killed.

Mr. Ellis and his council at Patna having, with the approbation of captain Corſtairs, agreed to attack that city early in the morning of the twenty-fifth of June, it was accordingly carried into execution: they were in entire poſſeſſion of the city for four hours, the Mooriſh governor and moſt of his people having fled as far as Futwa. Here, however, he came to a reſolution of returning and making an effort to regain the city; and having got in at the water-ſide gate of the fort, ſucceeded in diſpoſſeſſing our troops, owing to the ſeapoys and Europeans being moſtly diſperſed in plundering. Upon the retiring into the factory, on account of the diſpiritedneſs of the men, and a great deſertion among the ſeapoys, it was found impracticable to make any ſtand there; a reſolution was therefore taken to proceed to Sujah Dowla's country. They accordingly croſſed the river on the twenty-ſixth in the evening, and met with no obſtruction until they paſſed Churpa; when they were attacked on the thirtieth by the Phouſdar, with about two thouſand men, whom they eaſily routed; but he being that evening joined from Bugepore with four or five hundred ſeapoys, and five or ſix field pieces, he attacked the party on the next evening, the firſt of July, and entirely routed them, the Europeans having quitted their ranks at the firſt onſet. Fifty of them were killed, amongſt whom was captain Corſtairs. Mr. Ellis and the reſt were all made priſoners.

In conſequence of theſe and other acts of hoſtility, againſt ſeveral of the company's ſettlements, committed by Coſſim Aly, it was determined to declare war againſt him, and to reſtore the former nabob Meer Jaffier to the ſubahſhip, upon his entering into a new treaty with the company. War was accordingly declared, and an advantageous treaty concluded, the moſt material articles whereof were a confirmation of his former treaty, and alſo of the provinces of Burdwan, Nidnapoor, and Chitagong, granted by the late nabob Coſſim Aly, engaging to give thirty lacks of rupees to defray the expences and loſs accruing to the company from the war, and alſo to reimburſe the amount of what had been loſt by private perſons.

A few days afterwards Meer Jaffier ſet out to join the army under major Adams, which was then on its march towards Moorſhedabad. The firſt action which happened was on the nineteenth of July, oppoſite to Cutwa, on the Coſſimbuzar ſide of the river. The major having croſſed with the army the night before, in the morning came up with a large body of the enemy's troops, who were ſtrongly poſted to oppoſe his progreſs to the city; and having attacked them, they were routed, after a ſmall reſiſtance, and with an inconſiderable loſs on our ſide. A detached party, under the command of captain Long, at the ſame time poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort of Cutwa, on the other ſide of the river, together with all the enemy's artillery.

Major Adams now purſued his march to Moorſhedabad, which the army entered, with a trifling oppoſition, the twenty-fourth at night. Here the army halted ſome days to refreſh, during which Meer Jaffier was proclaimed in due form.

The major purſued his rout; and on the ſecond of Auguſt, having arrived near a place called Sooty, at the head of the Coſſimbuzar river, a very obſtinate engagement enſued, with a numerous army of the enemy's beſt troops and artillery, who there occupied a very advantageous poſt. The ſtand that they made was reſolute and uncommon for troops of this country, having cloſely engaged our forces for no leſs than four hours: however, the enemy at length ſuſtained a total defeat, through the major's good conduct and intrepidity, and the remarkable bravery of the officers and men.

On the part of the Engliſh, the loſs was not ſo great as might have been expected from ſo ſevere an action. It conſiſted only of ſix officers and forty Europeans, and two hundred and ninety-two ſeapoys and black horſe, killed and wounded. On the part of the enemy, a great number of men were killed and wounded, and twenty-three pieces of cannon, with about one hundred and fifty boats, laden with military and other ſtores, were taken.

After this battle major Adams advanced with the army near to Rajamant; about three or four miles from which, the enemy had thrown up a ſtrong entrenchment from the hills to the river. This the major was reſolved to attack, and every thing being ready for the aſſault by the fifth of September, it was carried on with ſuch vigour, that in a ſhort

time the enemy were obliged to abandon the entrenchment to the conquerors. By this victory the province of Bengal was entirely ſecured to the Engliſh, and the letters which brought theſe accounts expreſſed their hopes that by this action the fate of the war would be entirely decided.

Many thouſand journeymen ſilk weavers went in proceſſion from Spitalfields, in the beginning of the month of April, and waited on his majeſty at the queen's palace in St. James's Park, with a petition, repreſenting the miſerable condition themſelves and families were reduced to, by the clandeſtine importation of French ſilks. They waited before the court-yard, and two gentlemen, belonging to that manufactory, had the honour to be introduced to his majeſty's preſence, and preſent their petition, which his majeſty received in the moſt gracious manner; and gave for anſwer, "That he would ſend immediate orders to put an intire ſtop to the importation of French ſilks; that an affair of ſo much conſequence to the kingdom ſhould be properly laid before the parliament, and that he would do his utmoſt to procure them redreſs."

His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the nineteenth of this month, and having given the royal aſſent to various bills, cloſed the ſeſſion of parliament with the following ſpeech from the throne:

My lords and gentlemen,

"I cannot put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament, without returning you my hearty thanks for the ſalutary meaſures which you have taken to extend the commerce, and ſecure the happineſs, of my kingdoms."

"The aſſurances which I have received of the pacific diſpoſition of the powers with whom we were lately at war, and of their reſolution to adhere inviolably to the terms of the late treaty, promiſe the continuance of peace abroad; and the firm and temperate exertion of your authority, joined to the conſtitutional and public ſpirited conduct which you have manifeſted on every occaſion, during the preſent ſeſſion, will, I truſt, eſtabliſh at home due obedience to the laws, reverence to the legiſlature, and domeſtic union."

Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I thank you for the ſupplies which you have ſo chearfully and unanimouſly granted. The ample proviſion you have made for the ſeveral ſervices recommended to you, and eſpecially for maintaining my fleet in a reſpectable ſtate, will, I am confident, preſerve to this nation its proper weight and influence, and give ſtrength and ſecurity to all my dominions."

"The wiſe regulations which have been eſtabliſhed to augment the public revenues, to unite the intereſts of the moſt diſtant poſſeſſions of my crown, and to encourage and ſecure their commerce with Great Britain, call for my hearty approbation."

"Your regard to public credit, in diſcharging a part of the heavy debt contracted and unprovided for during the late war, without impoſing on this kingdom the burthen of any new taxes, is particularly pleaſing to me, from the tender concern which I feel for my people."

My lords and gentlemen,

"It is the proper employment of this ſeaſon of tranquillity, to conſider of the moſt effectual means for perfecting thoſe works of peace, and plans of public utility, which have been ſo wiſely and happily begun."

"I recommend theſe important objects to your conſideration during the receſs. You may depend upon my conſtant endeavours for the ſucceſs of theſe good purpoſes; as I ſhall ever eſteem it my trueſt glory, to employ that power with which the conſtitution hath entruſted me, in promoting your real intereſts and laſting happineſs."

It was reſolved on the ſame day, that the thanks of the houſe be given to brigadier-general Draper, for the eminent ſervices he had performed to his king and country, in aſſiſting in the conqueſt of Manilla, and the reduction of the Philippine iſlands, and that Mr. Speaker ſignify the ſame to him; the thanks of the houſe were likewiſe voted to be given to vice-admiral Corniſh, and to be delivered in the very ſame words.

On the 23d of April, a chapter of the moſt noble order of the garter was held at St. James's, when his majeſty was pleaſed to inveſt the reigning duke of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, eldeſt brother to her majeſty, with one of the vacancies of that order, and the other was beſtowed upon the right honourable the earl of Halifax, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Next day his majeſty was pleaſed to fill up the vacant ſtall at Weſtminſter of the moſt honourable military order of the Bath, by inveſting lord Clive with the inſignia of that order.

Information having been given about this time, that ſeveral of his majeſty's ſubjects had been for a conſiderable time, and were then detained in France, as hoſtages for the payment of ranſom bills, which had not yet been ſatisfied; notice was given in the Gazette, that in caſe ſuch ranſom bills were not forthwith diſcharged, proſecutions would be commenced in his majeſty's court of admiralty againſt all maſters, owners, and others, refuſing or neglecting to pay the ſums of money ſtipulated for the releaſe of thoſe unfortunate perſons, who had ſuffered ſo long an impriſonment.

Great quantities of French ſilks and laces were, during the courſe of this month, ſeized and confiſcated; and ſeveral bakers were fined for defrauding the public in the weight of their bread.

A general court of the Eaſt India company was held on the firſt of May, at which there were many debates, which were carried on with great coolneſs and deliberation; and the court broke up with a reſolution, that the following queſtion ſhould be determined by a ballot, at a general court to be held on the third inſtant in the morning, namely;

"That it be recommended, and that the court of directors be impowered to agree with lord Clive for the payment of his jaghire for the ſpace of ten years, provided his lordſhip ſhall ſo long live, and the company ſhall be in actual poſſeſſion of the land out of which it iſſues, and the revenues thereof during that period of time."

The queſtion was determined in the affirmative by a conſiderable majority. Thanks and rewards were alſo voted to major Adams and other officers who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the company's ſervice.

By the advices which were received in the month of July from North America, it appeared that the military operations in that quarter were ſtill carried on with the greateſt vigour; and that Sir William Johnſton had at laſt brought the Seneca nation to conceſſions highly advantageous to the ſubjects of Great Britain; and that they had entered into the following treaty of peace, friendſhip, and alliance with the Engliſh.

"That the Seneca nation do immediately ſtop all

all hoſtilities, and ſolemnly engage never more to make war upon the Engliſh, or ſuffer any of their people to commit any acts of violence on the perſons or properties of any of his Britannic majeſty's ſubjects.

"That they forthwith collect all the Engliſh priſoners, deſerters, Frenchmen and negroes amongſt them, and deliver them up to Sir William Johnſton, and that they engage never to harbour or conceal any deſerters; but ſhould any ſuch take refuge amongſt them, they are to be brought to the commanding officer of the next garriſon, and delivered up.

"That they cede to his majeſty and his ſucceſſors, for ever, in full right, the lands from the fort of Niagara, to the Creek above fort Schloſſer, and down the ſame to the river or ſtraight, comprehending the whole carrying place, and containing a track of about fourteen miles in length, and four in breadth.

"That they allow a free paſſage through their country from that of Cayugas to Niagara, or elſewhere, for the uſe of his majeſty's troops for ever; engaging never to obſtruct, or moleſt, any of his majeſty's troops, or other his ſubjects who make uſe of the ſame.

"That they grant to his majeſty and his ſucceſſors for ever, a free uſe of the harbours for veſſels, within their country on Lake Ontario, or in any of the rivers, with liberty to land ſtores, and erect ſheds for their ſecurity.

That they immediately ſtop all intercourſe between any of their people, and thoſe of the Shawaneſe and Delawares, or other his majeſty's enemies, whom they are to treat as common enemies, and to aſſiſt his majeſty's arms in bringing them to proper puniſhment; ſolemnly engaging never to be privy to, or aſſiſt any of his majeſty's enemy's, or thoſe who may hereafter attempt to diſturb the public tranquillity.

"That ſhould any Indian commit murder, or rob any of his majeſty's ſubjects, he ſhall be immediately delivered up to be tried and puniſhed, according to the equitable laws of England: and ſhould any white man be guilty of the like crime towards the Indians, he ſhall be immediately tried, and puniſhed if guilty: and the Senecas are never for the future to procure themſelves ſatisfaction, otherwiſe than as before-mentioned, but to lay all matter of complaint before Sir William Johnſton, or his majeſty's ſuperintendant of thoſe affairs for the time being, and ſtrictly to maintain and abide by the covenant claim of friendſhip.

"For the due performance of theſe articles, the Senecas are to deliver up three of their chiefs, as hoſtages, who are to be well treated and reſtored to them, ſo ſoon as the ſame are fully performed on their parts.

"In conſequence of their perfect agreement to the foregoing articles, Sir William Johnſton doth, by virtue of the powers and authorities repoſed in him, in the name of his Britannic majeſty, promiſe and engage, that the ſaid Indians ſhall have a full pardon for paſt tranſgreſſions: that they ſhould be left in the quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of all their rights not compriſed in the foregoing articles, and that on their duly performing the ſame, and ſubſcribing the definitive treaty of peace to be held in conſequence hereof, they ſhall be once more admitted into the covenant chain of friendſhip with the Engliſh, and be indulged with a free, fair, and open trade, ſo long as they abide by their engagements."

The forces commanded by the colonels Bradſtreet and Bouquet met with the ſame ſucceſs as thoſe under Sir William Johnſton. The Delawares and Shawaneſe had refuſed to meet Sir William at the congreſs of Niagara, but now, intimidated by the march of ſuch a number of troops towards their country, they met colonel Bradſtreet at Preſque Iſle, and in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner ſued for peace, which was granted them on the following conditions.

"That all priſoners in their hands ſhould be delivered to him at Sanduſky in twenty-five days.

"That they ſhould renounce all claim to the poſts and forts we now have in their country, and that we ſhall be at liberty to erect as many as we think neceſſary to ſecure our trade; and that they ſhall cede to us for ever, as much land round each fort as a cannon ſhot can fly over, on which our people may raiſe proviſions.

"That if any Indian hereafter kill any Engliſhman, he ſhall be delivered up by his nation, and tried by the Engliſh laws, only to have half the jury of Indians. And if any one of the nations renew the war, the reſt ſhall join to bring them to reaſon.

"That ſix of the deputies ſhall remain with colonel Bradſtreet as hoſtages, and the other four, with an Engliſh officer and one of our Indians, ſhould proceed immediately to acquaint the dependent nations with theſe terms of peace, and forward the collecting of the priſoners, to be ready at the day appointed."

The colonel reſolutely told them, that if their chiefs would not confirm this peace, no other would be granted them; and that if they continued the war, they ſhould find their country filled with warriors immediately, who would totally deſtroy every one of their people. The number of priſoners delivered up by thoſe ſavages exceeded three hundred.

The lords commiſſioners of the treaſury having, towards the end of this month, repreſented to his majeſty in council, that the endeavours they had uſed for improving his majeſty's revenue of cuſtoms, and preventing the many frauds committed in the out-ports of this kingdom, were greatly obſtructed by the ſtate of the Iſle of Man, from whence a pernicious and illicit trade was carried on to the neighbouring coaſts of Great-Britain and Ireland, in violation of the laws of this kingdom, and to the great detriment and diminution of the public revenue: his majeſty was pleaſed, with the advice of his privy council, to enjoin on his officers the utmoſt vigilance in the execution of their duty; to declare that all perſons detected in ſuch offence, ſhould be proceeded againſt with the utmoſt rigour of the law, and iſſued orders that the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty ſhould ſtation a ſufficient number of ſhips and cutters, in the harbours and on the coaſts of the Iſle of Man, in order to diſcover, and bring to juſtice, all concerned in ſuch illegal practices.

The lord lieutenant of Ireland, or, in his abſence, the lords juſtices of that kingdom, were required, to give ſuch directions for carrying his majeſty's commands into execution, as unto them might reſpectively appertain.

Our ambaſſador at the court of Verſailles having received orders to demand immediate ſatisfaction and reparation for acts of violence committed in the courſe of this year, at one of the Turk's iſlands by the commander of a French ſhip of war; he returned

returned for anſwer, that the court of France had diſavowed the ſaid proceedings, diſclaimed all intention or deſire of acquiring or of conquering the Turks iſlands; and had given orders to the compte d'Eſtaign, governor of St. Domingo, to cauſe the ſaid iſlands to be immediately abandoned on the part of the French, to reſtore every thing therein to the condition in which it was on the firſt of June then laſt, and to make reparation for the damages which any of his majeſty's ſubjects ſhould be found to have ſuſtained in conſequence of the ſaid proceedings, according to an eſtimation to be forthwith ſettled by the ſaid governor, with his majeſty's governor of Jamaica; and that a duplicate of the ſaid order ſhould be tranſmitted to his majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate.

By letters received at the admiralty office ſigned by commodore Palliſer at St. John's in Newfoundland, it appeared that a ſloop had been diſpatched with a letter to the French governor at St. Pierre, enquiring into the truth of ſome reports that had prevailed of his having mounted cannon, and erected works on that iſland, contrary to treaty; and that the ſaid governor, in his anſwer to the commodore, diſavowed the contents of ſuch reports, and aſſuring him that the concurrent fiſhery in thoſe parts of the coaſts, wherein the French were permitted by treaty to fiſh, had been carried on in perfect tranquillity.

It muſt here be recorded to the credit of Britiſh hoſpitality, that at this time upwards of ſix hundred German emigrants, men, women, and children, conſiſting of Wurtzburghers, and Palatines, all proteſtants, (who were brought hither by a perſon, with a promiſe of being immediately ſent to ſettle at his own expence, in the iſlands of St. Johns and Le Croix, in America, and afterwards abandoned by him) were generouſly relieved by the benevolence of this nation, in conſequence of a moſt affecting narrative of their ſufferings, which the miniſter of the German Lutheran-church in London printed in the public papers.

The narrative ſet forth "That ſome of them had laid, during heavy rains, and were then lying, in the open fields adjacent to this metropolis, without covering, without money, and without the common neceſſaries of life; that others were languiſhing under the complicated evils of ſickneſs and extreme want; and more than two hundred remained on board the ſhip, which brought them over, on account of their paſſage not being paid for, where they were periſhing for want of food, and other neceſſaries of life.

On this occaſion the humanity and generoſity of the public were excited to a degree perhaps ſcarcely remembered; for, according to the clergyman's account, before eleven o'clock of the very morning on which his letter appeared, they received from the Tower, by order of a great perſonage, an hundred tents, with the neceſſaries thereunto belonging; by the ſame bountiful hand, the freight of thoſe on board the ſhips was paid, and they were immediately releaſed.

On the firſt day the contributions amounted to near three hundred pounds, which with future additions enabled the committee to cloath and provide them with every requiſite for perſons in their diſtreſſed condition. Having obtained his majeſty's permiſſion, they contracted for veſſels to convey them to South Carolina, for their proviſion and maintenance during the voyage, and for a time after their arrival in that province.

Various accounts having been received from the bay of Honduras, complaining that our logwood cutters had not only been diſturbed in their buſineſs, but ſuddenly ordered to remove from their uſual places of ſettlement on frivolous and preſumptive pretences; a remonſtrance was made by the Britiſh ambaſſador at the court of Madrid, in conſequence whereof orders were diſpatched to Don Felix Raming de Eſtenoz, governor of Jucatan. From the tenor of theſe orders, it appeared, that his Catholic majeſty diſapproved the proceedings of the ſaid governor, with reſpect to his majeſty's ſubjects in the bay of Honduras, expreſſed his deſire of giving his majeſty the greateſt proofs of his friendſhip, and of preſerving peace with the Britiſh nation. That he had commanded the ſaid governor to re-eſtabliſh the Britiſh Logwood Cutters in the ſeveral places from which he had obliged them to retire, and to acquaint them, that they might return to their occupations of cutting logwood, without being diſturbed under any pretence whatſoever.

The city of London in particular, and the nation in general, having, about this time, preferred complaints in parliament concerning the exorbitant price of proviſions, his majeſty, in order to prevent all unlawful combinations for enhancing the price of proviſions, and encourage thoſe, who might diſcover any concerned in ſuch illegal practices, promiſed to all perſons who ſhould diſcover, or cauſe to be diſcovered, ſuch offenders, ſo that they might be convicted, a reward of one hundred pounds, to be paid out of the treaſury immediately. When the merchants petition, touching the above complaint, was preſented to one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, a council was immediately called, and, after an examination of evidence, his majeſty ordered his royal proclamation to be iſſued as before mentioned.

But the pernicious effects of luxury on the one hand, and monopoly on the other, fruſtrated the means uſed for the public relief, and the people of England were ſtill obliged to purchaſe thoſe neceſſaries at a moſt exorbitant rate, which their country annually yields in ſuch abundance, that they might always be ſupplied on moderate terms.

In the month of October, the weather proved extremely boiſterous, by which many ſhips were wrecked, and other very conſiderable damage was ſuſtained both by ſea and land.

Though the terms between the ſavage Indians and his majeſty's officers had been ſo ſolemnly and recently ratified, they again revolted, and renewed their outrages with aggravated inſolence. In conſequence of this perfidious behaviour, major general Gage, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in thoſe parts, determined to penetrate into the heart of their country. Accordingly, the regular and provincial troops under colonel Bouquet, having been joined by a large body of volunteers from Virginia, and others from Maryland and Penſylvania, marched from Fort Pitt the beginning of October, and arrived at Tuſcarowas about the fifteenth. The march of the troops into their country threw the ſavages into the greateſt conſternation, as they hoped their woods would protect them, and had boaſted of the ſecurity of their ſituation from the attacks of our army. The Indians hovered round the troops during the march, but deſpairing of ſucceſs in action, had recourſe to negotiation. They were told that they might have peace; but every priſoner in their poſſeſſion muſt firſt be delivered up. They brought in near twenty, and promiſed to deliver up the reſt; but as their

their promiſes were not regarded, they engaged to deliver the whole on the firſt of November, at a ſpot about one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Pitt, the center of the Delaware towns, and near to the moſt conſiderable ſettlement of the Shawaneſe. Colonel Bouquet kept them in ſight, and moved his camp to that place. He ſoon obliged the Delawares, and ſome broken tribes, to bring in all their priſoners, even to children bought of white women. They were then told that they might appoint deputies to go to Sir William Johnſton, to receive ſuch terms as ſhould be impoſed upon them, which the nations ſhould agree to ratify; and they were obliged to leave a number of their chiefs in the hands of the Engliſh, as ſecurities for their performance of this agreement.

All the nations readily agreed to the terms, except the Shawaneſe, who did not approve of the conditions, and were particularly averſe to the giving of hoſtages: but finding their obſtinacy would only tend to their deſtruction, they at laſt conſented, gave up forty principal chiefs as hoſtages, and appointed their deputies to go to Sir William Johnſton in the ſame manner as the reſt. The number of priſoners delivered up by theſe ſavages, exceeded three hundred, and it was expected that the Engliſh parties would bring in near one hundred more from their different towns.

A. D. 1765. His majeſty went to the houſe of peers on the tenth of January, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The ſituation of affairs, both at home and abroad, has enabled me to allow you that receſs, which has been uſual in times of public tranquillity. I have now the ſatisfaction to inform you, that I have agreed with my good brother the king of Denmark, to cement the union which has long ſubſiſted between the two crowns, by the marriage of that prince with my ſiſter the princeſs Carolina Matilda, which is to be ſolemnized as ſoon as their reſpective ages will permit. I obſerve, with pleaſure, that the events which have happened in the courſe of the laſt year give us reaſon to hope for the duration of that peace, which has been ſo happily eſtabliſhed, and which it is my reſolution ſtrictly to maintain. The courts of France and Spain have given me freſh aſſurances of their good diſpoſitions. The future quiet of the empire has been confirmed, by the unanimous choice of a ſucceſſor to the Imperial dignity; and the peaceable election of the king of Poland has prevented thoſe fatal conſequences, which, upon ſimilar occaſions, have ſo frequently been deſtructive to the repoſe of Europe. I am happy, therefore, to meet my parliament, at a time when no foreign diſturbances interrupt their conſultations for the internal good order and proſperity of my kingdoms."

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I ſhall aſk, for the current ſervice of the year, no other ſupplies than ſuch as are neceſſary for thoſe eſtabliſhments, which have already met with your approbation, and I will order the proper eſtimates for this purpoſe to be laid before you. I muſt, however, earneſtly recommend to you the continuance of that attention which you have hitherto ſhewn to the improvement of the public revenue, and the diminution of the public debt. For theſe deſirable and neceſſary ends, I am perſuaded, that you will purſue every proper meaſure, which the ſtate of my dominions, and the circumſtances of the times, require."

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The experience which I have had of your former conduct makes me rely on your wiſdom and firmneſs in promoting that obedience to the laws, and reſpect to the legiſlative authority of this kingdom, which is eſſentially neceſſary for the ſafety of the whole, and in eſtabliſhing ſuch regulations as may beſt connect and ſtrengthen every part of my dominions, for their mutual benefit and ſupport. The affection which I bear to my people excites my earneſt wiſhes, that every ſeſſion of parliament may be diſtinguiſhed by ſome plans for the public advantage, and for their relief from thoſe difficulties, which an expenſive war has brought on them. My concurrence and encouragement ſhall never be wanting where their welfare is concerned; and I truſt, that for the attainment of that great object, you will proceed with temper, unanimity and diſpatch."

On the ſeventh of February the houſe of commons agreed to the reſolutions formed by the committee of ſupply for impoſing much the ſame ſtamp duties upon our people in America, as were payable here in England; and the ſaid reſolutions, being formed into a bill, received the royal aſſent on the 22d of March.

During this month, his majeſty was pleaſed to order, that America ſhould be divided into two diſtricts, viz. Northern and Southern, by the river Potomack, and a due Weſt line drawn from the head of the main branch of that river, as far as his majeſty's dominions extended; and that a ſurveyor-general ſhould be appointed in each, to make general ſurveys of the ſea coaſts and the inland country, in order to facilitate the navigation, and promote the ſpeedy ſettlement of the new acquiſitions.

Commiſſioners were likewiſe appointed to ſettle the new ceded iſlands in the Weſt Indies, who received orders, firſt to divide each iſland into pariſhes and diſtricts; then in every pariſh to trace out a town, its ſtreets, market-place, and other public places; after which they were to parcel out the ground into proper allotments to build on, with a ſmall field annexed to each. It was alſo ordered, that where the land was cleared, the purchaſers, beſides the purchaſe money, ſhould pay a quit-rent of one penny per foot in front of each town lot, and ſix-pence for every acre of the field that accompanied it. On the other hand, if the land was uncleared, it ſhould be granted by the governor, upon ſecurity given to build on, encloſe, and fence it, in a reaſonable time, and to pay the ſame quit-rent.

Mr. John Williams, bookſeller, was, on the fourteenth of this month, brought, purſuant to a former ſentence, from the King's Bench priſon, to ſtand in the pillory, in New-palace-yard, Weſtminſter, for re-publiſhing the North Briton in volumes. A few minutes after twelve he mounted amidſt the repeated acclamations of upwards of ten thouſand people, who maintained an inceſſant ſhout during the hour of ſtanding. Oppoſite to the pillory were erected four ladders, with cords running from each other, on which were hung a jack boot, an ax, and a Scotch bonnet. The two latter, after remaining there ſome time, were burnt, and the boot beheaded. During his ſtand alſo, a purple purſe, ornamented with orange coloured ribbons, was produced by a gentleman

tleman eminent for his patriotiſm, who began a collection for the benefit of the culprit, after which, the purſe being carried round, every one contributed according to pleaſure, to the amount in the whole, as was ſuppoſed, of upwards of two hundred guineas. He had a ſprig of laurel in his hand all the time; and received, on this occaſion, greater and louder marks of the public applauſe, than would, perhaps, have been given to a ſovereign prince, at the head of a victorious army.

Many people in different parts of the kingdom ſuſtained great loſſes by high winds and exceſſive floods, during this month, and ſuch was the forlorn ſituation of ſix or ſeven thouſand people ſtarving for want of employment in the weaving branch, that the public compaſſion being excited, a ſubſcription was generouſly ſet on foot for their relief, and, in a very ſhort time, conſiderable ſums were raiſed.

In the month of April, William, lord Byron, was tried by his peers in Weſtminſter-hall, for an unhappy affair, which took place between his lordſhip and Mr. Chaworth a member of the lower houſe, when, after a learned diſcuſſion of the caſe, the peers adjourned to their own houſe, and, after ſome conſideration, returned, when they found his lordſhip guilty of manſlaughter; and as, by an old ſtatute, peers are, in all caſes where benefit of clergy is allowed, to be diſmiſſed without burning in the hand, loſs of inheritance, or corruption of blood, his lordſhip was immediately diſmiſſed on paying his fees.

His majeſty, who had been indiſpoſed for ſome time, went to the houſe of peers on the twelfth of this month, and in a ſpeech from the throne, informed the parliament, "that the tender concern he felt for his faithful ſubjects made him anxious to provide for every poſſible event, which might effect their future happineſs or ſecurity. That his late indiſpoſition, though not attended with danger, had led him to conſider the ſituation in which his kingdoms and family might be left, if it ſhould pleaſe God to put a period to his life, while his ſucceſſor was of tender years. That the high importance of this ſubject to the public ſafety, good order and tranquillity, the paternal affection which he bore to his children and to all his people, and his earneſt deſire that every precaution ſhould be taken, which might tend to preſerve the conſtitution of Great Britain undiſturbed, and the dignity and luſtre of his crown unimpaired, had determined him to lay this weighty buſineſs before his parliament; and as his health was now perfectly reſtored, he took the earlieſt opportunity of meeting them, and recommending to their moſt ſerious deliberation the making ſuch proviſion as would be neceſſary, in caſe any of his children ſhould ſucceed to his throne, before they ſhould reſpectively attain the age of eighteen years. That to this end he propoſed to their conſideration, whether, under the preſent circumſtances, it would not be expedient to veſt in him the power of appointing, from time to time, by inſtrument in writing under his ſign manual, either the queen, or any other perſon of his royal family, to be the guardian of the perſon of ſuch ſucceſſor, and the regent of theſe kingdoms, until ſuch ſucceſſor ſhould attain the age of eighteen years, ſubject to the like reſtrictions and regulations, as were ſpecified and contained in an act paſſed upon a ſimilar occaſion in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of the late king, his royal grandfather: the regent ſo appointed to be aſſiſted by a council compoſed of the ſeveral perſons, who, by reaſon of their dignities and offices, were conſtituted members of the council eſtabliſhed by that act, together with thoſe, whom they might think proper to leave to his nomination."

A joint addreſs was preſented by both houſes in anſwer to this ſpeech, and, in conſequence thereof, a bill was ordered to be brought into the houſe of lords, where it was paſſed and ſent to the commons. Here it met with ſome oppoſition, but an amendment being made, which was approved by the lords, it received the royal aſſent on the fifth of May, and on the twenty-fifth of the ſame month his majeſty thought proper to cloſe the ſeſſion.

The council for aſſiſting the regent was decreed to conſiſt of the dukes of York and Glouceſter, the princes Henry Frederic, and Frederic William, and the duke of Cumberland, and alſo of the perſons following, viz. The archbiſhop of Canterbury; the lord-chancellor, or lord-keeper, or firſt commiſſioner, named in any commiſſion for the cuſtody of the great ſeal of Great Britain for the time being; the lord treaſurer of Great Britain, or the firſt commiſſioner in that office for the time being; the lord preſident of the council for the time being; the lord-high-admiral of Great Britain, or the firſt commiſſioner for executing that office; the two principal ſecretaries of ſtate for the time being; and the lord chief juſtice of the king's bench for the time being. But if any of the king's brothers, or his uncle, die, during his majeſty's reign, or ſhould be nominated regent on his demiſe, his majeſty, by three inſtruments under his ſign manual, ſealed and depoſited, and revocable at pleaſure, might appoint ſome other perſon to be of the council, and ſuch inſtruments of nomination were to be produced unopened to the privy council.

Soon after the riſing of parliament, accounts were received of the ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms in conjunction with the company's troops in the Eaſt Indies; a complete victory having been obtained over the king and vizir Hindortan, by major Hector Monro. They had ſix thouſand men ſlain on the field of battle, and loſt, beſides ſtores of various kinds, one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon. The major went out, on the morning of the action, with ſome of the principal officers, to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy, intending to attack them the following day; but finding their whole army under arms, he returned to the camp, ordered in the advanced poſts and grand guard, the drums to beat to arms, and in leſs than twenty minutes, the line of battle was formed, having made the diſpoſition the preceding day. The enemy began to cannonade about nine in the morning, and the action became general in about half an hour after.

The moraſs in the front of our troops prevented their advancing for ſome time, through which means they were much galled by the enemy's cannon. The major then ordered a battalion of ſeapoys, from the right of the firſt line, to move forward in order to ſilence one of their batteries, which played upon his flank, and afterwards was forced to ſupport it by another battalion, which had the deſired effect. He then ordered both the lines to face to the right, and keep marching in order to clear the left wing of the moraſs; which done, to face

face to the former front, the right wing wheeling up to the left, to clear a ſmall wood that was upon the right; the firſt line then moved forward, keeping a very briſk cannonade. Major Monro then ſent orders to major Pemble, who commanded the ſecond line, to face to the right about, and follow the firſt. Immediately after the fire with ſmall arms began, and both lines puſhed forwards with ſuch ardor and reſolution, that the enemy ſoon after began to give way, and five minutes before twelve their whole army was put to flight, leaving ſix thouſand men on the ſpot with one hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, a proportionable quantity of military ſtores, and all their tents ready pitched.

The loſs of the victors was comparatively ſmall, for they had only thirty-two Europeans, and two hundred and thirty-nine Indians killed, and fifty-ſeven Europeans, and four hundred and ſeventy-three Indians wounded. According to the account of the commander in chief, major Pemble and captain Charles Gordon ſignalized their valour in this action, having their horſes ſhot under them.

Subſcriptions were now opened for, and the public bounty moſt generouſly extended towards, a great number of unfortunate ſufferers, who had loſt all, or the greater part of their effects, by a dreadful fire at Rotherhithe; for ſuch was the extraordinary amount of the contribution, that every claimant was paid the full value of their loſs—a laudable example worthy of general imitation.

About two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-firſt day of Auguſt, the queen was ſafely delivered of a prince, who was afterwards baptized by the name of William Henry.

An account of ſeveral outrages, committed by the ſoldiers in Dublin, having been laid before the king, by his excellency the earl of Hertford, lord lieutenant of Ireland, his majeſty was thereupon pleaſed to order his excellency to ſignify his pleaſure to the lords juſtices, that it be given out in public orders in every quarter in Ireland; "that his majeſty had received, with the utmoſt ſurprize and diſpleaſure, the accounts of the late behaviour of the garriſon of Dublin, of ſuch dangerous tendency to the peace and ſafety of ſociety, and utterly ſubverſive of all military diſcipline; that his majeſty expects and requires from his army in Ireland, that they do, upon all occaſions, demean themſelves quietly and peaceably and in perfect obedience and ſubmiſſion to the laws; and that it is his majeſty's fixed reſolution to ſhew the higheſt marks of his diſpleaſure to all military perſons whatever, who ſhall, in any reſpect, act contrary thereto."

By ſeveral accounts received from New England, it appeared that the news of the ſtamp act having received the royal aſſent no ſooner reached that province, than a melancholy appeared on every countenance, and which having afterwards viſibly encreaſed on the arrival of intelligence that it had paſſed both houſes, at length turned to fury, and every where broke out into action. The ſhips in the harbour hung out their colours half maſt high, in token of the deepeſt mourning; the bells rang muffled; the act itſelf was printed with a death's head to it in the place where it is uſual to fix the ſtamps, and cried publicly about the ſtreets by the name of "The folly of England and ruin of America." Eſſays ſoon followed not only againſt the expediency, but even the equity of this obnoxious proceeding.

By the time the act itſelf, as printed at the king's printing-houſe, reached the colonies, the populace were every where exaſperated againſt it to ſuch a degree as to ſhew it the moſt public marks of contempt. In ſeveral places it was burnt, together with effigies of thoſe who were ſuppoſed to have voted, or otherwiſe had any hand in favour of it. It was agreed at the meetings of thoſe in higher rank, that thanks ſhould be given to general Conway and colonel Barré, whom they conſidered as the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſers of it in the Britiſh houſe of commons; that their ſpeeches againſt it, and their pictures ſhould be requeſted.

Thoſe perſons who went from Britain with commiſſions to act as diſtributors of the ſtamps met with the ſevereſt treatment. Many of them were compelled to renounce, now and for ever, publicly, and upon oath, all manner of concern in them: others thought it moſt prudent to return from whence they came; whilſt ſome, more reſolute and zealous, had their houſes burnt down, and their moſt valuable effects plundered or deſtroyed.

By degrees many of the better ſort joined the populace in thoſe tumults, ſetting the act openly at defiance, and declaring their reſolution to pay no taxes, but ſuch as were laid by their repreſentatives. Many governors connived at theſe proceedings. The juſtices of the peace for the diſtrict of Weſtmoreland in Virginia gave public notice under their hands, that they had declined acting in that capacity. Their example was followed by the practitioners of the law, who reſolved to give up their buſineſs rather than carry it on with ſtamped papers.

By the time the act took place (which was on the firſt of November) not a ſheet of ſtamped paper was to be had throughout the ſeveral colonies of New England, New York, New Jerſey, Penſylvania, Maryland, the two Carolinas, except a ſmall parcel which the governor of New-York, terrified by the threats of the enraged populace, had ſurrendered into the hands of the corporation of that place, on condition of their not being deſtroyed. The courts of juſtice were cloſed, and the ports ſhut up.

The merchants of all thoſe colonies, which ventured openly to oppoſe the act, now entered into the moſt ſolemn engagements with each other, not only not to order any more goods from Great Britain let the conſequences be what they would, and recall the orders they had already given, if not filled up by the firſt of January 1766; but even not to diſpoſe of any Britiſh goods ſent them on commiſſion that were not ſhipped before that day; or if they conſented to any relaxations in theſe engagements, it was not to take place till the ſtamp act was repealed. The people of Philadelphia alſo reſolved, though not unanimouſly, that, till ſuch repeal, no lawyer ſhould put in ſuit a demand for money owing by a reſident in America to one in England; nor any perſon in America, however indebted in England make any remittances. Theſe reſolutions were adopted by the retailers, who unanimouſly agreed not to buy or ſell any Britiſh goods ſhipped contrary to their expreſs tenor.

Ireland derived conſiderable advantages from theſe proceedings, as what goods the colonies could not poſſibly diſpenſe with, they took from that country in exchange for their hempſeed and flaxſeed, of which they grow yearly very large quantities. In the mean time they omitted no methods to free themſelves even from this dependance. A

ſociety

ſociety of arts, manufactures and commerce, on the plan of the London ſociety, was inſtituted at New York, and markets opened for the ſale of home-made goods; by which it ſoon appeared, that neither the natives, nor the manufacturers, whom the natives had for ſome time paſt been inviting from Great Britain by very large encouragements, had been idle. In ſhort, the ſpirit of induſtry and frugality took place of the ſpirit of idleneſs and profuſion. The moſt ſubſtantial and faſhionable people were the firſt in ſetting the example to their countrymen by contenting themſelves with homeſpun, or old cloaths, rather than make uſe of any thing Britiſh; and ſuch were the efforts of all ranks, and ſo ſteady their meaſures, that many now began to be convinced of what they had till then thought impoſſible, that the colonies would ſoon be able to ſupply themſelves with every neceſſary of life.

The commiſſioners of the longitude having, about this time, repreſented to the commiſſioners of the navy, that Mr. John Harriſon had aſſigned to them, for the uſe of the public, the property of three ſeveral time-keepers, and alſo explained to them the principle upon which they were conſtructed; the latter ordered this ingenious artiſt the reward to which, by previous contract, he was entitled, for ſo curious and uſeful a diſcovery.

To the great and ſincere grief of all lovers of virtue and their country, his royal highneſs William Auguſtus, duke of Cumberland, departed this life on the thirty-firſt of October. His death, which was ſudden, was ſuppoſed to have been occaſioned by the rupture of ſome blood-veſſel in the brain.

The many eminent public and private virtues which diſtinguiſhed this great and excellent prince cannot, in juſtice to his character or the cauſe of his country, be paſſed over unnoticed. A review of his life will afford a moſt ſhining example of patriotiſm, valour, juſtice, friendſhip, ſincerity and humanity. Inflexibly attached to the intereſt of his country, he braved every danger, nor indulged a thought of life, when called on his ſovereign's duty. Patriotic from principle, he gave ſanction to wiſe and conſtitutional meaſures; nor feared to diſcountenance the ſchemes of oppreſſion, ambition and avarice. Conſcientiouſly juſt, he rewarded merit irreſpective of rank, nor ſuffered the dignified minion to eſcape his reſentment. Refined in his friendſhip, he ſweetened life by a judicious ſelection of worthy men to partake at his hoſpitable board, and amuſe his leiſure hours with an unreſerved affability of converſe. Inviolably ſincere, he never promiſed without deliberation, or the moſt punctual performance of his engagements. Above all, ſympathetically humane, and extenſively generous, his royal heart never failed to feel, nor his royal hand to relieve, the diſtreſſes of his fellow-creatures of every age, ſex, and condition. Nay, he ſought opportunities for doing good, and ſtudied plans for the employment of the poor. With theſe virtues to preponderate, his foibles may be eaſily conſigned to oblivion, eſpecially when it is remembered, that to err is the lot of humanity, but to do good is the property of benevolence.

A moſt terrible fire broke out on the ſeventh of October, near the end of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, next Cornhill, when the wind being weſterly, the flames ſoon ſpread, and the fire communicated itſelf to all the four corner houſes, which were burning at one time. On the whole, it was computed, that above an hundred houſes were conſumed. The flames were ſo rapid that the unhappy ſufferers had ſcarce time to ſave any of their effects; but a contribution being ſet on foot, conſiderable ſums were raiſed for the uſe of ſuch as choſe to accept the donations of the public.

The corpſe of his late royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland was, on the evening of the ninth of December, privately interred in the royal vault in king Henry the ſeventh's chapel at Weſtminſter, the body having been privately conveyed to the prince's chamber the night before.

So alarming were the tranſactions in America, that in conſequence thereof his majeſty thought proper to aſſemble the parliament on the 17th of December, and being ſeated on the throne with the uſual ſolemnity, he made the following ſpeech:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The preſent general ſtate of tranquillity in Europe gave me hopes that it would not have been neceſſary to aſſemble my parliament ſooner than uſual in times of peace: but as matters of importance have lately occurred in ſome of my colonies in America, which will demand the moſt ſerious attention of parliament, and as further informations are daily expected from different parts of that country, of which I ſhall order the fulleſt accounts to be prepared for your conſideration; I have thought fit to call you now together, in order that the opportunity may be thereby given, to iſſue the neceſſary writs for the many vacancies that have happened in the houſe of commons ſince the laſt ſeſſion, ſo that the parliament may be full, to proceed immediately, after the uſual receſs, on the conſideration of ſuch weighty matters as will then come before you."

A. D. 1766. The parliament having adjourned for the holidays, met again on the fourteenth of January, when his majeſty addreſſed them in the following ſpeech:

"My lords and gentlemen,

When I met you laſt, I acquainted you, that matters of importance had happened in America, which would demand the moſt ſerious attention of parliament."

"That no information which could ſerve to direct your deliberations in ſo intereſting a concern might be wanting, I have ordered all the papers that give any light into the origin, the progreſs, or the tendency of the diſturbances which have of late prevailed in ſome of the northern colonies, to be immediately laid before you."

"No time has been loſt, on the firſt advice of theſe diſturbances, to iſſue orders to the governors of my provinces, and to the commanders of my forces in America, for the exertion of all the powers of government, in the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults, and the effectual ſupport of lawful authority."

"Whatever remains to be done on this occaſion, I commit to your wiſdom; not doubting but your zeal for the honour of my crown, your attention to the juſt rights and authority of the Britiſh legiſlature, and your affection and concern for the welfare and proſperity of all my people, will guide you to ſuch ſound and prudent reſolutions, as may tend at once to preſerve thoſe conſtitutional rights over the colonies, and to reſtore to them that harmony and tranquillity, which have lately been interrupted by riots and diſorders of the moſt dangerous nature."

"If any alterations ſhould be wanting in the commercial œconomy of the plantations, which may

may tend to enlarge and ſecure the mutual and beneficial intercourſe of my kingdoms and colonies, they will deſerve your moſt ſerious conſideration. In effectuating purpoſes ſo worthy of your wiſdom and public ſpirit, you may depend upon my moſt hearty concurrence and ſupport. The preſent happy tranquillity, now ſubſiſting in Europe, will enable you to purſue ſuch objects of your interior policy with a more uninterrupted attention."

"Gentlemen of the houſe of commons,

"I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the current ſervice of the year to be laid before you. Such ſupplies as you may grant ſhall be duly applied with the utmoſt fidelity, and ſhall be diſpenſed with the ſtricteſt œconomy.

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I earneſtly recommend to you to proceed in your deliberations with temper and unanimity. The time requires, and I doubt not but your inclinations will lead you to thoſe ſalutary diſpoſitions. I have nothing at heart but the aſſertion of legal authority, the preſervation of the liberties of all my ſubjects, the equity and good order of my government, and the concord and proſperity of all parts of my dominions."

The repeal, or continuance, of the ſtamp act, was in itſelf a matter of the higheſt importance; and perhaps there ſcarce ever was any affair debated in a Britiſh parliament, in which the public thought themſelves more deeply intereſted, or for the reſult of which they felt a more impatient anxiety; nor was the reſt of Europe, the commercial part eſpecially, inattentive to the event.

Petitions were preſented from the merchants of London, Briſtol, Liverpool, Lancaſter, Hull, Glaſgow, &c. and indeed from moſt of the trading and manufacturing towns and boroughs in the kingdom, ſetting forth the great decay of their trade, owing to the new laws and regulations made for America: the vaſt quantity of our manufactures, (beſides thoſe articles imported from abroad, which were purchaſed either with our own manufactures, or with the produce of our colonies) which the American trade formerly took off our hands: by all which, many thouſand manufacturers, ſeamen, and labourers had been employed, to the very great and increaſing benefit of the nation. That in return for theſe exports, the petitioners had received from the colonies, rice, indigo, tobacco, naval ſtores, oil, whale fins, furs, and pot-aſh, with other ſtaple commodities, beſides a large balance in remittances by bills of exchange and bullion, obtained by the coloniſts for articles of their produce, not required for the Britiſh market; and therefore exported to other places: "That from the nature of this trade, conſiſting of Britiſh manufactures exported, and of the import of raw materials from America, many of them uſed in our manufactures, and all of them tending to leſſen our dependence on neighbouring ſtates, it muſt be deemed of the higheſt importance in the commercial ſyſtem of this nation. That this commerce, ſo beneficial to the ſtate, and ſo neceſſary for the ſupport of multitudes, then lay under ſuch difficulties and diſcouragements, that nothing leſs than its utter ruin was apprehended, without the immediate interpoſition of parliament. That the colonies were then indebted to the merchants of Great Britain, to the amount of ſeveral millions ſterling: and that, when preſſed for payment, they appeal to paſt experience in proof of their willingneſs; but declare, it is not in their power at preſent to make good their engagements, alledging, that the taxes and reſtrictions laid upon them, and the extenſion of the juriſdiction of the vice-admiralty courts, eſtabliſhed by ſome late acts of parliament, particularly by an act paſſed in the fourth year of his preſent majeſty, for granting certain duties in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America, and by an act paſſed in the fifth year of his majeſty, for granting and applying certain ſtamp duties, &c. in the ſaid colonies, &c. with ſeveral regulations and reſtraints, which, if founded in acts of parliament for defined purpoſes, they repreſent to have been extended in ſuch a manner, as to diſturb legal commerce, and to harraſs the fair trader; and to have ſo far interrupted the uſual and former moſt fruitful branches of their commerce, reſtrained the ſale of their produce, thrown the ſtate of the ſeveral provinces into confuſion, and brought on ſo great a number of actual bankruptcies, that the former opportunities and means of remittances and payments were utterly loſt and taken from them.

That the petitioners were, by theſe unhappy events, reduced to the neceſſity of applying to the houſe, in order to ſecure themſelves and their families from impending ruin; to prevent a multitude of manufacturers from becoming a burthen to the community, or elſe ſeeking their bread in other countries, to the irretrievable loſs of the kingdom; and to preſerve the ſtrength of this nation entire, its commerce flouriſhing, the revenues increaſing, our navigation, the bulwark of the kingdom, in a ſtate of growth and extenſion, and the colonies, from inclination, duty, and intereſt, firmly attached to the mother country.

Petitions from every part of the kingdom, replete with the like intereſting facts, ſtated and atteſted by ſuch numbers of people, whoſe lives had been entirely devoted to trade, and who muſt be naturally ſuppoſed to be competent judges of a ſubject, which they had ſo long and ſo cloſely attended to, could not fail of having great weight with the houſe, as had alſo a petition from the agent for the iſland of Jamaica, ſetting forth the ill conſequences that had attended a ſtamp-tax, which the aſſembly of that iſland had impoſed, and which was ſuffered to expire, it having been found *unequal* and *burthenſome* in a very high degree: and he gave it as his opinion that the preſent law for a ſtamp duty in the colonies would be attended with the ſame, if not greater inconveniencies. Petitions were likewiſe received from the agents for Virginia and Georgia, ſetting forth their inability to pay the ſtamp duty.

The party, however, who had reſolved on the ſupport of the ſtamp act at all events, could not be prevailed upon, either by the arguments or the facts contained in the petitions, to remit the leaſt of their ardor.

They repreſented the petitions as the effect of artifice; and they argued, that even if the diſtreſs of trade, from a due exertion of the authority of parliament, had been as real and as great as it was repreſented, yet it was better to ſubmit to this temporary inconvenience, than, by a repeal of the act, hazard the total loſs of the juſt ſuperiority of Great Britain over her colonies.

Thoſe who contended for the repeal were divided in opinion as to the right of taxation: the more numerous body (of whom were the miniſtry) inſiſted that the legiſlature of Great Britain had an undoubted right to tax the colonies; but founded their arguments on the inexpediency of the preſent tax, as ill adapted to the condition of the colonies,

and built upon principles ruinous to the trade of Great Britain.

Thoſe who denied the right of taxation were not ſo numerous; but they conſiſted of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed and popular names in the kingdom.

Though this affair was attended to by the houſe with the moſt unwearied application, yet the nature of their enquiries, the number of petitions they received, and the multitude of papers and witneſſes they had to examine, occaſioned a delay that could not be avoided.

In the interim, there were continual debates, and the oppoſition made the moſt ſtrenuous efforts to enforce the ſtamp act, and by every means to prevent the repeal. There were two queſtions aroſe in the courſe of this debate, upon which the whole turned. The firſt was, whether the legiſlature of Great Britain had a right of taxation over the colonies or not? The ſecond was confined to the expediency or inexpediency of the late law.

As to the right of taxation, the gentlemen who oppoſed it produced many learned authorities from Locke, Selden, Harrington, and Puffendorf, ſhewing, "that the very foundation and ultimate point "in view of all government is the good of ſo-"ciety."

They likewiſe urged, that by going up to Magna Charta, and referring to the ſeveral writs upon record, iſſued out for the purpoſe of raiſing taxes for the crown, and for ſending repreſentatives to parliament, as well as from the bill of rights, it appeared throughout the whole hiſtory of our conſtitution, that no Britiſh ſubject can be taxed, but *per communem conſenſum parliamenti*, that is to ſay, of himſelf, or his own repreſentative; and this is that firſt and general right, as Britiſh ſubjects, with which the firſt inhabitants of the colonies emigrated; for the right does not depend upon their charters: the charters were but the exterior modelling of the conſtitution of the colonies; but the great interior fundamental of their conſtitution is this general right of a Britiſh ſubject; which is the very firſt principle of liberty, "No man ſhall be taxed, but by himſelf, or by his repreſentative."

That the counties palatine of Cheſter, Durham, and Lancaſter, were not taxed but in their own aſſemblies or parliaments; till at different periods in our hiſtory, they were melted into our preſent form of parliamentary repreſentation. That the body of the clergy, till very lately, taxed themſelves, and granted benevolences to the king.

That the marches of Wales had a right of taxing themſelves till they ſent members to parliament, and from this circumſtance had continued the ſtyle of the king's proclamations, and of our acts of parliament to this day, although unneceſſarily, to name eſpecially the principality of Wales, and the towns of Monmouth and Berwick.

That many people carry the idea of a parliament too far, in ſuppoſing a parliament can do every thing; but that is not true, and if it were, it is not right conſtitutionally; for then there might be an arbitrary power in a parliament, as well as in one man.

There are many things a parliament cannot do. It cannot make itſelf executive, nor diſpoſe of offices that belong to the crown. It cannot take any man's property, even that of the meaneſt cottager, as in the caſes of incloſures, without his being heard. The lords cannot reject a money-bill from the commons, nor the commons erect themſelves into a court of juſtice. The parliament could not tax the clergy, till ſuch time as they were repreſented in parliament: nor can the parliament of England tax Ireland.

The charters of the colonies, which are derived from prerogative, and are in fact only ſo many grants from the crown, are not the only rights the colonies have to being repreſented before they are taxed: they, as Britiſh ſubjects, take up their rights and liberties from a higher origin than their charters only. They take them from the ſame origin and fountain, from whence they flow to all Engliſhmen, from Magna Charta and the natural right of the ſubject. By that rule of right, the charters of the colonies, like all other crown grants, are to be reſtricted and interpreted, for the benefit, not the prejudice of the ſubjects. Had the firſt inhabitants of the colonies renounced all connection with their mother country, they might have renounced their original right; but when they emigrated under the authority of the crown, and the national ſanction, they went out from hence at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, with all the firſt great privileges of Engliſhmen on their backs. But at the ſame time they were not, and could not be bound by penal laws of this country, from the ſeverity of which they fled, to climates remote from the heavy hand of power; and which they hoped to find more friendly to their principles of civil and religious liberty.

It is upon this ground, that it has been univerſally received as a law, that no acts of parliament made here, and particularly thoſe which enact any penalty, are binding upon the colonies, unleſs they are ſpecially named. The inhabitants of the colonies once removed from the domeſtic legiſlation of the mother country, are no more dependent upon it in the general ſyſtem, than the Iſle of Man is, or than, in the feudal ſyſtem of Europe, many ſubordinate principalities are dependent on the juriſdiction of the lord paramount; but owing only a limited obedience.

It is not meant by what has been ſaid, to affect the caſe of any external duties laid upon their ports; or of any reſtrictions which, by the act of navigation, or other acts, are laid upon their commerce; for they are in the ſame caſe, as all other colonies belonging to the reſt of the maritime powers in Europe, who have ſhut up their colonies from all intercourſe with foreign countries, in the very firſt eſtabliſhment. What is ſpoken of are internal taxes, to be levied on the body of the people: and that, before they can be liable to theſe internal taxes, they muſt firſt be repreſented.

Many other arguments were uſed, and inſtances were brought from ancient hiſtory, of the conduct of ſome of the moſt famous republics, with reſpect to their colonies, as well as of colonies which outgrew their mother countries, ſuch as Carthage, the northern emigrants, &c.

Precedents were quoted from what happened in the united Netherlands, and other places, which ſhould ſerve as a beacon, to warn us from purſuing ſuch meaſures as brought about thoſe revolutions.

In anſwer to theſe arguments, thoſe on the other ſide obſerved, that it was neceſſary to clear away from the queſtion all that maſs of diſſertation and learning, diſplayed in arguments which have been brought from ſpeculative men, who have written upon the ſubject of government. That the refinements upon that ſubject, and arguments of natural lawyers, as Locke, Selden, Puffendorf, and others, are little to the purpoſe in a queſtion of conſtitutional law. That it is abſurd to apply records from the

the earlieſt times, to our preſent conſtitution; becauſe the conſtitution is not the ſame: and nobody knows what it was at ſome of the times that are quoted: that there are things, even in Magna Charta, which are not conſtitutional now, and that thoſe records are no proofs of our conſtitution as it now is.

Among many other arguments it was urged, that protection is the ground which gives a right to taxation. That the obligation between the colonies and the mother country is natural and reciprocal, conſiſting of defence on the one ſide, and obedience on the other; and that common ſenſe dictates, that they muſt be dependent in all points upon the mother country, or elſe not belong to it at all. That the queſtion is not, what was law, or what was the conſtitution? but the queſtion is, what is law now, and what is the conſtitution now? That if a matter of right has been generally exerciſed, and as generally held to be law, as hath been proved in numberleſs inſtances, without its ever having been queſtioned before, it is now the conſtitution. It was alſo obſerved, that the colonies had gone very great lengths; and it was even inſiſted, that by appointing deputies from their ſeveral aſſemblies to confer together, they had abſolutely forfeited their charters.

The debates being at an end, and the queſtion put, the power of the legiſlature of Great-Britain over her colonies, in all caſes whatſoever, and without any diſtinction in regard to taxation, was confirmed and aſcertained without a diviſion.

The grand committee who had paſſed the reſolutions on which the foregoing queſtion was debated, had alſo paſſed another for the total repeal of the ſtamp act: and two bills were accordingly brought in to anſwer theſe purpoſes. By the reſolutions on which the former was founded, it was declared, that tumults and inſurrections of the moſt dangerous nature had been raiſed and carried on in ſeveral of the colonies, in open defiance of government, and in manifeſt violation of the laws and legiſlative authority of this kingdom. That theſe tumults and inſurrections had been encouraged and inflamed, by ſeveral votes and reſolutions which had paſſed in the aſſemblies of the ſaid colonies, derogatory to the honour of government, and deſtructive to their legal and conſtitutional dependency on the crown and parliament, &c.

By the bill itſelf, all votes, reſolutions, or orders, which had been paſſed by any of the general aſſemblies in America, by which they aſſumed to themſelves the ſole and excluſive right of taxing his majeſty's ſubjects in the colonies, were annulled, and declared contrary to law, derogatory to the legiſlative authority of parliament, and inconſiſtent with their dependency upon the crown.

Far from being diſpirited, the oppoſition gained new vigour, and inſiſted on the repeal in every part of it's progreſs. So many inſtances of the inexpediency of the ſtamp-act had already occurred, that the queſtion was ſcarcely controvertible; therefore, inſtead of entering into the merits of that part of the controverſy, they reſted their principal defence upon the reſolutions on which the late bill for ſecuring the dependency of the colonies had been founded. On the queſtion being put, the bill paſſed by a majority of 275 to 167, and was carried up to the lords by above two hundred members of the houſe of commons. The eclat with which it was introduced in the upper houſe did not prevent its meeting with a ſtrong oppoſition there; thirty-three lords entered a proteſt againſt it at the ſecond reading, as did twenty-eight at the third; it was, however, carried by a majority of thirty-four.

On the 18th of March his majeſty went to the houſe of peers and gave the royal aſſent to the bill for repealing the American ſtamp-act; that for ſecuring the dependencies of the colonies on the Britiſh crown, and to ſeveral other bills. On this occaſion the American merchants made a moſt numerous appearance to expreſs their joy and gratitude; the ſhips in the river diſplayed their colours; great numbers of houſes in the city were illuminated, and every decent and orderly method obſerved, to demonſtrate the juſt ſenſe that was entertained of his majeſty's goodneſs, and the wiſdom of parliament, in conciliating the minds of the people on this critical occaſion.

His majeſty having, on the 14th of May, given the royal aſſent, among others, to "the bill to "prohibit the importation of foreign wrought ſilks "and velvets for a limited time," ſeveral thouſand weavers went to St. James's, with ſtreamers flying, drums beating, and muſick playing, and teſtified their gratitude by loud acclamations of joy.

In conſequence of petitions from ſeveral of the capital trading towns in England, a bill was paſſed this ſeſſion for opening free ports under certain reſtrictions in different parts of the Weſt-Indies.

The parliament continued ſitting till the ſixth of June, on wich day his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne, in which he ſaid that, "it was with "the utmoſt ſatisfaction he had obſerved the wiſ-"dom and moderation by which the parliament "had been uniformly guided, through the im-"portant deliberations in which they had been "engaged." His majeſty obſerved, that "the "many regulations which had been made for "extending and promoting the trade and manu-"factures of Great Britain, and for ſettling the "mutual intercourſe of his kingdoms and plantations, in ſuch a manner as to provide for the "improvement of the colonies, on a plan of due "ſubordination to the commercial intereſts of the "mother country, were the ſtrongeſt proofs of "their equitable and comprehenſive regard to the "welfare of all his dominions. He declared, that "it ſhould be his endeavour, that ſuch care be ta-"ken, as might tend to ſecure and improve the ad-"vantages which might be expected from ſuch wiſe "and ſalutary regulations."

On the 30th of July his majeſty was pleaſed to make the following changes in the miniſtry. The duke of Grafton was conſtituted firſt lord of the treaſury, in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; lord Cambden was created lord high-chancellor, in the room of the earl of Northington, made preſident of the council; the earl of Shelburne was made ſecretary of ſtate in the room of the duke of Richmond; Mr. Pitt was created earl of Chatham, and made lord privy ſeal; and Mr. Townſhend was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Mr. Dowdeſwell.

On the firſt of October the princeſs Caroline Matilda, youngeſt daughter of the late prince of Wales, and ſiſter to his majeſty, was married by proxy at St. James's to the king of Denmark, and next day ſet out for Harwich. She was accompanied by her royal brother the duke of Glouceſter, and on the 18th of the ſame month ſhe arrived in ſafety at Altena, where ſhe was met by his Daniſh majeſty, and the nuptials were ſolem-

nized according to the form of the Lutheran church.

During the courſe of the ſummer, the poor in divers parts of the kingdom aſſembled in a riotous manner on account of the exceeding high price of proviſions. They deſtroyed the mills, ſeized on the corn and other proviſions which they ſold at a moderate price, and delivered the produce to the owners. At ſome places they were much more violent, for, inſtead of purſuing the above meaſures, they ripped open ſacks and ſcattered the corn about, ſeized various commodities in the ſhops which they threw into the ſtreets, and behaved in the moſt outrageous manner.

The parliament met on the 11th of November, and there having been great complaints concerning the high price of proviſions, and inſurrections in different parts of the country, his majeſty recommended the ſtate of the nation to both houſes, and deſired that they would, in their deliberations, fix on ſome plan for the relief of his diſtreſſed ſubjects.

He told them, that the diſcontents among the people had led them to commit many acts of violence on the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects, from miſtaken notions that they had been the voluntary cauſe of all their ſufferings. That, contrary to his own inclinations, but conſiſtent with the neceſſity he was under to ſupport the dignity of government, he had iſſued ſpecial commiſſions for the trials of the rioters, that the public peace might be preſerved, and the minds of the lower claſs of people ſo much intimidated, that they would be afraid to offend. He added, that he had concluded a commercial treaty with the empreſs of Ruſſia, which he hoped would be of great benefit to his ſubjects; and took notice of the marriage of his ſiſter to the king of Denmark, a circumſtance that would ſtrengthen the proteſtant intereſt. He concluded, by telling the commons that he confided in their wiſdom and fidelity for raiſing the ſupplies, and recommended unanimity to all the members.

After the moſt ſtrenuous oppoſitions from the diſcarded party, it was agreed upon, by a great majority in both houſes, that addreſſes of thanks ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, and then they adjourned till after the holidays.

A. D. 1767. The firſt object that attracted the notice of parliament this ſeſſions, was the ſtate of the Eaſt-India company, which was now become extremely rich, and actually exerciſed a ſovereign authority over their ſettlements. To the then miniſtry ſuch a circumſtance muſt have been very alarming; and therefore a committee was appointed to examine into the affair. The charter of the company was ordered to be produced, and that a perfect knowledge might be obtained of every thing relating to their tranſactions, they were obliged to deliver up to the houſe the originals of ſuch treaties as they had entered into with the princes in the Eaſt-Indies; and alſo an account of all the expences incurred by the government for the ſupport of the company.

That the public in general might form a judgment of the rectitude of theſe proceedings on the part of adminiſtration, all theſe papers were printed and publiſhed. The queſtion ſtated by them was, "What right had the Eaſt-India "company to territorial juriſdiction?"

Though by their charter they were even excluded from making any conqueſts, it appeared that they had ſubdued ſeveral princes in India, and annexed their dominions to their own ſettlements. It was urged further, that ſuch powers veſted in a corporate body of merchants was inconſiſtent with the nature of government, derogatory to the dignity of the crown, and injurious to the generality of the ſubjects. That if government was to ſupport them, then all thoſe acquiſitions of territory became the property of the crown, otherwiſe a principle would take place ſimilar to that in the feudal law, where regalities were eſtabliſhed, and the chief enjoyed a commutative juriſdiction with the ſovereign. That ſuch practices would contribute towards the promoting confuſion among all ranks of ſubjects, and might, in the end, lead us back to a ſtate of barbarity, equal to that in which our predeceſſors were many hundred years ago.

Thoſe who contended for the rights of the company advanced, that the words of the charter were general, and therefore the notion of acquiſitions was implied by inferences drawn from conſequences, without an aſſigned ſpecification. That by ſuch a chain of reaſoning, all the new ſettlements made in America, beyond thoſe that were ſpecified in the charters, might be claimed by the crown, although it was evident, that they were private property. That people who went to ſettle in foreign parts, eſpecially among uncultivated ſavages, were obliged, for their own ſafety, to extend the bounds of their territories; and if the government was at ſome trifling expence in ſupporting them, it was no more than what they owed to the ſubjects in general. It was further urged, that if the crown had any claim on the company, the courts of law were open, where there was not the leaſt doubt but juſtice would be done to all parties; and as the houſe of commons was not a court of judicature, ſo it had no right to meddle with points of law, nor could it decide on any legal privileges. That if ever ſuch an event ſhould take place, as that of the commons aſſuming a power to judge in matters of law, it would prove fatal to the ſubjects in general, who would chuſe that their reſpective properties ſhould be intruſted in other hands.

The diſputes were carried on with great warmth by both parties, and the reſult was, that the company ſhould, during the ſpace of two years enſuing, pay a certain ſum to government; and that no dividend of their ſtock ſhould be made without the conſent of a general court of proprietors.

On the 24th of June his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſions of parliament, and on the 17th of September following, his royal highneſs the duke of York, who had gone abroad in order to make the tour of Italy, died at Monaco, a ſmall diſtrict a little beyond Provence.

A very remarkable event this year took place on the continent. It is well known that Italy, once the ſeat of learning, has been for many ages the mother and nurſe of ſuperſtition; and from thence originated all thoſe ridiculous ceremonies that debaſed the chriſtian religion, and made it reſemble the groſſeſt paganiſm.

It is obſervable that, for ſome time, popery had been loſing ground in thoſe countries where it is by law eſtabliſhed, and increaſing where it was prohibited, owing to the diſgrace into which the jeſuits had brought themſelves. That ſociety had been eſtabliſhed above two hundred years, and in that time had ariſen to ſuch fame, that they became objects of jealouſy, and even reſentment to the other orders. It is true, they were become ſo affluent that even princes might have looked upon them as dangerous rivals; but that was not the ſole cauſe of their ruin. It had been a conſtant practice

tice with princes, and other great men, to make them their confeſſors; and it is well known, that he who acts the part of a confeſſor to a prince may, with propriety, be conſidered as his prime miniſter. All ſecrets had been truſted with them, and as ſome of them were, at the ſame time, confeſſors to thoſe in oppoſite intereſts, jealouſies took place; and the king of Portugal, having been attacked in his carriage in conſequence of a plan laid by theſe fathers, reſolved to baniſh them out of his dominions. This happened ſome years before this period, and Spain now followed the example of Portugal, by baniſhing the jeſuits out of all their dominions, whether in Europe or America.

It was natural to ſuppoſe, that they would have found an aſylum in Italy, and they did ſo for ſome time; but during the former part of this year they were baniſhed from Naples and Parma, and all their eſtates confiſcated. Under various characters, ſuch as thoſe of tutors, clerks, ſurgeons, &c. many of them have ſettled in proteſtant countries; but it is to be hoped, that parents and guardians will take care to prevent youth from being ſeduced by their artful inſinuations.

This year the empreſs of Ruſſia had ſummoned all the learned men in her empire to aſſemble at Moſcow, in order to compile a code of laws, which was the more neceſſary, as many of the provinces conſiſted of ſubjects governed by different laws, and theſe frequently claſhing with each other, contributed towards injuring claimants to private property, and retarded the regular courſe of diſtributive juſtice.

In Poland, the diet once more aſſembled, but as it was impoſſible to bring the contending parties to an agreement, the nobles, who were at the head of the diſſidents, formed themſelves into a ſeparate body for their own preſervation.

The attention of all the people in Europe was, this year, directed to Corſica, an iſland in the Mediterranean, almoſt adjoining to the iſland of Sardinia. It is extremely fertile and populous, and, ſome centuries ago, had been given by the pope to the republic of Piſa; but the Genoeſe took it, and for many years treated the inhabitants in the moſt arbitrary and cruel manner. The ſpirit of liberty, however, was not extinct; it wanted only the breath of an hero to kindle it; and ſuch a one was found in the perſon of the famous Paoli, a native of the iſland, but who had travelled into other countries, where he had learned the art of war. The prudence and valour of that hero will be tranſmitted to the lateſt ages; but we ſhall ſee in the ſequel that, overpowered by numbers, he was obliged to abandon the iſland.

On the 24th of November the parliament was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech, in which he told them, that he had aſſembled them at ſo early a period, that they might have time to deliberate with ſteadineſs and judgment; and, in particular, recommended to them the ſtate of the nation with reſpect to the price of proviſions.

The firſt, and indeed the principal ſubject that engaged the attention of both houſes was of ſuch a nature, that nothing equal to it had happened ſince the revolution. The dreadful hardſhips to which the poor had been reduced by the exorbitant price of proviſions became a matter of ſerious conſideration; and petitions having been preſented to his majeſty during the receſs of parliament, a proclamation was iſſued, prohibiting the exportation of corn for a limited time.

This proclamation, expedient as it was at ſo alarming a criſis, occaſioned violent debates; the miniſtry contending for an occaſional diſpenſing power in the crown, eſpecially on principles of humanity; the oppoſite party maintaining that the doctrine of neceſſity had, in various inſtances, been productive of the greateſt political evils, and aſſerting that as there was an act of parliament allowing the free exportation of corn while at or under a ſpecified price, the proclamation was conſequently unconſtitutional. Such was the ſubſtance of the arguments on this important point, from which the only inference that candour can draw, as juſtified by the laws of God and Nature, is, that to do a *great right*, men may do a *little wrong*.

A. D. 1768. The public buſineſs of this ſeſſion being brought to a concluſion, the king went to the houſe on the tenth of March, and having thanked the commons for their generouſly granting the ſupplies for the year, deſired them to preſerve peace among their neighbours in their counties and towns, eſpecially during the next general election. He then prorogued the parliament to the laſt day of March; but on the twelfth of April a proclamation was iſſued, whereby they were diſſolved.

On the 10th of May, (a period remarkable for the fatal cataſtrophe in St. George's Fields) the members of the new parliament were ſworn in, and the following day the commons having re-choſen Sir John Cuſt for their ſpeaker, the lord chancellor Cambden opened the ſeſſion by virtue of a commiſſion from his majeſty. Both houſes preſented loyal addreſſes to his majeſty, beſeeching him to put the laws in execution againſt all thoſe concerned in riots or tumults, as the growing price of proviſions had driven many of the lower claſſes of people to a ſtate of diſtraction, and ſeveral irregularities had been committed, eſpecially in Spital-fields; where many poor families not only ſtruggled under the dearth of proviſions, but were deſtitute of employment.

The other domeſtic tranſactions being not very intereſting, it may not be improper to advert to the affairs of the continent; and as there had long ſubſiſted a commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ruſſia, obſerve, that the czarina, compaſſionating the diſtreſſes of Poland, and exaſperated at the conduct of the French, in ſt rring up the Turks againſt that unhappy country, determined to eſpouſe its cauſe. This produced an open rupture between the Turks and Ruſſians, and engaged them in a war obſtinate, deſtructive, and bloody, which commanded the attention of all Europe.

During the month of Auguſt this year the French concluded a treaty with the republic of Genoa of a very extraordinary nature, and ſuch as ought to have been oppoſed by all the maritime ſtates in Europe. The brave Corſicans ſtill continued to defend thoſe rights which the Genoeſe ſought to deprive them of; and the latter, deſpairing of ever bringing them into ſubjection, agreed to give up that valuable iſland to the French king, upon condition of his ſending an army thither to ſubdue the people. It was deemed extremely impolitic in ſeveral ſtates to connive at the execution of ſuch a treaty, as if a war ſhould break out, the French would have an opportunity of ſending a ſwarm of privateers from Corſica, and to this iſland they could bring their prizes without being obliged to ſail to Marſeilles; ſo that the trade along the ſouth and weſt coaſt of Italy would be wholly their own.

The attention of the Engliſh miniſtry was now directed to America, where ſeveral diſturbances had

had happened on account of ſome duties having been laid on glaſs, ſalt, and ſome other commodities imported from England. It was thought that the repeal of the ſtamp-act would have given ſome ſatisfaction to theſe people, but they ſtill inſiſted that it was their inherent privilege to tax themſelves.

At Boſton, the people met in a large body, and entered into ſeveral reſolutions not to import any goods of a ſuperfluous nature, but to attend to the ſtricteſt œconomy both in dreſs and furniture. A ſubſcription was opened for the encouragement of their own manufactures, and the eſtabliſhment of new ones. This was done to elude the payment of the duties upon ſuch articles as ſhould be ſent from England; and, at the ſame time, an aſſociation of perſons from all the old colonies was formed, in order to propoſe the moſt likely means to be uſed in preventing Engliſh acts of parliament from being put in force there, or in any other of the American provinces, or the Weſt-Indies.

The freeholders, and, in general, all the inhabitants of Maſſachuſet's Bay, had placed the greateſt confidence in their repreſentatives, and there was a continual conteſt between them and their governor. The earl of Shelburne had ſent over a letter to the governor, complaining of theſe abuſes, and it was read in the open aſſembly of the repreſentatives. This occaſioned moſt violent debates; and ſome of the members went ſo far as to declare, that the governor had miſrepreſented their conduct to the miniſtry. They denied the charges in the letter, and wrote to the earl of Shelburne on that ſubject, vindicating themſelves, and throwing the whole blame on the governor. At the ſame time, the merchants of Boſton ordered their agent to repreſent to the lords of the treaſury, that unleſs theſe duties, which had occaſioned ſo much miſchief, were taken off, the trade of the province would be deſtroyed, as they ſeemed to them contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and inconſiſtent with their charter. Theſe repreſentations occaſioned the eſtabliſhment of a new officer, who was to act as ſecretary of ſtate for the colonies in America; and the firſt perſon made choice of was the earl of Hilliſborough, at that time firſt lord of trade. His lordſhip, immediately on his appointment, ſent circular letters to the governors of the provinces, informing them, that his majeſty was highly diſpleaſed at the conduct of the people, as it was apt to create confuſion, and throw every thing into the utmoſt diſorder. He ſaid, that their conduct in oppoſing the legiſlative power of Great Britain was little better than an act of open rebellion; for, by giving encouragement to ſuch practices, the government would be overturned, and no regard paid to the laws. He concluded by recommending to them to preſerve the public peace, by puniſhing all diſorders of an evil tendency; but as to mere oppoſition in words, or in ſcandalous libels, they were to treat them with contempt.

Governor Barnard, in concurrence, doubtleſs, with inſtructions from the power under which he held his office, not only diſſolved the aſſembly of repreſentatives, but inſiſted that, by a public act, their ſucceſſors ſhould diſavow their conduct. This was deemed a flagrant violation of the rights of the people, as it tended to annul the proceedings of the repreſentatives, in conſequence of the will and mandate of the conſtituents. They deſired to ſee a copy of the governor's inſtructions, which was granted them, and, to their ſurprize, they found, that in caſe they refuſed to comply, they were to be diſſolved, and an account of their conduct ſent to England, in order to be laid before the houſe at the next ſeſſion of parliament.

This ſet the whole nation in a flame; and when the bill was brought in to paſs a cenſure on the conduct of the laſt aſſembly, ninety-two voted againſt it, and no more than ſeventeen for it. The reſt of the colonies took the alarm, and followed their example; while combinations were formed almoſt every where not to take any goods from England, except ſuch as were abſolutely neceſſary.

The diſcontents among the people of Boſton now broke out into open violence: for a ſhip having landed a cargo of wine, and taken on board another of oil, without paying any regard to the new laws by which the new cuſtoms were to be regulated, the officers made a ſignal to the Romney man of war, who ſent her boats; and having cut down the maſts of the trading veſſel, hawled her along-ſide of the king's ſhip. This was ſo ſeverely reſented by the populace, that they roſe in great numbers, demoliſhed the houſes of the cuſtom-houſe officers, and laying hold of the commiſſioner's boat, dragged it on ſhore, and then ſet it on fire.

While theſe diſorders continued in the town, the governor diſſolved the aſſembly; but that had not the deſired effect, for the diſturbances increaſed every day, ſo that two regiments were ſent over from Ireland to ſupport the civil power. Their place, of rendezvous was to be at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia; and no ſooner had the people of Boſton received news that they were landed at that place, than they met, and choſe a preſident among themſelves, who was deputed to wait on the governor, to know for what reaſon, or with what view, his majeſty's forces were to be ſent among them. They deſired, at the ſame time, that a general aſſembly might be ſummoned to meet; but he refuſed to give them any ſatisfactory anſwer, and only told them, that it was their duty to break up their tumultuous meetings, and ſubmit quietly to the laws. He added, that as they ſeemed ignorant of the offence they had committed, he muſt freely tell them, that unleſs they ſubmitted to the government, he ſhould be obliged to treat them as rebels. From this time he refuſed to receive any meſſages from them; upon which they ſent a long detail of their grievances to London, in order to be laid before the miniſtry. In the mean time, the tranſports, with the two regiments, and a train of artillery, arrived from Halifax, and were quartered in the houſes of townſmen; but as the military laws did not extend to America, any farther than providing barracks for them, it was ordered by the governor that they ſhould have barrack proviſions, ſo as to be as little burthenſome to the people as poſſible. This part of the governor's conduct gave general ſatisfaction to ſuch of the people as were moderate in their ſentiments; but notwithſtanding, a great majority were ſtill diſcontented. They could not behold without jealouſy an armed force quartered amongſt them in time of peace; for, with reſpect to their late combinations, they conſidered them as efforts to maintain their freedom.

The domeſtic peace of England, during this ſummer, induced the king of Denmark to viſit his royal brother-in-law, our moſt gracious ſovereign. He was attended by moſt of his great officers of ſtate, and the utmoſt reſpect was paid to him by all ranks of people. His Daniſh majeſty gave orders for a maſquerade, which was one of the moſt magnificent

nificent ever ſeen in England; and while the preparations for it were going on, he viſited Cambridge, where he was elegantly entertained in the hall of Trinity College. From thence he proceeded to York, Leeds, and Mancheſter; and, on his return to London, coming through Oxford, he was met by the whole univerſity in proceſſion. When he came to the ſenate-houſe, the public orator complimented him in a moſt elegant Latin ſpeech, to which his majeſty replied in the ſame language. He was then preſented with a diploma, as doctor of the civil and canon laws, and walked in his honorary robes along with the doctors and regents. In the beginning of October his Daniſh majeſty left England; and, much about the ſame time, ſeveral changes took place in the Engliſh miniſtry; indeed, the political ſtate of this country had, for ſeveral years, been of a very fluctuating nature.

On a review of tranſactions in the Eaſt-Indies during the cloſe of the former, and commencement of the preſent, year, a revolution was apprehended in the affairs of the India-company, which was now in a flouriſhing condition. Hyder Ally, a perſon who had ſerved ſome time as a common ſoldier, having received ſome affront from his officers, left the army, and raiſed a choſen band of followers, with a view of driving the Engliſh out of all their ſettlements in that part of the world. Although brought up in the moſt humble ſtation, he had all the qualities of a great general, which were only obſcured for want of a proper opportunity of diſplaying them to public view.

Such was the character of the man with whom the Engliſh had now to contend; and it muſt be acknowledged, that it required the greateſt ſkill to oppoſe him. He had conquered ſeveral provinces on the coaſt of Malabar, and, upon the whole, was conſidered as one of the moſt formidable princes in the eaſt. He was ſenſible, however, that the Eaſt-India company would be ſo powerfully ſupported, that policy muſt be added to force, otherwiſe he ſhould never be able to accompliſh his ſchemes. Accordingly, he brought over the Nizam of the Decan to his intereſt; and having raiſed a large body of forces, prepared to take the field. Colonel Smith, in the company's ſervice, was ſent to oppoſe this formidable alliance; and a moſt deſperate engagement enſued, in which Hyder Ally diſcovered all the courage and conduct of the braveſt general. He made his diſpoſitions with ſo much prudence, that it was no eaſy matter to attack him; ſo that colonel Smith, in order to avoid the force of his cannon, which galled the company's troops on the right, marched to a riſing ground on the left, and ſo turned his lines. The Aſiatic general rode from one place to another, to encourage his men; but at laſt they gave way, and the Engliſh continued purſuing them with great ſlaughter. All their cannon and ammunition fell into the hands of the Engliſh, beſides a vaſt quantity of treaſure; and the Nizam, perceiving the danger he was in from his connections with Hyder Ally, made peace with the company. This, however, did not put an end to the war; for Hyder Ally, finding himſelf deſerted by the Nizam, transferred the ſeat of action into a mountainous part of the country, where it was extremely difficult to attack him, as he was well acquainted with all the paſſages and defiles, and could defend himſelf even againſt ſuperiority of numbers.

At the cloſe of the year, the brave Corſicans aſſerted their deareſt rights with a ſpirit and intrepidity that would reflect honor upon the moſt renowned heros, who have adorned the page of hiſtory; for though the French had landed there with a numerous army, they diſputed the ground with them inch by inch. Paoli had ſome hopes of aſſiſtance from England, and, for that purpoſe, ſent notice of his diſtreſs to our miniſtry by one Mr. Boſwell, a young gentleman with whom he had become acquainted while on his travels: but no aſſiſtance being given him, he had nothing to depend on beſides the juſtice of his cauſe, and the bravery of his countrymen. At firſt, the French obtained ſome conſiderable advantages; but the Corſicans killed ſuch vaſt numbers of them in ſtraggling parties, that had they not been continually reinforced by freſh ſuccours, the whole army that firſt landed would have been totally cut off. The Corſicans concealed themſelves in buſhes and caves near the roads where the enemy were to paſs, and galled them ſo much, that many deſerted, while ſuch as fell into the hands of the Corſicans, as priſoners, were inſtantly put to death. Some perſons may blame the conduct of the Corſicans on this occaſion, as inconſiſtent with the law of nations; but the peculiarity of their circumſtances muſt plead in their behalf. They had been ſo much oppreſſed by the Genoeſe, that they had, conſiſtent with the opinions of the beſt writers on natural law, aſſerted their own freedom; and when the republic of Genoa found that they could not again reduce them to a ſtate of ſubjection, they gave them up to the French, as if they had been a parcel of ſheep or oxen. The French, upon their landing in the iſland, commanded all the inhabitants to lay down their arms, and take an oath of allegiance to their ſovereign, otherwiſe they were to be treated as rebels. Thus theſe innocent people, knowing that no mercy was to be ſhewn to ſuch of themſelves as were taken priſoners, reſolved to treat the French in the ſame manner, and ſell their lives and liberty as dear as poſſible. Such was the ſtate of the Corſicans; and their putting the French priſoners to death was no more than an act of retaliation, which ſtands juſtified by the beſt authors on the law of nations.

Paoli, who ſtill hoped for aſſiſtance from England, as well as from ſome of the other European powers, called an aſſembly of the Corſican chiefs, and aſked their opinion concerning the moſt proper methods to be uſed in the proſecution of the war. He laid before them all the papers which the French had cauſed to be diſtributed throughout the iſland; but no ſooner did the chiefs perceive that they were looked upon as vaſſals to the crown of France, than they tore them into a thouſand pieces.

Although this campaign was but ſhort, yet ſo great was the loſs the French ſuſtained, that notwithſtanding the new reinforcements which were daily ſent them, they were on the point of being totally routed. Adjoining to Corſica are ſome ſmall iſlands; and as the harbours of them were ſafe and commodious, ſo the Corſican privateers prevented, in a great meaſure, the enemy from receiving ſuch ſupplies as had been ſent them from France. This induced the French, in the month of November this year, to embark a conſiderable body of forces on board thirteen tranſports, in order to attack theſe ſmall iſlands.

Their firſt attack was made on the iſland of Pietra; but although they made good their landing, they were repulſed with great loſs by a few Corſicans, who, animated by the love of liberty, fought moſt gallantly. From thence the French proceeded to Iſola Roſſa, another iſland, where the Corſicans kept their magazines, and attacked it with

with great fury. At firſt the Corſicans were driven from their poſts; but no ſooner had recovered from their firſt ſurprize, than they faced about, and not only recovered the poſts they had loſt, but drove the enemy, with great ſlaughter, back to their ſhips. About nine hundred of the French were killed in this fruitleſs expedition, and their general began to deſpair of ever taking the iſland.

The Engliſh miniſtry had for a conſiderable time been rather in a ſtate of embarraſſment: unanimity was wanting in their councils and reſolution in their conduct. A ſecret but very prevalent influence rendered their ſchemes abortive, which detracted from their popularity and expoſed them to rigid cenſure. They now ſuſtained an important loſs in the death of —— Townſhend, Eſq. chancellor of the exchequer, a ſtateſman of great ability and approved integrity. It pleaſed his majeſty, however, to make ſeveral changes: for lord North having ſucceeded the late chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Thomas Townſhend was made paymaſter of the forces, earl Gower preſident of the council, lord Weymouth one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, and Mr. Rigby was appointed one of the vice-treaſurers of Ireland.

On the twenty-fourth of November the parliament met, and his majeſty opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he obſerved that his reaſons for calling the members together at ſo early a period, was to give them time for their public deliberations; and, in particular, it was recommended to them to promote our commercial intereſts in America, and other parts of the world, as the ſole baſis of all our riches. He told them, that it gave him no ſmall concern to conſider that the other powers in Europe had not attended to the articles of peace ſo ſtrictly as was conſiſtent with the faith of treaties. His majeſty laid great ſtreſs on the conduct of the Americans; and it was even ſaid that Boſton was in an actual ſtate of diſobedience to all manner of government; that they had proceeded to meaſures ſubverſive of the conſtitution, and attended with circumſtances which manifeſted a diſpoſition to throw off their dependence on Great-Britain. He concluded by recommending harmony among the members, as the only ſure way of promoting the national intereſt, both at home and abroad.

A bill was brought in to prevent the exportation of coin for a limited time, which, after long debates, paſſed into an act, to the honour of humanity and the relief of the poor.

A. D. 1769. On the nineteenth of January the parliament met, after their adjournment during the holidays; and the firſt thing taken into conſideration was the ſtate of public affairs in America. A petition was preſented, ſigned by Mr. Darnforth, preſident of the council at Boſton, praying that the revenue acts might be repealed. The petition was penned in the moſt modeſt manner, with a promiſe, that if theſe acts were repealed, the people would make an ample compenſation, by taxing themſelves. Great debates aroſe in both houſes concerning the petition, thoſe of the anti-miniſterial party making uſe of the ſame arguments which had been urged in the debate concerning the ſtamp-act.

The lords agreed to addreſs his majeſty on the American affairs; and their reſolution being adhered to by the commons, became the joint act of both. By theſe reſolutions it was declared, that all the acts made in the different colonies, which tended towards throwing off the ſovereignty of the Britiſh parliament, were illegal, unconſtitutional, and derogatory to the crown and dignity of his majeſty. It was farther reſolved, that the town of Boſton was in a ſtate of the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion, diſturbed by riots and tumults of a dangerous nature, in which the officers of the revenue had been obſtructed in the diſcharge of their duty, and their lives endangered: that neither the council of the province, nor the ordinary magiſtrates, had exerted their authority for ſuppreſſing theſe riots and tumults; and that the execution of the laws would be rendered abortive, without the aſſiſtance of a military force to ſupport the civil power, and protect the officers of the cuſtoms: that the reſolutions of the town meetings in Boſton were unconſtitutional, and calculated to excite ſedition and inſurrection againſt the government. It was alſo agreed to by both houſes, that all thoſe who had written circular letters to the other colonies were guilty of an high indignity to the crown, and that they had committed a daring inſult on the legiſlative powers of Great-Britain. In the end, his majeſty was deſired to iſſue a ſpecial commiſſion, to enquire into the cauſes of theſe diſorders, according to the ſtatute 30th of Henry VIII. The debates on this occaſion, with reſpect to his majeſty granting writs of habeas corpus, to bring over the perſons concerned in the riots, to be tried in England by virtue of ſpecial commiſſions, was ſtrongly and learnedly oppoſed in both houſes. It was ſaid by thoſe who oppoſed the bill, that the laws already made for the preſervation of the Britiſh rights over the colonies were ſo complete, that there was no reaſon for an amendment: that the miniſtry, having loſt all credit with the people, wanted to make the cauſe of the Americans their own, by eſtabliſhing their authority on the ruin of the colonies: that, with reſpect to bringing priſoners over from America, to be tried here for crimes ſuppoſed to have been committed there, was contrary to the ſpirit of the Engliſh conſtitution. A man charged with a crime in England, is uſually tried in the county where it is ſaid to have been committed; for this reaſon, that thoſe who carry on the proſecution may have it in their power to produce proper evidence, and that the accuſed perſon may likewiſe be able to vindicate himſelf, if innocent. But if an American was brought over here to be tried, it would be next to impoſſible for him to produce one ſingle witneſs, although he might be entirely innocent. If an American has committed any breach of the laws, let him be tried there, where juſtice can be done to both parties. It was farther urged, and repreſented as a ſtrange meaſure on this occaſion, to drag out of obſcurity an obſolete law, which was a diſhonour to the ſtatute-books: that it was made during the reign of a tyrant, to ſerve the moſt arbitrary purpoſes, becauſe our conſtitution of government had not then arrived at a ſtate of perfection: that when the above act was made, we had not one colony in America, for it had then only been recently diſcovered; and that it would be much to the honour of the legiſlative power, to expunge from the records all ſuch iniquitous ſtatutes as that already mentioned: that it was the duty of all thoſe in power to promote the intereſts of the people, both at home and abroad; but if the above meaſure was carried into execution, it would increaſe the ſeditions complained of in the colonies, and, conſequently, injure the trade of the mother-

mother-country. They concluded by calling upon the miniſtry to produce the perſon who had adviſed his majeſty to put the above act in force.

Such were the arguments made uſe of by thoſe who oppoſed adminiſtration, and it was preſumed they were very rational, and conſiſtent with the ſpirit of our moſt excellent conſtitution. The miniſtry were ſo ſenſible of the error they had committed, that they became weak and languid in their anſwers. They referred back to the repeal of the ſtamp-act, and imputed all the troubles which had happened in America to the ill-judged lenity ſhewn on that occaſion: they urged that nothing but the vigorous uſe of coercive authority could ever reduce them to obedience, and convince them of the neceſſity of their dependence on the mother-country: that unleſs this meaſure was adopted, the moſt flagrant acts of treaſon and rebellion, with all other public crimes, might be committed with impunity: that ſuch crimes had already been committed, and being attended with ſeveral circumſtances of an aggravating nature, the perpetrators were not objects of compaſſion: that, with reſpect to there being no colonies in America when the act of Henry VIII. was made, it did not in the leaſt apply to the argument in hand, for the act was made for the trial of all his majeſty's ſubjects who ſhould happen to commit crimes in any part of the world. For example; ſuppoſing a ſhip lying at anchor near an iſland not belonging to Britain, and two perſons go on ſhore, fight, and one of them is killed; then, by the above act, a ſpecial commiſſion is granted by the king for the trial of the offender, in whatever country he pleaſes. And, in proof of this doctrine, they mentioned an inſtance of a man of war lying at anchor in the Baltic, in 1720; and a quarrel happening between the lieutenant and the ſurgeon, they went on ſhore, fought, and the former was killed. Upon the ſhip's arrival in England, a ſpecial commiſſion was granted for the trial of the ſurgeon, who, being found guilty, was executed at Tyburn. They concluded by taking notice, that the revival of the act was not to promote puniſhment, but to preſerve peace; and that the coloniſts, ſeeing the vigorous meaſures which the government intended to purſue, might be brought back to a ſenſe of their duty. Such were the hopes of adminiſtration at that time; but experience, as will appear in the ſequel, has convinced us, that they were wrong in their conjectures.

While the parliament were debating on the affairs of America, Mr. Wilkes publiſhed a letter written by lord Barrington, ſecretary at war, to the chairman of the bench of juſtices for the county of Surry, to which he prefixed an introduction, that gave great offence to the upper-houſe, who voted it a ſcandalous and ſeditious libel.

Mr. Wilkes was brought to the bar of the houſe of commons, where he freely acknowledged that he had cauſed the letter to be publiſhed; upon which he was expelled the houſe, and a new writ iſſued for the election of a member to repreſent the county of Middleſex in his room. Mr. Wilkes was however unanimouſly rechoſen, and again expelled by the commons, who at the ſame time declared him incapable of being a member of that houſe.

On the 27th of February the great cauſe depending in the houſe of peers by way of appeal from the ſentence of the lords of ſeſſion in Scotland between the houſes of Hamilton and Douglas was finally determined in favour of the latter.

On the 13th of April a new election for the county of Middleſex came on at Brentford; when although Mr. Wilkes had a majority of 847 votes, he was rejected by the houſe of commons, and colonel Luttrell declared duly elected. This proceeding occaſioned violent debates, and was repreſented by the anti-miniſterial party as ſubverſive of the conſtitution: indeed, ſuch was the general opinion of the public, as appeared from a number of maſterly productions, as well as ſome ſingular efforts in vindication of their deareſt rights and privileges thus flagrantly invaded.

On the ninth of May his majeſty prorogued the parliament; and, in his ſpeech, told them, that every part of their conduct gave him the greateſt ſatisfaction. He applauded them in the warmeſt manner for having attended with ſo much care to the intereſts of the people, and the ſuppreſſion of riots and tumults, which had been ſo frequent, not only in London, but in many parts of the country. He added, that he had done all he could to bring about a negotiation between the Turks and Ruſſians, to no purpoſe; but he hoped the calamities of war would not extend to any other parts of Europe. He thanked the commons for having ſo generouſly contributed towards ſupporting the dignity of government; and promiſed, that, in the whole of his conduct, he would attend to the moſt regular œconomy. Finally, he concluded by recommending them to promote peace among their neighbours ſo that public juſtice might not be obſtructed, and that a proper regard might be paid to the laws.

On the 24th of May the freeholders of Middleſex, who thought themſelves particularly injured by the deciſion of the houſe of commons in favour of Mr. Luttrell, preſented the following petition to his majeſty:

" Moſt gracious ſovereign,

" We your majeſty's dutiful, and loyal ſubjects, " the freeholders of the county of Middleſex, beg " leave, with all affectionate ſubmiſſion and humility, to throw ourſelves at your royal feet, and " humbly to implore your paternal attention to " thoſe grievances of which this county and the " whole nation complain, and thoſe fearful ap- " prehenſions with which the whole Britiſh empire " is moſt juſtly alarmed.

" With great grief and ſorrow, we have long " beheld the endeavours of certain evil-minded " perſons, who attempt to infuſe into your royal " mind, notions and opinions of the moſt dange- " rous and pernicious tendency, and who promote " and council ſuch meaſures as cannot fail to de- " ſtroy that harmony and confidence, which ſhould " ever ſubſiſt between a juſt and virtuous prince " and a free and loyal people.

" For this diſſaffected purpoſe, they have intro- " duced into every part of the adminiſtration of " our happy legal conſtitution, a certain, unli- " mitted and indefinite diſcretionary power; to " prevent which is the ſole aim of all our laws, " and was the ſole cauſe of all thoſe diſturbances " and revolutions which formerly diſtracted this " unhappy country; for our anceſtors, by their " own fatal experience, well knew, that in a ſtate " where diſcretion begins, law, liberty, and ſafety " end. Under the pretence of this diſcretion, or, " as it was formerly, and has been lately called, " law of ſtate, we have ſeen

" Engliſh ſubjects, and even a member of the " Britiſh legiſlature, arreſted by virtue of a gene- " ral

" ral warrant, iſſued by a ſecretary of ſtate, con-
" trary to the law of the land—
" Their houſes rifled and plundered, their pa-
" pers ſeized, and uſed as evidence upon trial—
" Their bodies committed to cloſe impriſon-
" ment—
" The Habeas Corpus eluded—
" Trial by jury diſcountenanced, and the firſt
" law-officer of the crown publicly inſinuating,
" that juries are not to be truſted—
" Printers puniſhed by the miniſtry in the ſu-
" preme court without a trial by their equals,
" without any trial at all—
" The remedy of the law for falſe impriſon-
" ment, barred and defeated—
" The plaintiff and his attorney, for their ap-
" peal to the law of the land, puniſhed by ex-
" pences and impriſonment, and made by forced
" engagements to deſiſt from their legal claim—
" A writing determined to be a libel by a court
" where it was not cognizable in the firſt inſtance;
" contrary to law, becauſe all appeal is thereby
" cut off, and inferior courts and juries influenced
" by ſuch pre-determinations—
" A perſon condemned in the ſaid court, as the
" author of the ſuppoſed libel, unheard, without
" defence or trial—
" Unjuſt treatment of petitions, by ſelecting
" only ſuch parts as might be wreſted to criminate
" the petitioner, and refuſing to hear thoſe which
" might procure him redreſs—
" The thanks of one branch of the legiſlature
" propoſed by a miniſter to be given to an ac-
" knowledged offender for his offence, with the
" declared intention of ſcreening him from law—
" Attachments wreſted from their original in-
" tent of removing obſtructions to the proceedings
" of law, to puniſh, by ſentence of arbitrary fine
" and impriſonment, without trial or appeal, ſup-
" poſed offences committed out of court—
" Perpetual impriſonment of an Engliſhman,
" without trial, conviction, or ſentence, by the
" ſame mode of attachment, wherein the ſame
" perſon is at once party, accuſer, judge and
" jury—
" Inſtead of the ancient and legal civil police,
" the military introduced at every opportunity,
" unneceſſarily and unlawfully patroling the
" ſtreets, to the alarm and terror of the inhabi-
" tants—
" The lives of many of your majeſty's innocent
" ſubjects deſtroyed by military execution—
" Such military execution ſolemnly adjudged to
" be legal—
" Murder abetted, encouraged, and rewarded—
" The civil magiſtracy rendered contemptible
" by the appointment of improper and incapable
" perſons—
" The civil magiſtrates tampered with by ad-
" miniſtration, and neglecting and refuſing to
" diſcharge their duty—
" Mobs and riots hired and raiſed by the miniſ-
" try, in order to juſtify and recommend their own
" illegal proceedings, and to prejudice your ma-
" jeſty's mind by falſe inſinuations againſt the loy-
" alty of your majeſty's ſubjects—
" The freedom of election violated by corrupt
" and undue influence, by unpuniſhed violence
" and murder—
" The juſt verdicts of juries, and the opinion of
" the judges, over ruled by falſe repreſentations
" to your majeſty; and the determinations of the
" law ſet aſide, by new, unprecedented, and dan-
" gerous means: thereby leaving the guilty with-
" out reſtraint, the injured without redreſs, and the
" lives of your majeſty's ſubjects at the mercy of
" every ruffian, protected by adminiſtration—
" Obſolete and vexatious claims of the crown
" ſet on foot for partial and election purpoſes—
" Partial attacks on the liberty of the preſs:
" the moſt daring and pernicious libels againſt the
" conſtitution, and againſt the liberty of the ſub-
" ject, being allowed to paſs unnoticed, whilſt
" the ſlighteſt libel againſt a miniſter is puniſhed
" with the utmoſt rigour—
" Wicked attempts to encreaſe and eſtabliſh a
" ſtanding army, by endeavouring to veſt in the
" crown an unlimitted power over the militia;
" which, ſhould they ſucceed, muſt, ſooner or
" later, ſubvert the conſtitution, by augmenting
" the power of adminiſtration in proportion to
" their delinquency—
" Repeated endeavours to diminiſh the impor-
" tance of members of parliament individually,
" in order to render them more dependent on ad-
" miniſtration collectively. Even threats have
" been employed by miniſters to ſuppreſs the free-
" dom of debate; and the wrath of parliament
" denounced againſt meaſures authoriſed by the
" law of the land—
" Reſolutions of one branch of the legiſlature,
" ſet up as the law of the land, being a direct
" uſurpation of the rights of the other two branches,
" and therefore a manifeſt infringement of the
" conſtitution—
" Publick money ſhamefully ſquandered and
" unaccounted for, and all enquiry into the cauſe
" of arrears in the civil liſt, prevented by the mi-
" niſtry—
" Enquiry into a pay-maſter's public accounts
" ſtopped in the exchequer, though the ſums un-
" accounted for by that pay-maſter amounted to
" above forty millions ſterling—
" Public loans perverted to private miniſterial
" purpoſes—
" Proſtitution of public honours and rewards to
" men who can neither plead public virtue nor
" ſervices—
" Irreligion and immorality, ſo eminently diſ-
" countenanced by your majeſty's royal example,
" encouraged by adminiſtration both by example
" and precept—
" The ſame diſcretion has been extended, by
" the ſame evil counſellors, to your majeſty's do-
" minions in America, and has produced to our
" ſuffering fellow-ſubjects in that part of the
" world, grievances and apprehenſions ſimilar to
" thoſe of which we complain at home.

" Moſt gracious ſovereign,
" Such are the grievances and apprehenſions
" which have long diſcontented and diſturbed the
" greateſt and beſt part of your majeſty's loyal
" ſubjects. Unwilling, however, to interrupt
" your repoſe, though ready to lay down our
" lives and fortunes for your majeſty's ſervice, and
" for the conſtitution, as by law eſtabliſhed, we
" have waited patiently, expecting a conſtitutional
" remedy by the means of our own repreſentatives:
" but our legal and free choice having been re-
" peatedly rejected, and the right of election now
" finally taken from us by the unprecedented ſeat-
" ing of a candidate who was never choſen by the
" county, and who, even to become a candidate,
" was obliged fraudulently to vacate his ſeat in
" parliament, under the pretence of an inſignifi-

" cant

" cant place, invited thereto by the prior declara-
" tion of a miniſter, that whoever oppoſed our
" choice, though but with four votes, ſhould be
" declared member for the county. We ſee our-
" ſelves, by this laſt act, deprived even of the
" franchiſes of Engliſhmen, reduced to the moſt
" abject ſtate of ſlavery, and left without hopes
" or means of redreſs but from your majeſty or
" God.

" Deign then, moſt gracious ſovereign, to liſten
" to the prayer of the moſt faithful of your ma-
" jeſty's ſubjects; and to baniſh from your royal
" favour, truſt, and confidence, for ever, thoſe
" evil and pernicious counſellors, who have en-
" deavoured to alienate the affection of your ma-
" jeſty's moſt ſincere and dutiful ſubjects, and
" whoſe ſuggeſtions tend to deprive your people
" of their deareſt and moſt eſſential rights, and
" who have traiterouſly dared to depart from the
" ſpirit and letter of thoſe laws which have ſe-
" cured the crown of theſe realms to the houſe of
" Brunſwick, in which we make our moſt earneſt
" prayers to God, that it may continue untarniſhed
" to the lateſt poſterity."

The city of London and moſt of the counties in England followed the example of Middleſex, and preſented petitions and remonſtrances to the throne, but the only anſwer they all received was, that his majeſty would do nothing without the conſent of his parliament.

This year the pope died at Rome in a very advanced age, and was ſucceeded by cardinal Gangenelli, who aſſumed the name of Clement XIV. He had been brought up, from his moſt early youth, for the church; and, to an univerſal acquaintance with learning in general, he had added moderation in his conduct; and was an enemy to all combinations among princes, which tend to prolong civil diſturbances. He endeared himſelf to the people of Rome, by iſſuing orders for lowering the prices of proviſions; and he ſuppreſſed the cuſtom, ſo long in uſe with his predeceſſors, to oblige all foreign ambaſſadors to kiſs his toe.

A. D. 1770. The parliament met on the 9th of January, and the ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech from the throne, in which not the leaſt notice was taken of the petitions and remonſtrances from the different counties relative to the Middleſex election. The principal things pointed out were, the diſtracted ſtate of America, and the diſtemper which had broke out among the horned cattle. The former was, in the ſtrongeſt terms, recommended to their ſerious attention, as a thing of the utmoſt importance to the dignity of government. The other was mentioned as a moſt dreadful calamity to the nation in general; and it was recommended to every one to exert themſelves in endeavouring to put a ſtop to the infection, before it ſhould ſpread any farther.

This ſpeech was ſeverely handled by the public in general, who thought that nothing ſhould have been ſo much touched on as the petitions and remonſtrances. Ridicule was circulated with great freedom, eſpecially as the exiſtence of the diſtemper among the horned cattle was not believed to be of ſo univerſal a nature as had been inſinuated and repreſented.

It was immediately moved by the miniſtry, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to the throne; upon which a moſt violent debate aroſe, but it was carried by a very conſiderable majority.

Before any buſineſs of importance was undertaken, ſome very remarkable changes took place in the miniſtry. Lord Camden reſigned the ſeals, and the honourable Charles York was created chancellor in his room, but he died within three days afterwards; and then the chancery was put into commiſſion, the ſeals being delivered to baron Smythe, and the juſtices Bathurſt and Aſton. The marquis of Granby reſigned all his places, except the royal regiment of blues, and was ſucceeded as maſter of the ordinance by general Conway. The duke of Beaufort reſigned the place of maſter of the horſe to the queen; the earl of Huntingdon his place of groom of the ſtole; and the duke of Mancheſter, with the earl of Coventry, their places of lords of the bed-chamber. The earl of Briſtol ſucceeded lord Chatham as lord privy ſeal. Mr. Dunning, the ſolicitor-general, and Mr. Grenville, one of the vice-treaſurers of Ireland, reſigned at the ſame time. Sir John Cuſt, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons alſo reſigned; but that was owing to his age and infirm ſtate of health. In his room was elected Sir Fletcher Norton, a gentleman who had made a very diſtinguiſhing figure at the bar.

Within a week after theſe changes had taken place, the duke of Grafton reſigned the place of firſt lord of the treaſury, and was ſucceeded by lord North, who had been ſome time chancellor of the exchequer.

The firſt thing that came before the commons was an enquiry into the validity of the Middleſex election; but after warm debates it was held, that no court of law was to meddle with any of their rules and orders. This meaſure aſtoniſhed the whole nation, and many perſons began to look upon the houſe of commons as a ſtanding council for the crown. Nor was this important ſubject agitated with leſs heat in the houſe of lords. The earl of Chatham with lord Camden, and many other peers, oppoſed it with great ſtrength of argument, and produced proofs from many of our law books, and parliamentary journals, that no ſuch ſtep had ever been taken, not even in the moſt deſpotic reigns. But notwithſtanding the force of theſe arguments, miniſterial intereſt prevailed, and the proceedings of the houſe of commons, in the affair of the Middleſex election, were all voted juſt and equitable.

A motion was made to bring in a bill to diſqualify certain officers of the revenues from voting for members of parliament. It was ſaid by thoſe who ſupported the motion, that at the revolution the produce of the cuſtoms and exciſe were both extremely ſmall, nor was there at that time any probability that they would ever amount to the enormous ſum of ſix millions ſterling, as they then actually did. To this they attributed the inattention of the ſenators of that age, who, if they had foreſeen the unconſtitutional weight that muſt have been thrown into the ſcale on the ſide of the crown, by the appointment of officers to collect ſo vaſt a revenue, they would undoubtedly have taken proper and effectual meaſures to prevent the dangerous influence which it muſt afford, in the election of repreſentatives of the people.

On the other ſide it was urged, that the bill was altogether unneceſſary, and in its own nature extremely cruel. That it was no leſs than the diſfranchiſing a great number of men who had long enjoyed that privilege; and as the motion then ſtood, it might extend to all the officers under the crown. It was added, that no evidence had been

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ſo much as ſuggeſted of any undue influence uſed by the crown, and therefore the motion was rejected by a very great majority.

The popular party, having loſt this motion, deſired that all the papers, containing a liſt of the expences of government, ſhould be laid before them. It was ſaid in ſupport of the motion, that the civil-liſt revenue if miſapplied, inſtead of maintaining the dignity of the crown, ſerved only to beſiege it with paraſites; and in the place of promoting arts and induſtry, to ſubvert the liberties of the people. That though the funds allotted for this purpoſe were fully adequate, not only to every neceſſary, but to every liberal expence, that was neceſſary to ſupport the dignity of the regal character; yet neither the greatneſs of the fund, nor the confeſſed œconomy of the times, were ſufficient to prevent an enormous debt from being contracted, and the people from being applied to for more money, at a time when many men in the kingdom were of opinion that too much had been granted already.

That neceſſary expences had been much more conſiderable in the latter reign than the preſent, becauſe the branches of the royal family were then grown up, and conſequently demanded larger allowances. The journies to the continent, however expedient, were frequent, and at times expenſive; and none would pretend to ſay, that magnificence was not as well underſtood, and perhaps better ſupported, than at preſent; yet his late majeſty not only lived within the bounds of the civil-liſt, but the ſum of one hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds was wholly ſaved from that revenue.

That it was neither intended nor wiſhed, to limit the crown to a ſalary inadequate to its real dignity and greatneſs; for if it ſhould appear that the money had been ſpent in promoting uſeful purpoſes, thoſe who made the motion would be the firſt to give their approbation. But if on the contrary, it ſhould appear that the money had been ſquandered away among time-ſerving wretches, who ſought to ruin their country, then thoſe who adviſed ſuch meaſures ſhould be called to a ſevere account.

To this it was anſwered by thoſe who ſtood up for the miniſtry, that if an application had been now made for an additional ſum to make good any deficiency in the civil-liſt eſtabliſhment, an enquiry into the cauſes of it would be natural and juſtifiable; and it would be but reaſonable, that the miniſtry, in ſuch a circumſtance, ſhould give the utmoſt ſatisfaction to the people; nay, that it was even their duty to do ſo, and ſhew the reaſons why the proviſion already made was not ſufficient; but till ſuch a requiſition was made, it would be improper and very diſreſpectful to the crown, to ſcrutinize into the manner in which the money for the ſupport of the royal family had been expended. It was urged farther, that a certain ſum of money was allowed annually for the ſupport of the civil-liſt, and while the expences do not exceed that ſum, there can be no reaſon for making any enquiry. They concluded by taking notice, that as the civil liſt was the property of the crown, his majeſty had a right to diſpoſe of it in whatever manner he pleaſed. At laſt, the vote being put, the motion, like all others oppoſed by the miniſtry, was rejected by a great majority.

This affair being ended, the next thing was to take into conſideration the ſtate of the colonies in America. A petition had been preſented by the merchants trading to North-America, ſetting forth the great hardſhips they laboured under in conſequence of an act, by which a duty had been laid on ſome trifling articles exported from Great-Britain; and this had ſo much enraged the people, that they refuſed to purchaſe the goods, after they had been ſent there at a conſiderable expence. This affair being of a very ſerious nature, the houſe took it into conſideration, and repealed every part of it, except what related to tea, which was ſtill continued. The debates concerning this bill were managed with great force of argument on both ſides, for the popular party ſought a repeal of the whole, while the miniſtry inſiſted, that the Americans, inſtead of deſerving any ſuch indulgence, ought to have had more ſevere laws binding upon them.

While the greateſt part of the nation was agitated by reflecting on the conſequences that would reſult from theſe meaſures; while individuals were ſeeking to promote their private intereſts, and the government to eſtabliſh its authority, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons by one of the leading men in the oppoſition, for regulating the proceedings on controverted elections; a bill equally juſt and popular, and in which all the ſubjects of Great-Britain were more or leſs concerned. It will be proper to ſtate the nature of this bill, that the reader may be the better able to judge of its utility, and how far ſuch a law was, in a manner, abſolutely neceſſary.

It had been the cuſtom formerly in all conteſted elections, to refer the matter to a ſelect committee of the moſt learned and upright members in the houſe; and, in general, their opinion was ſeldom called in queſtion; but in time the committees had been enlarged, and all who came in having votes, a ſhameful partiality prevailed, which in the end induced thoſe, who thought themſelves injured, to apply for remedy at the bar of the houſe.

This method, however, was found to be very defective, and attended with many inconveniences, owing principally to the vaſt number of thoſe who were to try the cauſe in diſpute; and who, beſides being biaſſed by the ties of private friendſhip to the contending parties, were not bound by any oath to prevent ſuch influence from operating on their minds.

At the ſame time, the method of trying theſe cauſes at the bar became an obſtacle to many branches of public buſineſs, eſpecially in the firſt ſeſſion of a new parliament, when there was ſcarce time to attend to any thing elſe. It was at the ſame time very diſagreeable to the members themſelves, who were continually teazed with applications in favour of both candidates, that they would give their attendance, and although it was not ſaid that they were to vote contrary to truth and equity, yet their attendance was conſidered as equivalent to their approbation. To all this it might be added, that as the miniſtry had always a majority on their ſide to ſupport them in all their meaſures, ſo if they choſe to ſtand up in defence of any one of the candidates, they could, by promiſes and threats, get a ſufficient number to vote him the ſitting member.

To remedy theſe defects this bill was brought in, and the plan of it was conſiſtent with the firſt principles of the conſtitution. When a petition was to be preſented, a day was to be fixed for hearing both parties, who were to attend with their witneſſes and council; and if one hundred members were not preſent, then they were to wait till ſuch time as ſo many were preſent; when the names of the whole, although they ſhould exceed that number, were to be put into ſix boxes or glaſſes, to be drawn alter-

alternately and read by the ſpeaker, till forty-nine are choſen; the ſitting member and the petitioner being allowed to chuſe one each. Liſts were then to be given to the ſitting member, the petitioner, councils, witneſſes, &c. who, with the clerk, were to withdraw, and ſtrike off one alternately till the number ſhould be reduced to thirteen; who, with the two named by the parties, were to make a committee to determine the affair in diſpute. Such was the nature of this new bill, and it muſt be acknowledged that nothing could be more juſt or equitable for the freedom of elections; and every meaſure uſed to prevent corruption and bribery muſt, at all times, be the life of the Britiſh conſtitution.

While the houſe of commons were engaged on this grand ſubject, the city of London met in their common-hall, and agreed upon another petition, addreſs and remonſtrance, for redreſs of their grievances in the affair of the Middleſex election. In this addreſs it was expreſsly declared, that the houſe of commons had acted in the moſt unconſtitutional manner, and therefore they prayed that they might be diſſolved; that the people might be left at liberty to make a free choice. In anſwer to this, his majeſty told them, that he had never done any thing but by the advice and conſent of his parliament, and therefore he could not comply with their requeſt.

Violent diſputes aroſe in parliament on this affair, and many opprobrious expreſſions were made uſe of on both ſides. It was ſaid that the citizens of London were the ſupport of the government on every occaſion; that it had been the cuſtom, time immemorial, to conſult them on the moſt important matters; to which the miniſtry anſwered, that no affront had been offered to the citizens of London, nor any thing denied them, except ſuch as was in its own nature improper to be granted.

Near the cloſe of this ſeſſion of parliament, ſeveral propoſals were made in the houſe of lords relating to the ſtate of affairs in America; which were chiefly ſupported by the duke of Richmond. Theſe were introduced by ſome ſevere ſtrictures on the conduct of adminiſtration. He ſaid, that the ſtate of America had been recommended from the throne in a ſpeech at the opening of the ſeſſion, and yet the ſeſſion was near ſpent without any thing being done, though the buſineſs was of the utmoſt importance. The miniſtry were now ſenſible that they had been too raſh in recommending the care of America before any ſettled plan had been laid down; and therefore, perplexed to the utmoſt, they ſaw no other method left, but that of adjourning the debate till a future day, well knowing that the parliament would be prorogued.

On the nineteenth of May his majeſty went to the houſe, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he applauded them for the zeal they had ſhewn in ſupporting the intereſt and honour of the nation. He aſſured them, that he ſhould, on all occaſions, ſeek the happineſs of his people; and that it ſhould be the ſole object of his care, to watch over their intereſts. He concluded, by recommending to them the preſervation of public peace, and the diſcountenancing of tumultuous meetings of the people, which, if encouraged, muſt end in general confuſion.

Soon after the riſing of parliament, advices were received from America of a violent tumult at Boſton, in which ſome of the inhabitants were unfortunately killed, and others wounded by the ſoldiers. This tranſaction was beſt authenticated by captain Preſton, who happened to be officer of the guard on the very day it occurred. It appeared from captain Preſton's account, that the arrival of Britiſh ſoldiers in Boſton being extremely obnoxious to the inhabitants, they firſt uſed every means to promote deſertion, and afterwards had recourſe to the moſt palpable inſults. Several ſkirmiſhes then enſued between the ſoldiers and towns-people aided by the militia who came from the country to join their friends. At length captain Preſton received information of a determined attack on the troops, and as he was repairing to the main guard, he ſaw a number of people going towards the cuſtom-houſe. To prevent plundering, he ſent a non-commiſſioned officer and twelve men, and followed himſelf. The mob dared the ſoldiers to fire, which occaſioned ſome well behaved perſons to aſk the captain, if he intended to fire? He replied in the negative, but at that inſtant a ſoldier, exaſperated by a blow, fired. Repeated provocations cauſed others to follow the example; the mob then diſperſed after three had been killed on the ſpot, and ſeven or eight wounded. The captain was ſome time after tried at Boſton and honourably acquitted.

On the 22d of July, about four o'clock in the morning a moſt dreadful fire was diſcovered in the great dock-yard at Portſmouth. It burnt with the moſt rapid fury, and communicating itſelf with the hemp-houſe, and other offices, conſumed every thing before it. Whether this was an accident, or the work of ſome vile wretch and incendiary, has not yet been diſcovered, and perhaps never will. Some impoſtors, indeed, pretended to have been concerned in it, particularly one Dudley, who has ſince that time been tranſported for perjury; and the other, whoſe name was Britain, has been ſince executed for forgery. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this fatal affair was, the fire was diſcovered in five different places at once, which gave ſtrong ſuſpicions that more than one perſon muſt have been concerned; for accidental fires generally break out in one place only. Had this accident, or whatever it was, happened during the heat of the war, it might have proved fatal to the nation in general; for the whole loſs, amounting to one hundred and forty-nine thouſand, eight hundred and eighty-eight pounds, could not have been made good without great difficulty, till ſuch time as the parliament met. But even ſuppoſing one individual could have advanced it, yet the time neceſſary for replacing ſtores, might have given the enemy an opportunity of doing great injury to the place.

It is neceſſary here to obſerve, with reſpect to the fate of the war between the Ruſſians and the Turks, that the once famous city of Smyrna being in a very critical ſituation, and the inhabitants apprehending an attack from the Ruſſians every day; an Engliſh merchant was ſent to count Orlow the Ruſſian admiral, whom he found engaged in the ſiege of Lemnos, and by whom he was told, that he had ſtrict orders to protect the Chriſtians of all nations, but more particularly the Engliſh; becauſe there was a treaty of peace and commerce at that time ſubſiſting between them and the Engliſh. He diſmiſſed him with marks of the greateſt politeneſs, and told him, that he and the other gentlemen in the factories might make themſelves quite eaſy, as no harm ſhould happen to them.

In Corſica, during this year, the wretched inhabitants felt all the ſeverity of a French deſpotic government. Many of them ſtill refuſed to ſubmit,

and ſuch of thoſe unhappy people as were taken, were inſtantly put to death. Some of them were tranſported to France; but this was little more than ſhifting the ſcene: for as in Corſica they beheld the ruin of their country, ſo in France they ſaw a whole nation of people ruined. But here their ſufferings did not end; for ſuch as were brought to France, after a journey of ſix hundred miles on foot from Marſeilles to Breſt, were put on board ſeveral veſſels and ſent as ſlaves to the Weſt-Indies.

This year a war was like to have broke out between Great Britain and Spain, on account of the following affair:

In the year 1592 captain Davies, who commanded an Engliſh man of war, ſailed to the South Seas, where he diſcovered ſome iſlands, ſince called Falklands; but little notice was taken of them for more than a century, till commodore Anſon, in his voyage round the world, diſcovered the importance they would be of to us, if properly cultivated. Accordingly, ſoon after the late peace, when lord Anſon was at the head of the admiralty, he mentioned the affair in council, and it was propoſed to ſend out ſome frigates to viſit them. This ſcheme, however, was not ſo well conducted, but the Spaniards got notice of it before it could be carried into execution; and ſuch remonſtrances were made by their ambaſſador at our court, that it was laid aſide.

It was again revived, however, in 1764, when commodore Byron was ſent out with a ſmall ſquadron to make diſcoveries, and, if poſſible, eſtabliſh a ſettlement on the coaſt of Patagonia. During that voyage, he took poſſeſſion of Falklands Iſlands in the name of his Britannic majeſty, with all the forms uſed on ſuch occaſions.

Much about this time the French, ſtimulated by their loſſes during the war, undertook an expedition of a ſimilar nature, namely, to make diſcoveries in the South Seas; and the care of it was committed to one M. de Bouganville, colonel of a regiment of foot. Having fitted out a frigate of twenty guns, with a ſloop to carry proviſions, he took on board one hundred ſeamen, and about one hundred and fifty people, who choſe to try their fortunes in that part of the world. The French ſhips ſet ſail from St. Malo, and arrived at the Canaries, where they were kindly received by the Spaniards, who gave them every ſort of aſſiſtance. From thence they proceeded to the river Plata, and took in freſh proviſions, the Spaniards ſtill continuing to treat them with every mark of reſpect. At length, they came to Falklands Iſlands, where they formed an eſtabliſhment, and built a ſmall fort.

Theſe French adventurers had formed the moſt ſanguine hopes from the diſcovery of theſe iſlands, but they did not anſwer their expectations; for it coſt them more money to ſupport their ſettlement than the profits ariſing from it could afford; ſo that they gave it up to the Spaniards in the moſt formal manner.

Theſe iſlands are ſituated in latitude 51 ſouth, and about one hundred leagues on this ſide the ſtreights of Magellan. The ſettlement, which had been given up by the French to the Spaniards, was on one of the iſlands that lay to the weſt, and was called Port Soliſad; and Port Egmont, belonging to the Engliſh, was one of the iſlands to the eaſtward. In the year 1769, we had a frigate and a ſloop upon that ſtation, and captain Hunt, in the Tartar frigate, being on a cruize, fell in with a Spaniſh ſchooner belonging to Port Soliſad, and, according to his orders, commanded the Spaniſh captain to depart, becauſe thoſe iſlands were the property of Great-Britain. Two days afterwards, the captain came on board the Tartar frigate with a letter to captain Hunt, written by the governor of Port Soliſad, telling him, that if he had been driven in there by ſtreſs of weather, he was ready to give him every aſſiſtance; but if he came there in violation of the faith of the moſt ſolemn treaties, he had far better depart immediately. Captain Hunt, not in the leaſt intimidated by theſe threatenings, aſſerted the right of his Britannic majeſty to theſe iſlands, and warned him to depart from them, giving him a fixed time for that purpoſe. The Spaniſh officer entered a formal proteſt againſt captain Hunt, and declared, that if he offered any inſult to the ſettlement at Port Soliſad, he ſhould conſider it as a breach of the peace, and tranſmit an account thereof to Spain. Soon after this affair, two Spaniſh frigates of conſiderable force arrived at Port Egmont, under pretence that they wanted freſh water; and the commander in chief ſent notice to captain Hunt, that he was aſtoniſhed to ſee the Engliſh flag hoiſted in an iſland that belonged to his maſter the king of Spain. He charged captain Hunt with violating the peace; declaring, at the ſame time, that he would ſend an account thereof to Spain, that his maſter might aſſert his right to thoſe iſlands which had been made over to him by treaty.

Captain Hunt ſtill continued to found his poſſeſſion on the claim of right, juſtified his conduct by the orders of his ſovereign, and again warned the Spaniards to depart from theſe iſlands. The frigates continued eight days at Port Egmont, and were ſupplied by our people with water: the captain and officers behaved with great civility, but they declined going on ſhore though they were ſeveral times invited. As theſe tranſactions ſeemed to indicate an approaching rupture, captain Hunt ſet ſail for England, and arriving at Plymouth on the third of June, ſent an expreſs to the lords of the admiralty. The Swift and Favourite ſloops of war, each bearing ſixteen guns, were left to take care of the ſettlement; but the Swift having ſailed as far as the ſtreights of Magellan, was overſet, and ſuch of the crew as could get into the boat, undertook a voyage of three weeks, which brought them to Port Egmont, after experiencing an innumerable variety of hardſhips. Five Spaniſh frigates arrived at Port Egmont, and captain Farmer, not doubting but they came with hoſtile intentions, reſolved to be upon his guard. He accordingly hoiſted his flag, which the Spaniſh commodore ſeeing, fired two ſhots, and being aſked what were his reaſons for ſo doing, he ſaid they were only by way of ſignals.

In the mean time captain Farmer wrote to the Spaniſh commodore, that as he had received the refreſhments he wanted, he was obliged in the name, and by the authority of his maſter, to command him to depart, and totally evacuate all thoſe iſlands known by the name of Falklands. In anſwer to this letter, the commodore put captain Farmer in mind of his great power, and how eaſy it was for him to deſtroy their defenceleſs ſettlement. He begged that he and the other Engliſh officers would not force him to any extremities, but depart quietly from the place, as the iſlands belonged to his maſter the king of Spain. Next day he wrote again, both to captain Farmer and captain Maltby,

Maltby, telling them, that if they would depart peaceably they ſhould have leave to take all they had along with them from the ſettlement, and what they could not take, he ſhould give them a receipt for, that the whole affair might be ſettled by their reſpective courts. But on the other hand, if they refuſed to comply, he ſhould, contrary to his inclinations, be obliged to obey his orders, by attacking the ſettlement both by ſea and land; and that he would ſpread deſolation every where before him; for he had, under his command, a large body of marines, beſides a train of heavy artillery.

He concluded by aſſuring them, that if they did not, in fifteen minutes after the receipt of his letter, give him a plain and favourable anſwer, he would immediately commence hoſtilities; and, at the ſame time, deſired them to think of the dreadful conſequences which their obſtinacy would be productive of to the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty.

To theſe, and all his other menaces, the Engliſh captains returned for anſwer, that words were not always conſidered as acts of hoſtilities; and that they could not believe that he would, in a time of profound peace, when the greateſt harmony ſubſiſted between the two nations, put his threats in execution: that he did not doubt but he was thoroughly convinced, that the king of Great-Britain, their maſter, was capable of demanding ſatisfaction throughout every part of the globe where any inſult was offered to his flag; and therefore they were, in conſequence of their orders, obliged to defend the place to the laſt extremity. Accordingly the Spaniſh commodore ordered the frigates to row cloſe to the ſhore, directly oppoſite the Block-houſe, where there was only a ſmall battery; and at night captain Maltby brought fifty ſeamen, belonging to the Favourite, on ſhore, with two ſix pounders, ten ſwivels, and a quantity of ſmall-arms and ammunition. Next morning, part of the Spaniſh troops and artillery landed about a mile to the northward of the Block-houſe; and when they had advanced about half a mile, the reſt of the boats, with the troops and artillery, put off from one of the Spaniſh frigates, and rowed right in for the cove, being covered by the fire from the frigates, whoſe ſhot went over the Block-houſe. The Engliſh ſeamen, who were then on ſhore, fired ſome ſmall ſhot; but ſeeing the utter impoſſibility of defending the ſettlement, and the Spaniards having broke through all the limits of peace, even to the actual commencement of hoſtilities, ſo that their conduct could neither be denied nor explained away, our officers, as they had judiciouſly led them to this open avowal of their conduct, and had, at the ſame time, ſupported the honour of their own country, as far as the means in their power would admit of, with the ſame propriety preferred ſaving the valuable lives of their people; and leaving the injury to be redreſſed by thoſe in power, they thought it moſt prudent to hang out a flag of truce, in order to know what terms of capitulation the Spaniſh commodore would grant.

All the conditions which he would grant were, that the Engliſh ſhould immediately, or as ſoon as poſſible, ſo as it did not exceed forty days, remove from the ſettlement, and what ſtores they left behind them ſhould be produced as ſoon as orders for that purpoſe arrived from Spain. This was one of the greateſt inſults, perhaps, that had ever been offered to the Britiſh flag; but the Engliſh, who had not ſtrength ſufficient to defend themſelves, were obliged to comply, and in September arrived at Portſmouth.

The miniſtry ſeemed to have taken the alarm at this intelligence, and, as if conſcious of their remiſſneſs in keeping the navy on a reſpectable footing, as the only bulwark of the nation, affected at leaſt a degree of diligence in that important purſuit. Preſs warrants were accordingly iſſued out, but their legality was oppoſed in the city by Mr. Croſby, the lord mayor, who refuſed to ſign the warrants, and Mr. Alderman Wilkes, who, without the leaſt heſitation, diſcharged a man that had been impreſſed, as wholly repugnant to the conſtitution, and a violation of the charter of the city of London.

The inſult thus offered to the Britiſh flag abroad was not without reaſon imputed by the diſintereſted and impartial part of the public to the very inadequate and inglorious peace to which miniſters had been induced to accede from principles neither popular nor plauſible. In a word, a general murmuring prevailed againſt paſt and preſent meaſures; however, ſuch was the power of miniſterial influence, as to bear down all oppoſition before it, notwithſtanding the united efforts of what were called the Rockingham and Shelburne parties.

On the 30th of November both houſes of parliament met at Weſtminſter, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he told them, that the Spaniſh governor of Buenos Ayres had acted in ſuch a manner as was inconſiſtent with the honour of Great-Britain, and demanded the utmoſt ſatisfaction: that, under theſe circumſtances, an immediate demand had been made for proper ſatisfaction, in conſequence of the injury received: that the neceſſary preparations had been made, without loſs of time, in order to be enabled to obtain juſtice, in caſe the requiſition to the the court of Spain ſhould fail in procuring it. An aſſurance was given, that theſe preparations ſhould not be diſcontinued, until proper reparation had been made; and that ſufficient proofs ſhould be given, that all other powers on the continent diſapproved of ſuch proceedings.

He ſaid he had called them together ſo early, that they might be ready to aſſiſt him with the beſt of their advice, and provide for the honour and ſecurity of the nation. With reſpect to the colonies in America, it was obſerved, that many of the factious people had deſiſted from thoſe combinations into which they had inadvertently entered, and which had been attended with many fatal conſequences to their peaceable fellow ſubjects: that the people of Boſton, and, in general, the inhabitants of the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, could not yet be brought into a proper ſtate of obedience, but continued in carrying on the ſame violent and unwarrantable practices as before. He added, that the eſtimates for the preſent year would naturally exceed the former; and that it would be neither conſulting the inclinations nor the intereſts of his people, if they ſhould decline any expence that ſhould ſeem neceſſary towards promoting the national honour: that as to foreign meaſures, no doubt was held, that there could be any other conteſt, than who ſhould appear moſt forward in ſupport of the common cauſe, in upholding the reputation, and promoting the proſperity of the kingdom. He concluded by telling them, that the crown had no intereſt ſeparate from that of the people; that they were all members of the ſame body, and, con-

conſiſtent with the order of nature and the laws of ſociety, they muſt ſtand or fall together.

The addreſſes were the moſt ſpirited that had been preſented for ſome years; and the moſt unreſerved aſſurances were given, that every degree of requiſite ſupport ſhould be chearfully granted. The moſt unreſerved confidence was placed in his majeſty, that he would never be induced, by a miſtaken tenderneſs for the preſent eaſe of the people, to ſacrifice their moſt eſſential and laſting intereſts. The commons concluded by a declaration, that if any hopes had been conceived, or it ſhould have been any where ſurmiſed, that there were any ſuch differences ſubſiſting among the people, as could, in the leaſt degree, abate the ardour of their affectionate attachment to his majeſty, or prevent their joining, as one man, in maintaining unſullied the luſtre of the crown, and preſerving undiminiſhed the rights of the people, they would, by their proceedings, convince the world how falſe and ſcandalous all ſuch ſurmiſes were; and make it manifeſt, that whenever they were called upon in the cauſe of their king and country, there would be but one heart and one voice among them.

Although theſe addreſſes were carried by a vaſt majority, there aroſe conſiderable debates upon them. It was ſaid by thoſe in oppoſition, that as one inſult is always the fore-runner of others, ſo the preſent outrage offered by Spain was a natural conſequence of our paſſive and ſhameful conduct with regard to Corſica: that the ſpeech was an oſtentatious diſplay of miniſterial conduct, and the addreſs an approbation of it: that before ſuch a public approbation was given, it was neceſſary to know what that conduct had been, which merited ſuch applauſes: that it was neceſſary to know what the Spaniards had done, and what previous information our miniſtry had received of their deſigns: that by our conduct for twelve months paſt, it ſeemed as if we had not an enemy in the world; and yet, by the ſpeech, it was evident that a war was apprehended: the bad ſtate of our navy, and the defenceleſs manner in which the valuable iſland of Jamaica was left, were much inſiſted on, and with great force of argument: that, independent of any private intelligence, the accounts publicly avowed to have been received on the 3d of June, that the Spaniards had warned our people to depart from their ſettlement on Falklands Iſlands, was, in itſelf, a ſufficient indication of their ill deſigns, and of what was naturally to follow; but between that and the twenty-ſecond of September, when our people brought the account of the inſult on our flag, what had been done to put us in a ſtate of ſecurity at home, or enable us to protect our dominions abroad? Were the regiments completed, or was the navy manned and put in a proper condition? None of all theſe things were done, and yet we were to return thanks to the miniſtry, not for any thing, but only becauſe they had not done ſomething worſe than we were yet acquainted with.

It was farther inſiſted, that while the rights of the people were violated at home, it was abſurd to expect ſuch unanimity among them as was neceſſary to ſupport the honour of the nation againſt any foreign power. That part of the ſpeech which mentioned the governor of Buenos Ayres, was moſt ſeverely cenſured, and even ridiculed, both without and within doors. It was ſaid, Why ſhould an officer, who acted only under command, be conſidered, inſtead of the king his maſter, as the principal in an injury offered to this great nation? The anſwer is evident; the ſame temporizing, mean and cowardly policy prevails, which beheld the ſeizure of Corſica, in defiance of faith and of treaties; and now hopes, under this ſubterfuge, to find ſome means of prolonging its exiſtence, though at the price of the national honour and dignity.

Upon the whole, it was aſſerted, in poſitive terms, that the conduct of our miniſtry had neither been honeſt in the deſign, nor able in the execution; they had loſt the confidence of the people, and yet imagined they would ſupport them: that they had threatened the colonies with unrelenting ſeverity, in purſuit of an unconſtitutional meaſure, and yet ſuppoſe that we ſhall ſuffer nothing from an alienation of their affection: that Ireland was ruled with a rod of iron, and yet they conſtantly declared, that they were not making ſtrides towards arbitrary power. Laſtly, that, with reſpect to the deſigns of our enemies, they had been totally blind and improvident, and yet we were in danger.

In anſwer to this, it was ſaid by thoſe who ſtood up in defence of the miniſtry, that all Europe, friends as well as enemies, were attentive to, and would found much of their opinion upon the iſſue of the preſent day: that the ſentiments contained in the addreſs would ſerve nearly as much as our military preparations, to intimidate Spain, by convincing them, that whatever differences in opinion, or even tranſient animoſities, might occaſionally ſubſiſt among us, yet we have but one heart and one hand againſt the common enemy: that an addreſs was a compliment to the throne, and not the approbation of a miniſter; and that if a miniſter had acted amiſs, there were other methods of enquiry and cenſure well known, and which would involve no other character; but that the preſent objections were meant as an invidious attack on the crown: that nothing could be more abſurd than the idea, that any private differences, diſcontents, or political ſquabbles among ourſelves, could operate in ſuch a manner upon the minds of the people, as to prevent their defending their own rights and intereſts, as well as the dignity of the crown, againſt any confederacy of our enemies: that no man would ſit ſtill, while his eſtate was ravaged, or his houſe burned, through his diſlike to the manner in which public affairs were conducted: that therefore, if any domeſtic quarrels ſtill exiſted, it would be time enough to adjuſt them when the common danger was removed: that the charge of alienating the colonies was ſo far from being well founded, that the reverſe was the fact; and, except a part of one inconſiderable province, they had been brought back to a ſenſe of their duty, by a ſpirit and prudence which did equal honour to adminiſtration. The charge of not arming ſooner, and of making it a crime that ſome of our Weſt-India iſlands were liable to danger, would, upon examination, it was ſaid, appear equally groundleſs: that the truth was, the nation could not have been armed ſooner; our fleets could not be fitted out, except when our trade was at home, or juſt coming home, as ſailors were not to be had at any othertime; and that it was well known, that the trade was not at home, nor near coming home, in the preſent inſtance. As the miniſtry, therefore, could not arm effectually, it was an act of the greateſt prudence not to excite a general alarm by attempting it, which would have been a ſignal to our enemies to have done the ſame, as they were not under the ſame diſadvantages, to have effected that, which we could only have attempted; whereas now we were upon an equal footing, if not before them.

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As to the other charge, it was only to aſk, Whether there can be a poſſibility of undertaking to ſecure every part of the Britiſh dominions, in their whole extent, from every ſudden blow that might be given in caſe of a war; and if there was, what given number of troops would be required to anſwer ſuch an undertaking? It was ſaid, that our character for courage was too well, and too generally eſtabliſhed, to leave any room for our being concerned about it; and as war was never deſirable while peace could be preſerved with ſecurity and honour, therefore it was right to leave an opening, whereby the king of Spain might, if he choſe it, withdraw himſelf with honour, and, by diſavowing the act of his ſervant, avoid the alternative of a war, of making diſagreeable conceſſions, or of acknowledging himſelf the author of a raſh and haſty meaſure.

Addreſſes being carried and preſented by both houſes, a motion was made in the upper houſe by the duke of Richmond, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, that he will "be graciouſly pleaſed to give directions that there "be laid before that aſſembly copies or extracts of "all letters, and other papers, containing any intelligence received by any of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, the commiſſioners for "executing the office of lord high admiral of "Great Britain, or any other of his majeſty's miniſters, between the twelfth of September 1769, "and the twelfth of September 1770, touching "any hoſtilities commenced, or deſigned to be "commenced, by the crown of Spain, or any of "its officers, againſt any part of his majeſty's dominions, expreſſing the times at which ſuch intelligence was received."

This motion was oppoſed by lord Weymouth, as very improper, while the affair remained unſettled and in negotiation. The duke of Richmond then urged the neceſſity of it, as the miniſtry ought to have the ſanction of parliament to decide ſo critical a point as peace or war, which at preſent was very doubtful. To this lord Hilſborough replied, that it would be highly imprudent to produce the papers, before they had received the Spaniſh miniſter's anſwer, which could not at that time be obtained, as there were ſome points in what he had received from his court that required conſideration, being ſo expreſſed as not to be perfectly clear. Lord Chatham then made a long ſpeech, in which he clearly proved that the miniſtry had not taken ſuch precaution as they ought; that we were then in a moſt deplorable ſituation, having but one ſhip of the line at Jamaica, two in the Mediterranean, and not able to ſend twelve men of war out, was it to ſave the nation. He ſaid, he wiſhed the Spaniards were not at that time in poſſeſſion of Jamaica and Gibraltar, as he knew of nothing that could prevent them. He ſtrongly urged the weakneſs of the then miniſtry, and of all their meaſures; and obſerved, that they might palliate as much as they pleaſed, but that he did aver from facts, that we were at preſent at war, and that war was inevitable. His lordſhip was anſwered by the duke of Grafton, who found great fault with him for expoſing the weakneſs of the nation, as it might tend to prevent the Spaniſh ambaſſador coming into terms ſo eaſily as he otherways would have done: he alſo inſiſted, that we were in a good ſtate, both as to navy and men. In this laſt aſſertion, however, he was entirely confuted by lord Shelburne. Lord Sandwich then obſerved, that the miniſtry had done all they could, and that he doubted not, notwithſtanding the inſinuations to the contrary, they could find proper officers to conduct the approaching war.

Much more was ſaid on this ſubject, by the duke of Mancheſter, the marquis of Rockingham, and lord Lyttleton, who all ſupported what lord Chatham had advanced. The queſtion was then called for; when twenty-one were for the motion, and ſixty-five againſt it.

The next motion, which was looked upon conſiſtent with the fundamental principles of our conſtitution, was alſo made in the houſe of lords, to enquire into the legality of the Middleſex election; and the debates on that important ſubject were carried on in the moſt learned and eloquent manner. In particular lord Camden ſpoke in the moſt forcible manner, in defence of the rights of the people; but notwithſtanding all his arguments, the motion was rejected.

As ſome proſecutions had been carried on by the attorney-general againſt ſeveral bookſellers and printers, a motion was made to enquire into the legal power of that law officer, and a long debate enſued. The principal queſtion to be diſcuſſed was, whether juries were judges of the law as well as the fact; or whether they were judges of the fact only.

After a variety of long and learned arguments made uſe of by both parties, the houſe divided upon this important queſtion; but when the votes came to be taken, it was rejected by a very great majority. But although the motion was rejected, a noble lord, whoſe conduct had been ſeverely cenſured, could not reſt eaſy under the aſperſions which had been thrown out againſt him by the moſt reſpectable members of ſo awful an aſſembly, eſpecially as ſome of them were lawyers who had made the moſt diſtinguiſhed figure at the bar. This nobleman had lately delivered a charge to the jury, which the popular party complained much of, becauſe it contained ſentiments coinciding with the charges already mentioned. His lordſhip, therefore, left a paper with the clerk, containing his opinion; and deſired it might be read in the hearing of all the peers then preſent, they having been ſummoned for that purpoſe. Each of the members were permitted to take a copy of this paper; and then a queſtion was propoſed, whether it was meant that the paper ſhould be entered on the journals? which was anſwered in the negative. A violent debate then aroſe concerning the ſubject matter of the paper.

Lord Camden took notice, that he had gone through every department of the law, and therefore conſidered himſelf as able to judge of ſuch matters, excluſive of his title of peerage. He offered to maintain, that the doctrine laid down as the judgment of the court, was not the law of England; declared, that he was ready at any time to enter into the debate, and preſſed his antagoniſt to appoint an early day for that purpoſe. He propoſed ſeveral queſtions from the ſubject matter of the paper, evidently tending to bring it before the houſe, but all to no purpoſe, for his motion was over-ruled, and nothing farther was done in an affair of the utmoſt importance to the community. This occaſioned much cenſure, becauſe, had the lords decided what was law on this motion, it would have ſaved many diſputes and litigations, which might hereafter ariſe. By ſuch a deciſion, we ſhould have known what

power our law has given to juries, and how far they are judges either of the law itſelf, or of ſuch collateral evidence as ariſes out of the given fact.

During the receſs of parliament, Sir Edward Hawke reſigned the place of firſt lord of the admiralty, and was ſucceeded in that important office by the earl of Sandwich. About the ſame time, ſome of thoſe gentlemen who had been particularly attached to the late Mr. Grenville, and had, both as to acts and declarations, been among the moſt violent of thoſe in oppoſing, now came over to the ſide of adminiſtration. The earl of Suffolk was appointed keeper of the privy ſeal, in the room of the earl of Halifax, who ſucceeded the earl of Sandwich as ſecretary of ſtate for the northern department. Several other changes took place: Mr. Juſtice Bathurſt received the great ſeal as high-chancellor of Great Britain, and was created a peer of England under the title of lord Apſley: Mr. De Grey, at that time attorney-general, was made chief juſtice of the common pleas, in the room of Sir John Wilmot, who reſigned: Mr. Thurlow was advanced to be attorney-general, and Mr. Wedderburne ſucceeded him as ſolicitor, being, at the ſame time, appointed cofferer to the queen. Such other changes as took place were all ſubordinate to theſe, and ſo connected with them, that it is needleſs to mention them in this place.

A. D. 1771. On the twenty-ſecond of January the parliament met, after a month's receſs; and the ſame day prince Maſerano, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, ſigned the declaration, with the earl of Rochford, ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department. By this declaration, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, in the name of the king his maſter, diſavowed the violences offered at Port Egmont; and ſtipulated, that every thing ſhould be reſtored there, in the ſame manner in which they were before the reduction took place. But, at the ſame time, he declared, that this reſtoration was not in any wiſe to affect the queſtion, of the prior right of his Catholic majeſty to the ſovereignty of theſe iſlands; and, by the acceptance, the performance of theſe ſtipulations was to be conſidered as a ſatisfaction for the injury done to the court of Great Britain.

This tranſaction was immediately announced to both houſes of parliament, and copies thereof were laid before them. It was then moved, that all the papers relating to the convention ſhould be laid before the houſe, which was complied with, except in one inſtance, namely, that of keeping back ſuch papers as contained the Spaniſh claims to Falklands Iſlands. This occaſioned a warm debate, but the miniſtry ſcreened themſelves under pretence that all the offices had been ſearched, but no more papers could be found. It was, at the ſame time, charged upon the miniſtry, that the interference of France was a diſhonour to Great Britain; but the miniſtry denied the charge, by aſſerting that France had never been employed to act as a mediator; but they would neither acknowledge or deny that ſhe had acted in that character. It was then propoſed to preſent an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for ordering the papers to be laid before them, but this was objected to by the minority, who denied that all the papers had been laid before them. Warm debates enſued in both houſes; but the miniſterial party prevailed, and the addreſs was preſented without any amendment whatever.

A moſt remarkable ſcene of corruption was, about this time, brought to light, by the committee appointed to determine conteſted elections; and, in particular, that of New Shoreham in Suſſex. The matter of conteſt was, that the returning officer for that borough had returned a candidate with only thirty-ſeven votes, in preference to one who had eighty-ſeven, of which he doubted ſeventy-ſix, and ſo made his return without examining, as he ought to have done, whether they were legal voters or not.

In the courſe of the examination of witneſſes it appeared, that a great number of the freemen had formed themſelves into a ſociety, which they called the Chriſtian Club; the apparent ends of which inſtitution were to promote acts of charity and benevolence, and to anſwer all ſuch purpoſes as were any ways conſiſtent with the doctrines of our holy religion. But notwithſtanding all theſe pretenſions, they profaned the ſacred name they had aſſumed, by carrying on the worſt of purpoſes, and making a traffic of the oaths and conſciences, and ſetting their borough to ſale to the higheſt bidder; while the reſt of the freemen were deprived of the privilege of giving their legal votes.

The returning officer had belonged to this ſociety, but having taken ſome diſguſt at his companions in iniquity, he had, in conſequence thereof, left their party. Being called before the committee he declared that his reaſon for making ſuch an unequal return was, that he knew, from his own experience, that the majority of voters had taken bribes: nay, that they had even agreed to ſell their borough to any one who would bid moſt for it.

As this combination at Shoreham was of too flagrant a nature to be overlooked, and the ſelect committee not having powers to proceed any further, they reported the whole matter to the houſe, and moved that they would make a further enquiry into it. All thoſe who wiſhed well to the conſtitution were glad of this opportunity of diſplaying their eloquence, and an act paſſed, by which eighty-one freemen of the borough of Shoreham were rendered incapable of voting at any election, and the attorney-general was ordered to proſecute all the members of the Club.

The next thing that came before parliament was of a very important nature to the ſubjects in general, namely, the manner in which the crown lands could be given away by the ſovereign to any of his ſubjects; and how ſoon he could again ſeize on them, or whether he could ſeize them at all.

Mr. Bentinck, the great favourite of king William, had been naturalized, and the king made him a grant of ſome lands in Cumberland, which gave great offence to ſome of the Engliſh nobility. Accordingly, a bill was brought in during the reign of queen Anne, and paſſed into a law, ordaining, that for the future, no grants ſhould be made of crown-lands, without reſerving one fourth of the rent to the crown. Nothing, however, material happened in conſequence of this act, till the year 1768, when the duke of Grafton, then at the head of the treaſury, made a grant of the duke of Portland's eſtates in Cumberland to Sir James Lowther, without conforming to the act of queen Anne, by reſerving one fourth to the crown.

This was a moſt alarming circumſtance, becauſe many of the principal eſtates of our nobility and gentry were held by grants of crown-lands; and that if Sir James Lowther's claim ſhould be ſuſtained, no perſon could look upon himſelf in peaceable poſſeſſion of any thing that had originally belonged to the crown. It was the general opinion at that time, that this grant might be made to ſerve ſome election purpoſes; but theſe being now over, it was

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ſuppoſed the matter would drop of courſe. In this, however, they were diſappointed; for an expenſive law-ſuit was commenced, the whole county of Cumberland was in an uproar, four hundred ejectments being ſerved in one day. A motion was then made for bringing in a bill to quiet the ſubjects in the peaceable poſſeſſion of their eſtates; and that it ſhould extend to the proprietors of land throughout every part of the kingdom, according to the ſtatutes already made.

This is what is called the Nullum Tempus bill, and at firſt it paſſed through the houſe by a conſiderable majority; on the ſecond reading it likewiſe paſſed, though with a ſmall majority; but when it came to the third reading, it was rejected by a majority of nine votes, the whole miniſterial influence having been thrown in to defeat it. This conduct of the miniſtry was much cenſured by the people in general, eſpecially as it was matter of diſpute concerning private property, with which they had no right to interfere.

About this time an affair happened which it was greatly feared would have been attended with the moſt alarming conſequences. The ſpeeches ſaid to have been made in the houſe of commons had, for a conſiderable time, been publiſhed by ſome bookſellers, who being cited before the houſe, refuſed to appear; upon which a proclamation was publiſhed with a reward for apprehending them. This produced the intended effect. J. Wheble, one of theſe perſons, was apprehended and taken before John Wilkes, eſq; the ſitting alderman at Guildhall: but he finding that the perſon who had apprehended Mr. Wheble had no accuſation againſt him, and only apprehended him on the authority of the proclamation, and at the ſame time Mr. Wheble declaring that the apprehender had forcibly detained him, and brought him there, the alderman immediately diſcharged him, and bound him over to proſecute his accuſer.

Mr. Miller, printer of a public paper, was likewiſe taken into cuſtody, by a meſſenger from the houſe of commons; who, on his refuſing to go with him, took him by the arm, upon which a conſtable was ſent for, and Mr. Miller gave him charge of the meſſenger for aſſaulting him in his own houſe; whereupon he was carried to the Manſion-houſe, and a hearing came on before the lord-mayor and aldermen Wilkes and Oliver. In the mean time the ſerjeant at arms being informed of this tranſaction, came to demand the bodies of the meſſenger and of Mr. Miller; upon which the lord-mayor aſked the meſſenger if he had applied to a magiſtrate to back the warrant, or to any peace officer of the city to aſſiſt him; and on his replying in the negative, his lordſhip declared, that no power had a right to ſeize a citizen of London, without an authority from him or ſome other magiſtrate; and that he was of opinion, the ſeizing of Mr. Miller and the warrant were both illegal; he therefore declared Miller to be at liberty, and proceeded to examine witneſſes to prove the aſſault on him by the meſſenger, which being done, his lordſhip aſked the latter if he would give bail. This he at firſt refuſed to do; but his commitment being actually made out, he thought proper to comply, when himſelf was bound in forty pounds, and two ſureties in twenty pounds each, for his appearance at the next ſeſſions at Guildhall.

After many and long debates the houſe of commons having reſolved, "That the proceedings of "the lord-mayor and Mr. Oliver were a breach of "the privilege of that houſe," committed them both to the tower, where they continued till the prorogation of parliament, which happened on the eighth of May, when his majeſty put an end to the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he obſerved, that the pacific diſpoſition of the kings of France and Spain furniſhed an opportunity for diſbanding ſome of the forces both by ſea and land. The commons were thanked for the generous manner in which they had granted the ſupplies, and that was conſidered as the ſtrongeſt mark of their attachment to his majeſty's perſon, family and government. His ſpeech concluded with recommending to their ſerious attention the ſuppreſſion of all riots and tumults, which had been ſo frequent in moſt parts of the kingdom.

During the continuance of the lord-mayor and Mr. alderman Oliver in the Tower, they were addreſſed and thanked for their ſpirited conduct in maintaining the authority of the laws of their country, by every ward in London, and by ſeveral towns and boroughs in England. Great preparations were made for conducting the two patriots from the Tower; but the parliament being prorogued one day ſooner than was expected, a few only of the aldermen, &c. could attend; the proceſſion was, however, magnificent, and they were conducted to the manſion-houſe amidſt thouſands of applauding ſpectators.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

GEORGE III. Continued.

War between the Turks and Ruſſians. Ravages of the plague in Moſcow. Attempt on the life of the Poliſh king. Reſtrictive marriage bill as to the royal family paſſed. Death of the princeſs dowager of Wales. Revolution in Sweden. Change of affairs in Denmark. Execution of Struenſee and Brandt. Fate of queen Matilda. Parliamentary proceedings. His majeſty reviews the fleet at Portſmouth. Eaſt-India affairs. Peace between the Ruſſians and Turks. Death of Lewis XV. Hoſtilities commenced at Boſton between the king's troops and the Americans. Battle of Bunker's-hill. Americans declare themſelves independent. Portſmouth dock-yard ſet on fire. General Burgoyne's ſurrender at Saratoga. Embargo laid by the French on all ſhipping in their ports. Great naval preparations in France and England. Engagement between the French and Engliſh fleets off Uſhant. Trial and acquittal of admiral Keppel. Ineffectual treaty with the Americans. Engagement between admiral Barrington and the count D'Eſtaing. Admiral Rodney defeats don Langara. Charles-town ſurrendered to Sir Henry Clinton. American army under general Gates defeated by lord Cornwallis. Hurricane at Barbadoes. Riots in London. Trial and acquittal of Lord George Gordon. Capture of St. Euſtatius by admiral Rodney and general Vaughan. Proſecution of the war in America and the Weſt Indies with various conſequences thereof, &c.

DURING the courſe of the year 1771 the events on the continent, and particularly the war between the Turks and Ruſſians, not only engaged the attention, but in ſome meaſure affected the political intereſts of all the ſtates in Europe. The ſeat of war the preceeding year was on the Danube, and the Ruſſians were in general victors; but their conqueſts were not obtained without great loſs as well by ſickneſs as the ſword.

The two grand objects the Ruſſians had in view at the opening of this campaign, were the ſecuring the conqueſts they had obtained in the former, and the penetrating into Crim Tartary, known by the ancient Greeks under the name of Tawrica Cherſoneſus. This ſpot joins little Tartary by a ſmall iſthmus, not more than ſix miles broad. On this iſthmus ſtood the ancient city of Precop, but the Turks have changed the names of thoſe once celebrated places, which were formerly the ſeats of the liberal arts. The whole peninſula is one of the moſt fertile ſpots in the world, abounding with many town and cities; and the entrance, near where Precop ſtood, is fortified by ſtrong lines, with a trench forty-two feet deep, ſeventy-two broad, and from the bottom of the ditch to the creſt of the parapet, was ſeventy feet. Strong towers had been erected at proper diſtances from each other, and ſtrong cannon were placed upon them.

Prince Dolgorucki was the Ruſſian general appointed to attack this place, and when he arrived before the lines, he found it defended by the chan Selim Guery in perſon, with an army of fifty thouſand Tartars, and ſeven thouſand Turks. But notwithſtanding the difference of numbers, the prince attacked the place on the twenty-fifth of June, two days after their arrival. The Tartar prince behaved with great bravery: for finding it impoſſible to rally his right wing, he went and charged gallantly at the head of his left. All his efforts, however, were in vain; for in four hours his whole army was routed, and the lines forced in every place. The Turkiſh garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war the next day; and their whole army, cannon, amunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the conquerors.

The Ruſſians, having made themſelves maſters of this important paſs, over-ran the whole of the peninſula; the Turkiſh garriſon deſerted Koſtoff, and having deſtroyed the fortifications, embarked on board ſome ſhips that lay in the harbour, and ſet ſail for their own country. The governor of Arabat made ſome defence; but the place was taken by ſtorm, and the garriſon put to the ſword. From thence the prince continued his march to Caffa, the capital city of the Crimea, which was immediately ſurrendered to him, and a thouſand men, the remains of the garriſon, were made priſoners of war.

This torrent of ſucceſs ſpread ſo general a conſternation, that the Turks, without waiting for the arrival of the enemy, abandoned the important fortreſſes of Taman, Jenicola, and Kertſch, which commanded the ſtreights between the Black Sea and the town of Azoph, which now fell into the hands of the Ruſſians, without ſtriking a ſingle blow. The Tartars ſubmitted to the conquerors, who took them under their immediate protection; while their unfortunate leader retired to Conſtantinople, where he ſoon after died, not without ſtrong ſuſpicion that he had been put to death in a private manner.

In the mean time the Turks, under the command of Mouſſon Oglou, croſſed the Danube in three diviſions, in order to attempt to relieve the fort of Torre, ſituated on the north of that river oppoſite to the antient city of Nicopolis. The attempt, however, did not ſucceed; but a detachment of them, under the command of a baſhaw, attacked the ſtrong fort of Guirgewo, in which was a Ruſſian garriſon, and in three days the governor agreed to capitulate, upon being allowed to march out with all the honours of war. As this place was very ſtrong, and had coſt the Ruſſians much trouble and loſs before they took it, ſo the conduct of the governor filled the minds of the army with indignation, and prince Repin ordered all the officers to be put under arreſt.

A detachment of the Turks, on the 17th of Auguſt came up with a body of Ruſſians, and the latter were, after a moſt obſtinate defence, put to flight; but they retreated in very excellent order, taking along with them their wounded men. This was the only field action in which the Turks had hitherto reaped any advantage, and it was magnified at Conſtantinople as a complete victory.

The main object with the Turks was to eſtabliſh winter quarters in Walachia, and with this view they continued croſſing the Danube in detached parties. But their motions could not eſcape the no-

tice of a general ſo vigilant and penetrating as Romanzow, who no ſooner perceived their deſigns, than he made ſuch a number of maſterly diſpoſitions as not only overthrew their ſchemes, but were conducted with ſuch ability, that every one of them took place at the inſtant of time, and was productive of the intended effect.

Inſtead of waiting for the enemy, the Ruſſians boldly croſſed the Danube, and attacked them on their own ſide, a manœuvre not ſo much as ſuſpected. Two great bodies of Turks, one entrenched at Tulcza, and the other at Maczin, were attacked at the ſame time by the Ruſſian generals Weiſman and Miboradowits, and the event was the ſame in both places. The entrenchments were ſtormed, the Turks totally routed, and the towns taken, in which were large magazines of arms and proviſions.

The night following general Weiſman marched to attack the grand vizier's camp, which was ſtrongly fortified, at a place called Babadagh; in which was the flower of the Turkiſh army, covered with a ſtrong train of artillery. Victory, however, was obtained here by the Ruſſians as eaſily as before; the Turks were routed with great ſlaughter, the entrenchments and artillery taken, with the caſtle of Babadagh; while the vizier and his ruined army fled thirty miles, to ſeek refuge in mount Hemnus.

Soon after theſe important conqueſts, general Eſſen attacked a large body of Turks, and totally routed them, after having killed two thouſand, and taken four thouſand priſoners, beſides all their baggage, tents, artillery, waggons, ammunition and proviſions. By theſe rapid ſucceſſes, the Turks were driven out of Walachia, while the Ruſſians remained maſters of that province. When the news arrived at Conſtantinople, the people became quite outrageous, and would have proceeded to great extremities, had they not been made to believe, that the loſs was owing to a mutiny which had taken place in the army.

The naval operations of the Ruſſians, however, were not this year crowned with ſucceſs equal to thoſe of the military; indeed nothing of importance was atchieved in that line. Their fleet in the Mediterranean was greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; and ſome of their ſhips having been ſent to the Italian ports, to purchaſe ſuch things as were wanting, they were refuſed admittance, under pretence that they were infected with the plague. But ſtill under all theſe diſadvantages, and many others, the Ruſſians, by falling in with a puſillanimous enemy, ſtruck unſpeakable terror in the Levant, and made even the Grand Seignior tremble on his throne. A moſt ſevere blow was given to the Levant trade; and throughout all the iſlands of the Archipelago, the coaſts of Greece and Aſia, nothing was to be ſeen but ruin and deſolation: the Ruſſians, however, reaped but few advantages, as the climate killed many more of their men than thoſe who fell by the ſword.

Such were the ravages of war added to the noxious effects of a moſt intemperate clime; but to add to the calamities of the contending parties, who were proſecuting hoſtilities at an immenſe effuſion of human blood, the peſtilence poured forth its reſiſtleſs bane, and ſwept from this ſcene of exiſtence numbers who had eſcaped the ſword. When we conſider the havock made by this dreadful diſorder in the Turkiſh army, and that all the provinces near the Black Sea were more or leſs infected with it, it will appear little leſs than a miracle that the Ruſſian army ſhould have eſcaped the fatal contagion. But if their army was ſo fortunate as to eſcape, it was not ſo happy with the interior part of their empire. It firſt diſcovered itſelf in the imperial city of Moſcow; but as it was many hundred miles from the theatres of the war, and from the countries infected, it could not be reaſonably ſuppoſed that it had been communicated from thence. It raged during the ſummer under the appearance of a malignant fever, but in autumn it aſſumed its true form, and ſwept away many thouſands before it.

Shocking were the effects produced by theſe ravages on the minds of this barbarous people. The ſeverity of government had been, in ſome meaſure, relaxed, and the moſt horrid licentiouſneſs took place. A wild enthuſiaſt pretended that he had a revelation from heaven, by which he was informed, that a certain image of a ſaint was endowed with efficacy ſufficient to cure thoſe who were infected, and to preſerve thoſe who were not. This drew innumerable crowds together, ſo that many thouſands were trampled to death, and the ſick dropped down dead in the midſt of ſuch as were healthy. Thus the contagion was communicated in ſuch a manner, that no attempts could reſtrain its progreſs; while the populace, aſſembling in ſuch numerous bodies, broke out into the moſt violent outrages.

The artful impoſtor, who contrived the fraud, had placed a cheſt before the image of the ſaint, to receive ſuch money as the people gave; but the archbiſhop of Moſcow, who ſeems to have been a prudent man, ordered the cheſt to be ſealed up, and both it and the image of the ſaint removed out of the church. This act, which deſerved the higheſt commendation, had quite a different effect on the ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude, for they ran to the archbiſhop's houſe, and utterly demoliſhed it. The good prelate had eſcaped, through a back door, to one of the monaſteries, where he hoped to be protected; but thither the enraged multitude followed him, and dragging the venerable old man into the ſtreets, put him to death in the moſt horrid and barbarous manner.

A body of troops having been ſent to quell the rioters, they refuſed to diſperſe; upon which the ſoldiers fired upon them, and many hundreds were killed. Many priſoners were taken, and being brought to their trials, were puniſhed according to the cuſtom of the country. The moſt remarkable circumſtance attending this tragical affair, was the murder of the good old archbiſhop, for the Ruſſians regard their clergy in a more ſacred manner than any other nation in Europe; but who can check the progreſs of enthuſiaſm inflamed by ignorance and ſuperſtition?

While the ſword and the peſtilence were thus exterminating as it were the human ſpecies in theſe quarters of the globe, the great kingdom of Poland felt the dire effects of ariſtocratical influence, and was indeed involved in one general ſcene of ſlaughter. The confederates became more and more inveterate againſt each other, and yet the fertility of the ſoil furniſhed the means of ſubſiſtence. Indeed, it may be juſtly ſaid, that the Ruſſian ambaſſador was the ſovereign of Poland, for all orders iſſued from him were ſanctified with the name of the king.

In the mean time, the king of Poland, who had been raiſed to the throne from a private ſtation, ſupported himſelf under his misfortunes with the moſt

heroic fortitude. He did not even ſuſpect that his enemies had the leaſt intention to do him any injury; but he was moſt fatally miſtaken, for about ten o'clock in the evening of the third of November, having been on a viſit to a nobleman in the country, and returning to the palace at Warſaw, his coach was beſet by ſeveral armed men on horſeback, the chief of whom was Koczinſki, an officer among the confederates. Theſe deſperadoes having fired their piſtols into the coach, dragged out the king, and carried him off between two horſemen. The domeſtics who attended the coach did all they could to reſcue him, but in vain, for one was killed on the ſpot, and the reſt deſperately wounded.

The Ruſſian ſoldiers ran to arms, and found the coach covered with blood, but could learn no accounts of the king; upon which they ſallied forth, and alarmed the detached parties which were on the roads leading to the capital. The aſſaſſins had been joined by ſome of their accomplices at one of the gates, and, without ſtopping, rode off with the king till they came to the village of Willanow, about ſeven Engliſh miles diſtant from Warſaw. The Ruſſians continued purſuing; upon which Koczinſki, with four others, ſeparated from the reſt of his companions, carrying the king with them. When he had proceeded a few miles, he ſent his four companions to procure intelligence, whether any of the Ruſſian forces were advancing; and no ſooner were they gone, than he fell at the king's feet, imploring his pardon, and, at the ſame time, offering to ſave his life. They then proceeded to a hut about a mile diſtant, from whence the king diſpatched a meſſenger to the Ruſſian general, who ſent proper perſons to attend him, and conduct him home. The king had received two wounds on his head, the one from a ſword, and the other from a ball; and his eſcaping with life may be conſidered as one of the moſt extraordinary incidents we meet with in hiſtory.

The aſſaſſin Koczinſki produced a paper, by which it appeared that he and his confederates were bound by the moſt ſolemn oaths to deliver the king, dead or alive, to the confederacy at Czenſtochau; but, as he ſaid, his heart failed him, and he was ſeized with remorſe as ſoon as he ſaw the bleeding wounds of his ſovereign. From attending to the tranſaction, this miſcreant, it muſt be evident, could not have been actuated by the motives he alledged in vindication of his conduct, which were doubtleſs extorted to extenuate his guilt and plead for his life. And it may be obſerved from this and many ſimilar inſtances, that traitors will ever ſhrink back appalled at the immediate view of condign puniſhment.

On the twelfth of February this year, the king of Sweden died ſuddenly, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, then at Paris on his travels.

During the receſs of the Engliſh parliament, ſeveral changes gradually took place. Many of the oppoſite party had gone over to the court, ſo that the miniſtry acquired a conſiderable degree of ſtrength, while many others relinquiſhed their attachment to any parties whatever.

One event took place during this receſs, which ſurprized the whole nation, and made way for an act, the next ſeſſions, of a moſt extraordinary nature. The event alluded to was the marriage of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, a widow lady, and daughter to lord Irnham, of the kingdom of Ireland. This ſtep gave great offence at court, eſpecially as it had been openly acknowledged by the parties, and not concealed in the ſame manner as the marriage of the duke of Glouceſter with the counteſs dowager of Waldgrave.

A. D. 1772. On the twenty-firſt of January the parliament met; and his majeſty, in his ſpeech, expreſſed much ſatisfaction, that neither the foreign or domeſtic ſtate of affairs required their more early attendance: that, now they were aſſembled, they would, no doubt, attend to the intereſts of the nation, and regulate its internal policy, as well as its foreign commerce. They were likewiſe informed, that the king of Spain had given up Fort Egmont, and that we were on the beſt terms with that court. It was, however, recommended to them, to keep the navy on the moſt reſpectable footing, to be ready in caſe of any neceſſity for the future.

The addreſſes were preſented in the uſual form; and then the public buſineſs was opened, by making proper inquiries into the ſtate of the navy; and the miniſtry propoſed, that twenty-five thouſand ſeamen ſhould be voted for the ſervice of the current year. It was urged by the miniſtry, that the French had ſent a conſiderable fleet to the Eaſt-Indies, and that we were, on that account, obliged to ſupport a more conſiderable naval force there than before: that a large ſquadron was employed in the protection of our Weſt-India iſlands; for ſhould any miſunderſtanding ariſe between us and the Spaniards, thoſe valuable acquiſitions, if not properly ſecured, would fall into the hands of our enemies: that the war between the Ruſſians and Turks made it alſo neceſſary to employ a greater number of ſhips for the protection of our commerce in the Mediterranean and the Archipelago, than had been cuſtomary in times of general peace: that by keeping up a reputable body of ſeamen, we ſhould not be under the cruel neceſſity of granting preſs-warrants in caſe of the breaking out of a new war; and although the expencce might be more than common in times of peace, the advantages would amply repay it.

To theſe arguments it was anſwered by thoſe in oppoſition, that the nation was already groaning under a load of taxes; and, inſtead of doing or propoſing any thing for paying off the national debt, here was a propoſal made to increaſe it in a time of profound peace: that, allowing the exigencies of the times required it, yet it did not appear but that on every future occaſion, the ſame pretence might be made, whether there was any neceſſity for it or not.

Two of our greateſt naval commanders ſtrongly oppoſed the motion, and condemned the then preſent arrangement of the fleet. They obſerved, that the force already in the Eaſt-Indies was either too great or too little: that if the appearances of a permanent peace, as held out in the ſpeech, were to be relied on, it was too great, and, in caſe of war, it was inſufficient: that the ſame objections lay to the arrangement at Jamaica, where the ſquadron conſiſted only of about four ſhips, and was altogether unable to protect it, ſuppoſing any danger of an attack. Many ſevere ſarcaſms were levelled at the miniſtry for the futility of their conduct, becauſe they accompanied a ſpeech which breathed nothing but ſentiments of peace, with all the actual preparations for war. At laſt, the queſtion being put, the motion was carried by a great majority.

The moſt important parliamentary tranſaction

that engroſſed attention both within and without doors, was in conſequence of a meſſage ſent by his majeſty to the houſe of lords, in which it was obſerved, that his majeſty being deſirous, from paternal affection to his own family, an anxious concern for the future welfare of his people, and the honour and dignity of his crown, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family, as a matter of public concern, had always belonged to the princes of this realm; he therefore recommended to both houſes to take it into their ſerious conſideration, whether it might not be wiſe and expedient to ſupply the defects of the laws then in being, and, by ſome new proviſion, more effectually guard the deſcendants of his late majeſty, except ſuch as were already married to foreign princes, from marrying without the approbation of his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors, firſt had and obtained.

In conſequence of this meſſage, a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, which fully anſwered all the purpoſes intended. This bill was oppoſed, with great ſtrength of argument, by ſome of the moſt reſpectable peers in the nation. All the judges were ſent for to give their opinion, which was, that the marriages of the immediate branches of the royal family muſt be approved of by the king, but how far that power extended over collateral branches, they could not determine. At laſt the motion was carried, though not till fourteen lords entered a proteſt againſt it, as being inconſiſtent with the law of nature.

In the houſe of commons the bill met with a much ſtronger oppoſition; and the opponents boldly declared, that it had been brought in at a time when moſt of the gentlemen of the law, whoſe opinions would have been of great weight, were gone on the circuits. But, notwithſtanding all the ſtrength of argument, it paſſed, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent.

The attention of parliament was now directed to the affairs of the Eaſt India company, which were in a very diſtracted ſituation. On the 30th of March, the deputy chairman moved the houſe for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of the ſervants belonging to the company in India. The grand object in view was, to reſtrain the governor's council; and, indeed, all the ſervants belonging to the company from carrying on any ſort of trade, and to give the directors of the company a ſovereign power over their own ſervants.

It was urged in ſupport of the motion, that the bad ſtate of affairs in India, was owing to the ſmall power the court of directors had over their ſervants, as they could not puniſh them in any other manner than by diſmiſſing them. That nothing was more inconſiſtent with true policy, than to ſuffer governors of provinces at a great diſtance to become traders and merchants; and that the court of Bengal was not able to adminiſter juſtice to all the other ſettlements.

In anſwer to this it was ſaid, that it was an unparliamentary thing to propoſe bringing in a bill to redreſs a grievance without producing ſufficient proof that the grievance exiſted That the houſe ought firſt to enter into an enquiry concerning our preſent ſituation of affairs in India, and the cauſes that led to it; that it was to be feared the enquiry would ſhew, that the evils lay too deep to be remedied by the propoſed bill; that it would be almoſt impoſſible to prevent the company's ſervants from trading either directly or indirectly; and that the ſending out ſome gentlemen learned in the laws as judges, was very inadequate to the purpoſe of adminiſtering juſtice to the people, in ſuch a vaſt extended track of land; and that the meaſure was premature, becauſe we had not yet determined by what code of laws the people were to be governed.

The motion, however, was carried, and this led to an enquiry into the ſtate of affairs in India. All the papers belonging to the company were ordered to be laid before a ſelect committee of the houſe, and from the peruſal of them, many important diſcoveries were made. Indeed, it was found that the mode of government in India was in every reſpect arbitrary, unconſtitutional, and no way fit for preſerving the rights of the people, nor adminiſtering juſtice to individuals. This committee, finding the buſineſs encreaſing faſt, and the ſeaſon far advanced, deſired leave to continue ſitting during the receſs of parliament, or, at leaſt, till ſuch time as they could go through with the intended enquiry.

In the mean time, the ill temper which had ſo unaccountably taken place between the two houſes during the preceding ſeſſion, ſtill continued during the preſent; and, except in tranſmitting of bills from the one to the other, there was no more communication between them, than if they had been the jealous councils of two rival ſtates.

In this ſtate of affairs, the lords having ſent a bill to the commons by a maſter in chancery, and a clerk aſſiſtant, the whole houſe conſidered it as an indignity, and would not accept the meſſage till they had examined the journals, to know if there were any precedents of ſending bills in that manner. In the courſe of an haſty and paſſionate debate, which enſued upon this occaſion, ſeveral gentlemen mentioned, that, on the firſt day of the then ſeſſions, they had been rudely turned out of the houſe of lords, even before the ſpeaker could get out of the door. A motion was then made to appoint a committee to ſearch for precedents, of the manner of bills being ſent from the lords, and alſo of the improper behaviour of the lords to the commons. Exceptions, however, were taken to the word *improper*, as if it had carried an appearance of prejudging the caſe; and after a warm debate, the word was left out.

The report of the committee was, that the lords had behaved in a very improper manner, and that the bill, which ſtill lay on the table, ſhould be ſent back. This was oppoſed by adminiſtration, who ſaid it would lay a foundation for a quarrel, which might not be eaſily accommodated; and accordingly the motion was over-ruled.

A motion was then made for a conference with the lords, but over-ruled in the ſame manner as the other; and after long debates, and ſeveral propoſed amendments, the matter ended in a meſſage to the lords in which the impropriety of the meſſengers was the only complaint ſtated, which, it was hoped, would not be drawn into a precedent. This produced an anſwer, that the bill had been ordered in the uſual manner, and that the matter of complaint was occaſioned by the indiſpoſition of one of the perſons who ſhould have preſented it; that a good correſpondence was wiſhed for, and that it was not meant to introduce any precedent contrary to eſtabliſhed uſage. While the parliament was employed in the diſcuſſion of theſe reſpective matters, her royal highneſs the princeſs dowager of Wales

Wales departed this life at Carlton-houſe on the 8th of February, in the fifty-third year of her age, to the great regret of his majeſty.

On the ninth of June his majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in which he took notice of the laudable conduct of his parliament, who had conducted the affairs of the public with ſuch ſpirit and prudence. He thanked them for the care they had taken of his family, in making the act relating to the royal family; and they were informed of the pacific diſpoſition of thoſe powers with whom we had any concern. That there was great reaſon to believe, that the public tranquillity would not be diſturbed. As for the ſupplies granted by the commons, they were thanked in the moſt cordial manner; and great joy was expreſſed, that there were ſtill ſome hopes of being able to reduce the national debt. No doubt was made but they would carry to their reſpective countries, the ſame principles and the ſame zeal for the public good, which they had already manifeſted; and that they would cultivate a ſpirit of harmony and confidence among all ranks of the people; to convince them, that without a due reverence for the laws, neither their civil or religious rights could be enjoyed in comfort or ſecurity; and to aſſure them, that their intereſts were conſidered as inſeparably connected with thoſe of the crown; and that his majeſty is, and ever was perſuaded, that the proſperity and glory of his reign muſt depend on his poſſeſſing the affections, and maintaining the happineſs of his people.

Theſe being the moſt important domeſtic occurrences of the year, we are neceſſarily led to take notice of a moſt extraordinary revolution that took place in the government of Sweden. It is remarked by hiſtorians that no ſtate ever enjoyed more liberty than that of Sweden. Though governed by kings, theſe kings were originally elected by the people, and their power circumſcribed within very narrow limits. The ſenate, in a manner, exerciſed the whole executive power; and the general diets were compoſed of repreſentatives from the nobility, clergy, burgeſſes, and peaſants. It was not, however, without its defects; for the power of the diet being great, ſuch as compoſed it often played the tyrant over their dependents or tenants, which made the people wiſh for a change of government.

About the time of the reformation, the popiſh clergy in Sweden had become ſo odious to the people, that they embraced the doctrines of Luther, and the proteſtant religion was eſtabliſhed among them. From that time forward, Sweden began to emerge from obſcurity; and ſeveral worthy princes having, for about a century, conducted the affairs of government, it became at laſt a flouriſhing nation. But good princes are not of continual ſucceſſion. Charles XI. was a bold, domineering tyrant, and joining cunning to the natural cruelty of his diſpoſition, he ſoon aboliſhed the power of the ſenate by aſſuming it to himſelf, while the ſtates were forced, by a military power, to give up all pretence to legiſlation. By the ſame, or ſimilar methods, he greatly enlarged the dominions of Sweden, by new conqueſts; and, at his death in 1696, left it one of the moſt powerful kingdoms in Europe. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Charles XII. who inherited the intrepidity, obſtinacy, harſhneſs, and violence of his father, without any of his diſſimulation. He carried deſpotiſm to a ſtill greater height; for he threw by all the forms of law, and decided peremptorily in every thing, without admitting of any diſcuſſion. The events of this prince's life are recited at large; ſuffice it to obſerve that he found his nation when he aſcended the throne, at the higheſt pitch of glory; but he left it reduced to a ſtate of miſery.

He was ſucceeded by his ſiſter, who, regardleſs of the example of her father and brothers, founded her conduct upon the principles of thoſe worthy anceſtors who had contributed to the aggrandizement of their country. Things had been conducted with great prudence, till the death of the late king; and his preſent majeſty when he aſcended the throne, ſeemed to coaleſce ſo entirely with the prevailing maxims of government, as to conciliate the minds of the people in general. Every neceſſary preparation being made, the coronation was conducted in the moſt magnificent manner, and every demonſtration of joy was diſplayed on that occaſion. He was next day waited on by the ſenate and the four orders of the diet, and the ſpeech made to them by the king, was one of the moſt lively and animated that we meet with in hiſtory. There was, however, ſomething of ambiguity in it; for ſpeaking of the articles he had previouſly ſigned, he ſaid, "Unhappy is that king who wants the tie of oaths to ſecure himſelf on the throne, and who, not aſſured of the hearts of his ſubjects, is conſtrained to reign by the laws, when he cannot by the love of his people." Such was the manner in which this prince began his reign.

The diet ſtill continued ſitting, when thoſe ſchemes that had been hatching began to reveal themſelves. As it was neceſſary the experiment ſhould be made at a conſiderable diſtance from the capital, in order that it might, in ſome degree, operate before the ſenate or diet ſhould receive information of it, as well as acquire a conſiderable degree of ſtrength, before their attempt to cruſh it could take place, it was reſolved that it ſhould break out where ſuch of the military were quartered as the court could confide in.

Scania, a province in the ſouth-weſt extremity of Sweden, and about two hundred and fifty miles from Stockholm, was the place pitched upon; for as that province is only ſeparated from Denmark by the Sound, great numbers of the military are conſtantly quartered in it. It was agreed, that the king ſhould remain in Stockholm; that his brother, prince Charles, ſhould ſet out for Chriſtian-ſtadt, under pretence of meeting his mother, who had been on a viſit to the court of Berlin; and prince Frederick Adolphus went into the neighbouring province of Oſtragothia, which lies in the way from Stockholm, under pretence of drinking the mineral waters.

Theſe neceſſary precautions being taken, one Hellichins, a captain of foot, having brought over his company to join him, the magazines and arms were ſeized on, and then he cauſed a manifeſto to be publiſhed and diſtributed among the people to the following purport: that thoſe perſons who called themſelves the ſtates of Sweden, had not only uſurped that power, but had likewiſe, by their arbitrary proceedings, brought the nation to a ſtate of ruin: that they had entered into foreign connections without the conſent of either the king or the people; and although the people were in a manner ſtarving, yet no corn had been brought into the country to relieve their preſſing neceſſities: that under pretence of promoting the good of the ſubjects, they had made the moſt oppreſſive

taxes: that they had ſtripped the king of the regal power, and left him no more than an empty title; ſo that however willing he might be to redreſs their grievances, yet it was not in his power. For theſe reaſons, and for many others that might be mentioned, they renounced all allegiance to this pretended diet, and exhorted all faithful Swedes to join with them in ſuppreſſing an order that had brought ſuch evils upon the kingdom. They concluded, in the uſual ſtrain, with an appeal to heaven, of the rectitude of their motives and intentions; at the ſame time, begging for the divine bleſſing upon their undertakings. The whole garriſon of Chriſtianſtadt declared in favour of the manifeſto, and they were ſoon joined by vaſt numbers of peaſants from different parts of the country.

The plan being thus ſet in motion, and ſo far promiſing ſucceſs, was immediately ſeconded by the two princes Charles, and Frederic Adolphus. The former, who was then at Carelſcroon, no ſooner received advice of the ſucceſs of Hellichins, than he aſſembled the troops in the neighbourhood, and having taken upon him the command of the garriſon, which was well ſupplied with arms and ammunition, cauſed a kind of ambiguous manifeſto to be publiſhed, and then leaving a ſufficient force in the garriſon, headed the remaining troops, and began his march to Chriſtianſtadt, with ſeveral pieces of cannon. The latter taking the ſame advantage of the inſurrection, put himſelf at the head of the troops in Oſtragothia, before any news had reached Stockholm. In the mean time general Rudbeck, who happened to be then in Oſtragothia, ſet out for Stockholm, and having informed the ſenate of theſe proceedings, and ſhewn them prince Charles's manifeſto, there remained no doubt what were the real intentions of the court.

As the guards were firmly attached to the king, the ſenate did not chuſe to truſt them, nor did they conſult the king upon any thing. They ordered the burghers to put themſelves under arms, and take their ſtations in different parts of the city, under the command of count Halling; who was alſo conſidered as prime miniſter.

The king affected a degree of unconcern at theſe proceedings of the ſenate; nay, he even connived at their affixing his name and ſeal to an order for recalling his brother, after he had peremptorily refuſed to ſign it; but notwithſtanding this ſeeming inactivity, he was taking the moſt effectual meaſures to accompliſh the great deſign he had in view; to the ſucceſs of which nothing contributed ſo much as the ſecrecy and ſilence with which they were conducted. The Senate had ſent for two regiments from Upland, and, upon their arrival, the king demanded to know why they had ſent for troops without his conſent. In conſequence of this they, in a manner, commanded him to ſhew them ſome letters that had been ſent him by his brothers; but this he refuſed in the moſt poſitive manner. The altercation between the king and the ſenate grew warm; and one of them proceeded ſo far as to attempt to ſeize his ſword, upon which he boldly drew it; and the ſenators were ſo much alarmed, that he had an opportunity of getting out at the door, which he locked behind him, and put the key in his pocket.

Having thus ſecured the ſenators, he went to the guard-room, where he aſſembled the officers, and made a long ſpeech to them, complaining of the miſeries the people groaned under from the abuſe of power in the ſenators, and that this cruel tyranny became every day more and more intolerable.

He told them further, that he was determined to run all hazards to diſplace them, and aſked the officers whether they would not aſſiſt their king in ſhaking off ſo ignominious a yoke, and reſtoring the nation to its antient liberty. To this propoſal the officers in general aſſented with great readineſs, as well as the ſoldiers; upon which the king aſked them, if they would take an oath of allegiance to him, with which they as readily complied.

Every thing being thus far conducted, the king, in conſequence of a previous conſultation with his friends, had a white handkerchief round his arm, as a ſignal; upon which many of the nobility and gentry flocked to him. He then put himſelf at the head of the guards, and ſeized on all the magazines, without the leaſt oppoſition.

The whole garriſon of Stockholm, although commanded by baron Rudbeck, an enemy to royalty, deſerted their leader, and followed the king's ſtandard. The old baron ran with his ſword drawn thro' the ſtreets, calling out to the people to take arms in defence of their liberties; but it was too late, for they were perſuaded they might live as happily under one governor, as under five hundred.

Thus, in a large nation, a revolution was brought about without bloodſhed, or any oppoſition; while the people flocked together without the leaſt riot or tumult. The king then repaired to the caſtle, where having aſſembled the foreign miniſters, he told them, that it was with the utmoſt reluctance he had been obliged to take ſuch a ſtep, as would ſurprize all Europe; but the ſafety of his own perſon, and the ſecurity of the ſtate, rendered it abſolutely neceſſary. He entreated them to inform their reſpective courts, that his motives, when made known, would juſtify him; and that this affair ſhould not make the leaſt alteration in his conduct with reſpect to the other European powers. The next morning all the magiſtrates took an oath to obey none but the king, and ſuch of the ſenators or deputies who refuſed to take it, were committed to priſon, and told, that unleſs they complied within one month, they muſt for ever depart the kingdom.

The following day being appointed for aboliſhing the old form of government, and eſtabliſhing the new, the king ordered the ſtates to be aſſembled for that purpoſe. Previous to this, guards had been placed round the hall of the palace, ſo that there was not the leaſt doubt but his orders would be punctually obeyed. The king entered the hall in his regalia, and having made a long ſpeech, complained of the ſenate for having preſumed to act as if in a legiſlative capacity, without power from the diet. He added, that the diet on the one hand, and the ſenate on the other, ſeemed to claim each a ſeparate power, while he himſelf, though honoured with the title of king, enjoyed no more than the ſhadow of royalty; and concluded with aſſuring them, that the ſenate had actually preſumed to receive ſubſidies from foreign powers, whoſe councils governed Sweden; but that he would now aſſert the honour of his crown, and promote the intereſts of all his loyal and peaceable ſubjects.

The king then took a moſt ſolemn oath, by which he renounced all claim to arbitrary power;

after which he cauſed the new form of government to be read. It conſiſted of fifty-ſeven articles, but they may be all comprized in the following: That the king ſhall, for the future, chuſe the ſenate, or, in other words, he ſhall appoint to that office ſuch as he may approve: that he ſhall aſſemble the ſtates when he pleaſes, and likewiſe, when he pleaſes, diſſolve their meeting, ſo as they have ſat at one time full three months: that the taxes ſhall be granted by the ſtates; but if not granted within three months after their meeting, then the old ones ſhall be levied. In caſe of any ſudden exigence, ſuch as the fear of invaſion, the king ſhall impoſe taxes till ſuch time as the ſtates can be called together: that when the ſtates are aſſembled, they are not to deliberate on any thing but what the king ſhould cauſe to be laid before them: that the king ſhall have full power to diſpoſe of the army and navy in whatever manner he pleaſes, and likewiſe to give away all places, either in the civil or military departments.

When all the articles were read, the king ſtood up, and aſked the ſtates, Whether they would give their oath to obſerve this form of government? As they knew that it was in vain to diſpute, they unanimouſly conſented; after which they were immediately ſworn in the king's preſence, and the ſpeakers of each order ſigned a bond in the name of the reſt.

The great work being thus finally accompliſhed, the king ſtood up, and told them, that it was neceſſary they ſhould return thanks to God for bringing about ſo happy an event, without the effuſion of human blood; and then taking a book out of his pocket, the whole aſſembly joined with him in ſinging *Te Deum*, according to the cuſtom of the Lutherans. They were then permitted to kiſs his hand; after which the king departed, and the ſtates ſeparated, without knowing whether they were ever to meet again.

Next day, all the old ſenators were diſmiſſed, and, in their room, fifteen noblemen were appointed, on whoſe attachment to him he could, with the moſt unſhaken confidence, rely.

As the diſtreſſes of the poor were then much aggravated by a dearth of proviſions, nothing could ſo effectually tend to the popularity of the king and odium of the ſenators as the royal interference in ſo intereſting a particular. With this view he cauſed ten thouſand meaſures of meal to be diſtributed among them, each meaſure weighing twenty pounds; which, although far from being ſufficient to relieve all their wants, had the deſired effect. He alſo cauſed the diet of the ſtates to be aſſembled. Every thing now ſeemed totally changed; for, inſtead of enquiring into the conduct of the king, as had been cuſtomary on former occaſions, each order of the ſtates ſtrove who ſhould be the firſt to flatter him, and every thing he aſked was granted, without one diſſenting voice. The ſupplies were granted in the moſt laviſh manner; and a ſecret committee being choſen from each order of the ſtates, to aſſiſt the ſenate, the king diſmiſſed them, and they returned to their reſpective habitations with as much complacency as if he had been conferring with them on the moſt valuable privileges.

The revolution thus effected in this extenſive kingdom reflects the higheſt honour on the young prince, who accompliſhed it at a time when ariſtocracy, under the ſpecious appearance of an equitable repreſentation, ſeemed ready to trample on the rights of the people, after having wreſted from the king every prerogative of royalty, but an empty name. There is an inherent attachment in mankind to their natural rights, for which they will ever contend when opportunity offers. Theſe people nobly concurred with their ſovereign in aſſerting the honour of his crown and promoting their own beſt intereſts; their efforts ſucceeded to their moſt ſanguine wiſhes, and they ſtand upon record to warn ſenators in general from ſuch daring as well as dangerous attempts.

While the king of Sweden was diſplaying the greateſt abilities in ſetting up a new form of government, the ſtate of public affairs in Denmark aſſumed a new face. The king had, for ſome time, made choice of one favourite after another; but ſcarcely had any of them gained a ſhare of his friendſhip and confidence, than they were diſcarded with peculiar marks of diſgrace.

Among others who, like needy adventurers, came to ſettle in Copenhagen, was one Struenſee, the ſon of a Lutheran miniſter in Holſtein. He was a young man of the moſt inſinuating addreſs, with very good abilities, but profligate in his manners, and abandoned to every vice, not paying the leaſt regard to any obligations, civil or ſacred.

The rapid progreſs which this adventurer, and one Brandt, his companion, made by their inſinuating addreſs, was moſt extraordinary. They were both raiſed to the dignity of noblemen; and Struenſee was made prime miniſter, a circumſtance which could not fail of raiſing an indignation in the minds of the Daniſh nobility. By his advice, accompanied with that of his friend Brandt, all the old counſellors were diſgraced and baniſhed; till at laſt the two favourites, intoxicated with power, could ſet no bounds to their madneſs, but even treated the king with contempt.

Such glaring inſolence and preſumption in two foreigners, who could claim no pre-eminence in rank, could not fail to inflame the minds of the ſubjects of every degree; nor can it be wondered that their downfall was meditated and effected. To this end a conſpiracy was formed, and, to give it the greater ſanction, the queen-dowager, ſecond wife of the late king, was at the head of it. Every thing being ripe for execution, a maſked ball was given at court on the ſixteenth of January, and, as ſoon as it was over, the king, who ſeemed to labour under great weakneſs of mind, retired to reſt. He had not, however, been long in bed, when the principal conſpirators came into his chamber, and told him, that the reigning queen, with Struenſee and Brandt, were that inſtant employed in drawing up a paper, which they would force him to ſign; the contents of which were, that he was to renounce the crown. The queen-dowager told him, that there was no way of ſaving himſelf, but by ſigning an order to take into cuſtody the reigning queen, with the two odious favourites; and the king, much alarmed, readily complied. The warrant was immediately executed, and the queen, with the two favourites, were committed to different priſons. The queen was afterwards ſent to the caſtle of Cronenburg, where ſhe remained ſome time very cloſely confined, but, by the interpoſition of her royal brother, the king of Great-Britain, ſhe was ſet at liberty, and ſuffered to reſide at Zell, in the electorate of Hanover, with a penſion equal to her dignity, where ſhe languiſhed for ſome time and then died with grief.

But the fate of the two favourites was otherwiſe determined. They were confined in cloſe dungeons, and not allowed any thing to ſubſiſt on but

bread and water, nor were their beards ſuffered to be ſhaved. They were examined from time to time during the ſpace of two months, and threatened with being put to the torture, unleſs they made an open confeſſion. At laſt ſentence of death was paſſed upon them, that they ſhould have their right hands cut off, and then their heads; and that, after their quarters had been expoſed on the wheel, they ſhould be placed on the moſt conſpicuous parts in the city. Accordingly this ſentence was executed, in all its rigour, on the twenty-eighth day of April, on a ſcaffold near the city, in the midſt of a vaſt concourſe of people. They both behaved with great decency and reſignation.

On the twenty-ſixth day of November the parliament met; and his majeſty, in his ſpeech from the throne, informed the members, that his reaſon for calling them ſo ſoon, was to take into their conſideration ſome things of the utmoſt importance. He told them, that he had been informed, from the moſt undoubted authority, that the Eaſt-India Company was in a moſt diſtreſſed condition; and that, as many of his good ſubjects had their fortunes depending on the credit of that company, therefore its ſecurity was now become a national concern. He deſired them to take it into their immediate conſideration, and, if poſſible, lay down ſome rational plan, by which the intereſt and honour of the company might be reſtored, and every thing ſettled on the moſt permanent footing. He took notice, that he had the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from the powers on the continent, that the peace of Europe would not be any farther diſturbed than ſo far as the war was carried on between the Turks and Ruſſians. He concluded by recommending to them the moſt prudent methods that could be made uſe of, in order to reduce the price of proviſions, as the diſtreſſes of the poor were not imaginary, but real; and that nothing would give him greater pleaſure, than to hear that thoſe diſtreſſes were alleviated.

As ſoon as the commons returned to their houſe, Mr. Fitzpatrick, brother to the earl of Oſſory, moved, that a loyal addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, and introduced the motion with the following remarks. He ſaid, that the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company were in the moſt alarming and ruinous condition: that the immediate interpoſition of parliament was become highly indiſpenſable to their preſervation: that in 1769, the company had agreed with the government to pay the ſum of four thouſand pounds at every time when their dividend amounted to twelve per cent. and ſo on in proportion till it fell to ſix, when that payment was to ceaſe: that this being the caſe, and the preſent diſtreſſed ſtate of the company ſo notorious, it would be neceſſary to make ſome proviſion adequate to the deficiency: that, ſo far from the company's being able to make a dividend of either twelve or ſix per cent. at the end of the next half year, it would be an act of the higheſt fraud in the directors to divide a ſingle ſhilling. Some of the members oppoſed the addreſs; but the vote being put, it was carried in the affirmative by a very great majority, and preſented accordingly.

The firſt thing of importance which came under the conſideration of the houſe of commons, was the ſtate of the navy, and this occaſioned very warm debates. The objections made by thoſe in oppoſition were to the following import. They ſaid, that the number of ſeamen was too great to be kept up in time of profound peace; and that we were at peace with all our neighbours was declared in the ſpeech from the throne. It was further urged, that the miniſtry had not given in an account in what manner the ſupplies granted laſt year had been uſed, ſo that the houſe was left quite in the dark.

The miniſtry, on the other hand, had but little to ſay; only that they urged the neceſſity of keeping our navy on the moſt reſpectable footing; and ſet forth, that our fleet in the Eaſt-Indies was much greater than formerly. Thoſe in oppoſition ſaid, that when the public granted money, they had a right to enquire in what manner it was to be laid out: that the utmoſt ſatisfaction ought to be given to thoſe who contributed towards ſupporting the dignity of government: that ſome of thoſe employed in the building of ſhips for the royal navy had added to them ſome very extraordinary decorations, which, although wholly unneceſſary, had been attended with great expence. It was added, that the ſlow payment of the navy bills was a great hardſhip to thoſe who advanced money on the credit of them; that ſuch an abuſe ought to be redreſſed before any farther ſupplies were granted: that it was very ſurpriſing, that, after the declaration from the throne, that we were in the moſt profound ſtate of peace, as many men ſhould be aſked for as if we were at war with the moſt formidable power in Europe.

Upon the whole, the arguments were carried on with great force by thoſe in oppoſition. It was aſked, if a naval force muſt be kept up in the Eaſt-Indies, what end it was to anſwer? had we any enemy to oppoſe in that part of the world; and if ſo, who was that enemy? what armament had been ſent into thoſe ſeas to diſturb our ſettlements, or haraſs our trade? It was further aſked, in an ironical manner, whether the Chineſe had fitted out a fleet, whether we had any pirates to contend with, and whether the ghoſt of the famous Angria had made its appearance on the theatre of this world? if no anſwer could be made to theſe queſtions, if no reaſon could be aſſigned for keeping up ſuch a ſtrong naval force, then the motion ought to be rejected, and no money granted for that purpoſe, ſeeing there was no reaſon for it, unleſs it was to burthen the people with unneceſſary taxes. But, notwithſtanding the force of theſe arguments, no ſooner was the queſtion put, than it was carried for the miniſtry by a great majority, and the ſupplies were granted.

A motion was then made to enquire into the nature of thoſe cauſes which occaſioned the dearth of all ſorts of proviſions. Several regulations were made with reſpect to bread, and ſome reſtrictions laid upon the bakers, but without the deſired effect, for unleſs the rents of landed eſtates and farms can be lowered, by the retrenchment of different ſpecies of luxury, the legiſlature itſelf will never be able to remedy the evils complained of. To redreſs any grievances, nothing can be more proper, nothing more ſalutary, than to begin with the effects, and to trace them up to the original cauſes from whence they ſpring. In vain does the legiſlative power lay the inferior order of tradeſmen under ſome ſort of reſtrictions, when, at the ſame time, it is well known, that unleſs the cauſes are removed, the effects muſt remain in the ſame ſtate as before. Moſt of thoſe who compoſe our houſes of parliament are landholders; and if they know that the rents of their farms are double to what they were

were twenty years ago, conſequently, the prices of all ſorts of proviſions muſt riſe in proportion. Such was and is the real cauſe of complaint.

A ſecret committee having been appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the Eaſt-India company's affairs, it was found, by their report, that the affairs of the company were both perplexed, and very much diſtreſſed. It was therefore propoſed, that ſupervifors ſhould be ſent to the Eaſt-Indies, to make a proper enquiry how far the officers and ſervants belonging to the company had abuſed the truſt repoſed in them, and to have power to grant redreſs to all thoſe who appeared to be in the leaſt injured. Some of the members, whoſe fortunes lay in the Eaſt-India ſtock, made ſtrong objections to this bill, while thoſe who ſupported it retorted upon them, by declaring, that nothing but oppreſſion had been carried on in that part of the world; and as the company had, either directly or indirectly, encouraged ſuch practices, it was now high time to call them to an account for their conduct, and prevent them, for the future, from acting in ſuch a manner as could ſerve no other end beſides that of diſgracing themſelves, and bringing a real diſhonour upon the nation. At laſt the motion was carried in the uſual manner; and ſupervifors were appointed, with plenary powers to make a proper enquiry into all the abuſes complained of, and to rectify them as far as lay in their power.

A motion was next made to enquire into the ſtate of the army, and particularly, whether it was neceſſary that we ſhould, in times of peace, keep up ſuch a ſtrong military force as ſeemed of no other uſe but to impoveriſh the nation, and to be ready at all times to ſupport the arbitrary dictates of a miniſter. It was ſaid by thoſe who promoted the motion, that the national militia was at all times able to preſerve us from our enemies at home; and as for ſuch ſettlements as we had abroad, a very ſmall force was ſufficient, eſpecially as we were not engaged in a war with any of the powers on the continent. In anſwer to this, the miniſtry ſaid, that all other European nations kept up ſtanding armies, and therefore it was, in a manner, neceſſary that we ſhould do the ſame, otherwiſe, if a war was to break out, we ſhould be utterly unprepared, and, conſequently, we ſhould be expoſed to many unforeſeen dangers. The queſtion being then put, it was negatived by a great majority: indeed, at that time the weight of miniſterial influence bore down all oppoſition.

A. D. 1773. The parliament met purſuant to their laſt adjournment, and took into conſideration the acts relating to penalties inflicted on thoſe who infringed the laws reſpecting the preſervation of the game. This ſubject is of the utmoſt importance to the inhabitants of a free country, and therefore it was diſcuſſed both upon natural and municipal principles. Thoſe who oppoſed the act argued upon thoſe principles by which mankind muſt have been actuated when conſidered in a ſtate of nature. Thus a wild beaſt in the fields had been, time immemorial, conſidered as the property of the public; and if either its fleſh or ſkin were of any value, then the perſon who took or killed it was to conſider it as his own. In proof of this, it may be added, that ſome of the Anglo-Saxon kings remitted the tax which the Welſh uſed to pay, upon condition that they produced a certain number of wolves heads, by which means that deſtructive ſpecies of animals was eradicated out of the country.

On the other hand, it was urged, that whatever might be the privileges belonging to men in a ſtate of nature, they were all cancelled as ſoon as civil ſociety took place: that all municipal laws were made for the good of ſociety, and in the preamble to every act, reaſons were aſſigned for the conduct of the legiſlative power. One reaſon, indeed, was declared to be unanſwerable, and that was, that in a commercial nation, where every perſon is ſuppoſed to get his living by honeſt induſtry, gaming in general ought to be laid under the ſevereſt reſtrictions: that poaching, or killing of game, led the lower order of people away from their lawful employment: and while they were ſpending their time in taking a hare or a fox, their families were left to ſtarve: that though the laws made for the preſervation of the game might ſeem to interfere with private property, yet they were ſuch as would ſtand warranted by good ſenſe and ſober reaſon. Nothing, however, was done on this ſubject. The miniſtry promoted the bill to acquire ſome ſhare of popularity; the other party oppoſed it for the ſake of oppoſition.

A bill was then brought in for ſhortening the duration of parliaments, and many learned arguments were adduced in its favour, nevertheleſs there was a powerful majority againſt it, and, to the ſurprize of many, it was thrown out. It was afterwards moved in the houſe, that a bill ſhould be brought in to enable foreigners to lend money on the credit of ſome of our Weſt-India ſettlements; and the reaſon for this motion was, that many foreigners who had money to lend on real ſecurity, would be glad to lay it out in that manner, if they could only have it in their power to recover their debts according to the common law of England. It was further urged, that ſuch a practice would, in a great meaſure, reduce the price of ſugar, and, at the ſame time, our colonies would become more reſpectable than ever. That the intereſt of the colonies and the mother-country were reciprocal; there was no line to be drawn between them, becauſe they muſt ſtand or fall together; they were links of the ſame chain, wheels of the ſame machine; and no ſooner was one diſcompoſed, than all the reſt went into a ſtate of confuſion.

In conſequence of what had been urged upon this occaſion, a motion was made, that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee, to enquire into the propriety of foreigners being connected in our trade to any parts of the world, excluſive of Europe. This motion took its riſe from the following cauſe, namely, the power granted to the lords of the admiralty to ſtop all ſhips which were not wholly the property of Britiſh ſubjects. It was proved, by the evidence of ſeveral witneſſes, that ſome ſhips had been detained at Graveſend a whole month, for no other reaſon, but becauſe part of the cargoes belonged to foreign merchants. The reſult of all this was, that leave was given to bring in a bill to remedy the evil complained of, which having paſſed both houſes, received the royal aſſent.

The attention of parliament in the courſe of this long and very important ſeſſion, was directed to an object that will ever do honor to their memory. As no proviſion had been made in favour of perſons acquitted on trial by verdict of jury, many innocent ſubjects had been aggrieved by being detained in goal for want of money to pay their fees; nay, ſome unfortunate wretches had remained in durance a whole year on that account. Long, indeed, had this practice been a diſgrace to the nation, till, about forty years ago the city of London

don, at the inſtance of baron Thompſon, their recorder, ſet the example of diſcharging every priſoner, without fees, as ſoon as he was acquitted by the jury. The noble generoſity of the citizens of London was not, however, adopted by thoſe who lived in more diſtant counties. To remedy an evil of ſo glaring a nature, a bill was at length brought in to oblige every county to make good all the deficiencies due to gaolers by keeping the priſoners. In conſequence of this humane reſolution, the priſoner who is now acquitted muſt be diſcharged without paying any fees. The verdict of the jury ſhall make him as free as if he had never been in priſon; he may go from the bar to his own family without being called in queſtion, or detained for any fees whatever; his impriſonment being conſidered as a great puniſhment after his innocence has been proved.

A great variety of buſineſs being thus finiſhed, his majeſty on the 21ſt of July went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

In the month of June the king made an excurſion to Portſmouth, in order to inſpect the ſtate of the dock-yard, forts, &c. at that place, as alſo to review the fleet aſſembled at Spithead for that purpoſe. The ſhores both on Portſmouth and Goſport ſides, were lined by the populace, who expreſſed their loyalty by ſaluting his majeſty with guns, acclamations and other demonſtrations of joy. The king expreſſed the higheſt approbation of the good order and diſcipline of his fleet, and the regularity with which every different marine department was conducted, and diſcovered the utmoſt ſatisfaction at the demonſtrations of loyalty he received from his people. He was pleaſed to make many liberal diſtributions, and to releaſe the priſoners confined in Portſmouth gaol.

With reſpect to the ſtate of affairs on the continent, particularly in Poland, and near the Danube, nothing deciſive happened during the whole of this year. Many different engagements happened, indeed, between the Turks and the Ruſſians, but both parties continued ſtill in ſuch an uncertain ſtate, that they were obliged to act on the defenſive. Some propoſals, indeed, were made by both parties, towards bringing about a laſting peace, but nothing was done, for the Ruſſians were high in their demands, and the Turks were too proud to comply. The king of Pruſſia, that great politician and general, propoſed, that the wretched kingdom of Poland ſhould be divided into three parts, in the following manner. That vaſt, extenſive track of land, reaching from the Boriſthenes to Muſcovy, was to be ceded to the empreſs of Ruſſia; the emperor of Germany was to have the ſouthern parts of Great Poland from Warſaw to Cracovia, and from thence to the confines of Hungary. All that part of Poland which reaches from Warſaw along the Oder and Viſtula to Dantzick, and afterwards along the coaſt of the Baltic Sea, were to be given to the king of Pruſſia. Thus a nation, one of the moſt fertile in Europe, after being torne in pieces by inteſtine diviſions, was to become the property of three mighty ſovereigns who had no right to it beſides that of lawleſs power. The great object the king of Pruſſia had in view, was to ſeize the opulent town of Dantzick, in order to open a trade to Peterſburgh through the Sound, and to all the other mercantile ſtates in Europe. This was one of the boldeſt ſtrokes that could have been ſtruck: but in all things the king of Pruſſia is ſuch a maſter in politics, as well as the art of war, that no taſk appears to him too arduous to undertake.

During the whole of this year, vaſt numbers of people emigrated from Scotland, and the north of England, to ſettle in America. To an ingenuous perſon, this emigration of the people from the mother-country to the colonies, muſt have the moſt alarming aſpect. The cauſes, however, ought to be attended to by thoſe who are proprietors of landed eſtates; for if the uſeful working people are driven out of the country, where are hands to be found to cultivate the ground? This may, in the end, render their eſtates of no manner of ſervice, and that ground which might have been cultivated at a moderate price will become a deſart.

In France, nothing of importance happened this year. The Spaniards continued to go on in their uſual indolent manner, while the Dutch continued to be the drudges of all thoſe who would employ them.

In Italy, the pope put a final end to the order of the Jeſuits; and thoſe fathers, who had been ſo long reſpected by the people, are now become of ſo little conſideration, that all nations have refuſed them an aſylum, except the king of Pruſſia, who has, at all times, made religion ſubſervient to politics.

A. D. 1774. The parliament met on the twenty-fifth of January, and the king, in his ſpeech from the throne, recommended to them to take into their ſerious conſideration the ſtate of the colonies, who ſeemed to be attempting to throw off all ſubjection to the Britiſh government. He told them that the moſt ſalutary laws had been treated with contempt, and public acts of parliament had been deſpiſed, as if they had been the mandates of ſingle perſons: that the colonies were little better than in a ſtate of rebellion: and that, unleſs ſome vigorous meaſures were uſed to force them to obedience, all laws would be trampled under foot, and the regularity which took place among the different ranks of beings would once more return to its original ſtate of confuſion. He concluded by recommending to them the ſtate of the gold coin, which had ſuffered much by the illicit practices of wicked perſons, and hoped they would put it on a ſolid foundation.

When the commons had returned to their own houſe, ſtrong debates enſued upon the words of the addreſs, which ſhould be preſented to his majeſty. Thoſe in the intereſt of the court inſiſted, that an implicit acknowledgment ſhould be made, thanking his majeſty for his paternal care of the nation and to promiſe that every reaſonable meaſure ſhould be complied with. On the other hand, it was urged by thoſe in oppoſition, that the colonies, ſo far from being in a ſtate of rebellion, were only contending for the enjoyment of thoſe rights and privileges which belong to all men in common as members of ſociety: that the mother-country had no right to tax thoſe emigrants, unleſs a conſent to that meaſure was firſt had and obtained from their own repreſentatives: that the colonies were not regularly, nor in any ſenſe whatever repreſented in the Britiſh parliament; and therefore, till ſuch time as that legal repreſentation took place, no taxes could, in juſtice, be impoſed upon them. As to the affair of the gold coin, it was (ſaid they) a great hardſhip to the honeſt, induſtrious trading part of the nation; and that the miniſtry ought, before any thing of that nature had been propoſed, to have laid down ſome national plan by which the

public would have been indemnified. Such were the outlines of the arguments made uſe of by both parties; but the queſtion being put to the vote, it was carried by a great majority in favour of the court.

The grand object which the government had in view, was to reduce the colonies to a ſtate of obedience, and convince them of the neceſſity they were under of being ſubject to the mother-country; and therefore a bill was brought in of a very coercive nature. Some perſons in Boſton had plundered three ſhips which were ſent from England with tea; and as this was an act which infringed on private property, it called aloud for an exertion of the regal power. Accordingly an act paſſed to remove the cuſtoms from the town of Boſton, to quarter a military force upon the people, and to block up their harbour by ſeveral ſhips of war.

Many important affairs were diſcuſſed during this ſeſſion of parliament; particularly one for the regulation of all acts by which foreigners were to be naturalized. The freedom of this country is ſo great and uncircumſcribed, that many bad uſes had been made of it by deſigning perſons. To remedy an evil attended with ſo many deſtructive conſequences, a new law was eſtabliſhed, by which no foreigner who is naturalized can enjoy the privileges of a Britiſh ſubject, unleſs he reſides in the country.

Among the bills which paſſed this ſeſſion was one that produced an univerſal clamour among the people. It was entitled, "An act for the future government of Quebec;" in which were two clauſes that gave great offence. The firſt allowed the Romiſh clergy the free exerciſe of their religion as eſtabliſhed by the 1ſt of Queen Elizabeth, and the enjoyment of the accuſtomed dues and rights from perſons profeſſing that religion. The ſecond referred all controverſies reſpecting property and civil rights to the deciſion of the Canada laws then in being, or ſuch as might be afterwards enacted by the governor, lieutenant-governor, and legiſlative council.

The parliamentary buſineſs being concluded, his majeſty, on the 22d of June, went to the houſe of peers, and, after ſigning ſuch bills as were then ready, prorogued the parliament.

The French, ever willing to take part with the enemies of Great Britain, and, at the ſame time, fearful leſt, in conſequence of the Turks being driven out of Europe, the houſe of Auſtria would become too formidable, and Ruſſia would penetrate into the German empire, ſent ſeveral of their moſt experienced officers to inſtruct the Turks in the art of war. Continual oppoſition made theſe barbarians wiſer than before; they ſaw the abſolute neceſſity they were under of having recourſe to military diſcipline, and the regular order of the Ruſſians enabled them to take the field in a much better manner than they had hitherto done. From this circumſtance it was naturally inferred, that the longer the war continued between thoſe contending powers, the more able the Turks would be to oppoſe the Ruſſians. Indeed, this climate bore hard againſt the latter; for it could not be ſuppoſed, that men brought up in the cold deſarts of Ruſſia could reliſh the ſweets of a warmer climate, without being reduced to a ſtate of effeminacy. Thus we find, that the climate of antient Greece, then the ſeat of war, fought more ſtrongly againſt the Ruſſians than the army of the Turks.

Nor was it better with the Ruſſian fleet; for although the ſailors were kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and had been inured to many hardſhips, yet no ſooner did they come into the Mediterranean ſea, than they were ſeized with many diſeaſes to which they had hitherto been ſtrangers. Reinforcements, indeed, had been ſent them from time to time; but ſtill they had never done any thing of real importance, nor had they been able to ſecond the operations of the army by land.

Such, for ſome time, had been the ſtate of affairs between the Turks and Ruſſians, and the fate of their very reſolute and vigorous conteſt ſtill continued to excite the attention, and raiſe the expectation of all Europe.

The Britiſh miniſtry were at this time particularly engaged in providing for the ſafety of their fellow-ſubjects in the Eaſt Indies. It had been long complained of, that the ſervants of the company, at their principal ſettlements, had acted in a very oppreſſive and illegal manner, nor indeed had any code of laws been made for their ſecurity. The vaſt diſtance from England rendered it difficult, and almoſt impoſſible, for any perſon to obtain redreſs. It was therefore reſolved on in council, that four gentlemen learned in the laws, and of the moſt approved integrity, ſhould be ſent over to Aſia, where we have ſettlements, and act there as judges. They were to hold pleas of the crown, determine in real, mixed and perſonal actions, to give judgment in all caſes of equity, in every thing relating to the revenue, ſo that their power included all that was lodged in the courts of Weſtminſter-hall; but as the ſettlements were diſtant from each other, ſo the courts were not to be fixed, but to move from one place to another, that juſtice might be equally diſtributed to all ranks of people.

It is, perhaps, impoſſible to prevent abuſes, unleſs nature herſelf could be changed; but certainly government could not have done any more for the good of our ſubjects in India, than that of ſending over judges. It muſt ſerve to give ſome reſpect to the laws, and impreſs mens minds with a reverence for juſtice. The ſalaries of the judges being very large, they were placed above temptation to corrupt actions; and their authority extending over all ranks of people, the rich could not have it in their power to oppreſs the poor.

The death of the emperor Muſtapha III. together with the ſucceſſes of the Ruſſians in various engagements, and the diſorder, mutiny and deſertion which prevailed among the Turkiſh troops, threw the whole Ottoman empire into confuſion; ſo that at length the Porte thought proper to agree to, and ratify, articles of peace propoſed by the Ruſſians.

On the tenth of May the French king departed this life, and was ſucceeded by his grandſon, Lewis XVI. a young prince about twenty years of age, married to one of the ſiſters of the emperor of Germany. Lewis XV. was one of the moſt brilliant ſovereigns that has appeared in Europe during the preſent century; and although ſome of his acts to his ſubjects were of a very arbitrary and oppreſſive nature, yet he was beloved by them in general.

The encouragement given to the fine arts by his majeſty king George III. has brought to light many new diſcoveries. An attempt had been made to diſcover a paſſage by the north pole; but the prodigious ſhoals and mountains of ice in thoſe ſeas rendered the ſcheme abortive. In 1768 Mr. Banks, an ingenious young gentleman, and Dr. Solander,

Solander, a native of Sweden, who had ſtudied under the great Linneus, undertook a voyage to the South Seas, under the protection of government. They traverſed ſeas and viſited iſlands almoſt unknown before, and though nothing very beneficial has yet reſulted from their diſcoveries, there is no doubt but others will improve upon them. The ſame gentlemen afterwards made a voyage to the North Seas, and viſited Iceland, a place though belonging to the king of Denmark, yet but very little known.

The literary world now ſuſtained a great loſs in the deaths of lord Lyttleton, Dr. Goldſmith, and Dr. Gregory.

The Engliſh parliament having been diſſolved by proclamation and the writs for calling a new one made returnable on the 29th of November, his majeſty, the following day, went to the houſe of peers, and having approved of the re-election of Sir Fletcher Norton as ſpeaker, opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"It gives me much concern, that I am obliged at the opening of this parliament, to inform you, that a moſt daring ſpirit of reſiſtance and diſobedience to the law ſtill unhappily prevails in the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay, and has, in divers parts of it, broke forth in freſh violences of a very criminal nature. Theſe proceedings have been countenanced and encouraged in others of my colonies, and unwarrantable attempts have been made to obſtruct the commerce of this kingdom, by unlawful combinations. I have taken ſuch meaſures and given ſuch orders, as I judged moſt proper and effectual for carrying into execution the laws which were paſt in the laſt ſeſſion of the late parliament for the protection and ſecurity of rhe commerce of my ſubjects, and for the reſtoring and preſerving peace, order and good government, in the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay; and you may depend upon my firm and ſtedfaſt reſolution to withſtand every attempt to weaken or impair the ſupreme authority of this legiſlature over all the dominions of my crown; the maintenance of which I conſider as eſſential to the dignity, the ſafety, and the welfare of the Britiſh empire; aſſuring myſelf, that, while I act upon theſe principles, I ſhall never fail to receive your aſſiſtance and ſupport.

"I have the greateſt ſatisfaction in being able to inform you, that a treaty of peace is concluded between Ruſſia and the Porte. By this happy event, the troubles which have ſo long prevailed in one part of Europe are compoſed and the general tranquillity rendered complete. It ſhall be my conſtant aim and endeavour to prevent the breaking out of freſh diſturbances; and I cannot but flatter myſelf I ſhall ſucceed, as I continue to receive the ſtrongeſt aſſurances from other powers of their being equally diſpoſed to preſerve the peace.

"Gentlemen of the houſe of Commons,

"I have ordered the proper eſtimates for the ſervice of the enſuing year to be laid before you; and I doubt not but that, in this Houſe of Commons, I ſhall meet with the ſame affectionate confidence, and the ſame proofs of zeal and attachment to my perſon and government, which I have always, during the courſe of my reign, received from my faithful Commons.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Let me particularly recommend to you, at this time, to proceed with temper in your deliberations, and with unanimity in your reſolutions. Let my people, in every part of my dominions, be taught, by your example, to have a due reverence for the laws, and a juſt ſenſe of the bleſſings of our excellent conſtitution. They may be aſſured that, on my part, I have nothing ſo much at heart as the real proſperity and laſting happineſs of all my ſubjects."

To this ſpeech both houſes preſented very loyal and affectionate addreſſes; to each of which his majeſty was pleaſed to return a moſt gracious anſwer.

As this was the firſt ſeſſion of a new parliament, the ſwearing in of the members and other trifling matters incident on ſuch occaſions, engaged their attention for ſome days. This being over, they proceeded to buſineſs, which was begun by the houſe reſolving itſelf into a committee of ſupply to his majeſty; when divers reſolutions were entered into and agreed upon with reſpect to enlarging and maintaining naval and military forces to be employed in America.

The committee of ways and means levied the land-tax at 3s. in the pound. This occaſioned great debates in the houſe, but at length the queſtion being put, the houſe agreed with the committee, and a bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly.

On the 22d of December his majeſty went again to the houſe of peers and gave the royal aſſent to divers bills that were ready, after which he adjourned the parliament to the 19th of January.

A. D. 1775. The parliament met purſuant to adjournment, when lord North preſented to the houſe, by his majeſty's command, ſeveral parcels of American papers, the titles of which, being read by the clerk, appeared to be extracts of letters from the ſeveral governors of Boſton, New-York, New-Hampſhire, Rhode Iſland, Virginia, Penſylvania, and South-Carolina: the proceedings of the Continental and Provincial Congreſs, the firſt held at Philadelphia, and the latter at Cambridge near Boſton: inſtructions given at Provincial meetings of the ſeveral delegates appointed to aſſemble at the congreſs; copies of hand-bills; anonymous letters; reſolutions of different aſſemblies; proteſts of ſeveral diſtricts in the province of Georgia; meſſages between general Gage and the houſe of repreſentatives, with extracts of the ſeveral letters that paſſed between general Gage, lord Dartmouth, the ſecretary and board of admiralty, and the commander of the ſhips on the Boſton ſtation.

As ſoon as the clerk had finiſhed reading the titles of theſe papers, a motion was made that they ſhould lie on the table for inſpection, and that a future day ſhould be appointed for the whole houſe to go into a committee to conſider of the ſame; which, after ſome debates, was agreed to.

In the mean time petitions were preſented to the houſe from the merchants of London, Glaſgow, Briſtol, Liverpool, and other places, complaining of the great decay of trade, occaſioned by the unhappy differences between Great Britain and her colonies. Some of theſe petitions were referred to the committee appointed to take into conſideration the American papers; and others were referred to private committees appointed for the purpoſe.

The corporation of London alſo preſented an addreſs, remonſtrance and petition to the king; in which they complained of the meaſures that had been purſued, and were ſtill purſuing, againſt their

fellow ſubjects in America; and earneſtly beſeeching his majeſty to diſcharge thoſe miniſters from his councils who had been the means of promoting them, as the firſt ſtep towards a full redreſs of the grievances ſo univerſally complained of by the people.

To this addreſs and petition his majeſty was pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

"It is with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment that I find any of my ſubjects capable of encouraging the rebellious diſpoſition which unhappily exiſts in ſome of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wiſdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will ſteadily purſue thoſe meaſures which they have recommended for the ſupport of the conſtitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial intereſts of my kingdom."

Divers papers to the ſame import as thoſe laid before the lower, having at length been preſented to the upper houſe; lord Chatham roſe, and, after complaining much of the delay of adminiſtration in detaining the papers ſo long after their arrival, and alſo the error of their proceedings reſpecting America, his lordſhip made the following motion: "That an addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, praying that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to ſend orders to general Gage to withdraw his troops from Boſton, as the beſt means of eſtabliſhing a laſting concord with America." Great debates aroſe on this motion, but the queſtion being at length put, it was rejected by a conſiderable majority.

A few days after this, the ſame patriotic and able ſtateſman brought in a bill for reconciling the then differences between Great Britain and America. This alſo met with great oppoſition; and the queſtion being put, it ſhared the ſame fate with the preceding motion.

The papers relative to America were now taken into conſideration in the Lower Houſe. Among them were two official letters from lord Dartmouth to general Gage, and the general's letter to his lordſhip. From the tenour of theſe letters it appeared that the rage and diſcontents were greatly augmented on account of the laſt American acts paſſed by the parliament; and that they were working up into a kind of phrenzy by the gradual augmentation of the troops, and by the works and defences raiſed on Boſton Neck. General Gage drew, in ſome places, the moſt lamentable picture of the ſtate of that province, deſtitute at once of all legiſlative authority; and repreſented the whole as one general ſcene of anarchy and confuſion.

On the laſt day that the houſe went into a committe to examine the American papers, lord North began the buſineſs with a very accurate detail of every particular information laid before the committee, diſcriminating, in a very maſterly manner, the diſpoſition of the reſpective colonies, marked the leading characters of each, pointed out thoſe whoſe moderation prevailed, thoſe whoſe violence and unconſtitutional views were concealed under the appearance of duty and ſubmiſſion, and particularly directed to ſuch as he thought were in a ſtate of actual rebellion. He next adverted to the means employed to raiſe this ſeditious ſpirit on both ſides the water, entered minutely into a compariſon of the burthens borne by the people of both countries, ſtated the trade and commerce carried on between them, the advantages ariſing from that commerce, the moſt probable way of ſecuring them, and the very great diſparity there was between the ability and real ſupport which America afforded to this country, every perſon in Britain contributing at the rate of 25s. per head, whereas the Americans did not contribute 6d. His lordſhip then pointed out the meaſures intended to be purſued. He ſaid he ſhould propoſe a temporary act, to put a ſtop to all the foreign trade of New England, and particularly to their fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, till they returned to their duty. His lordſhip concluded by propoſing a conference with the houſe of lords, that a joint addreſs might be carried up to the throne, "To return thanks to his majeſty for communicating to the houſe the American papers, and that he would be pleaſed to take ſuch meaſures as might be ſuitable to his wiſdom for enforcing the laws againſt America; and promiſing to ſupport him, in a full and vigorous exertion of the ſame with their lives and fortunes."

Lord North's motion for the addreſs met with great oppoſition; but the queſtion being at length put, it was carried by a conſiderable majority.

When the reſolution of the committee for preſenting the addreſs was reported to the houſe, the ſpeaker was proceeding to the queſtion to agree with the report; but was interrupted by lord John Cavendiſh, who moved that the conſideration of the American papers ſhould be re-committed. In his ſpeech on the ſubject he ſtated very clearly and juſtly our domeſtic ſituation, our ſtate with the colonies and with foreign powers. He called the attention of the houſe to the unequal balance of our loſs and our gain in the event; in which we might find our revenue deſtroyed, our trade annihilated, and our empire itſelf overturned. And, if we ſucceeded in ſubduing America, we ſhould not gain any thing.

He was ſeconded by lord Irnham, who, after having, in a long ſpeech, agitated the queſtion on the ground propoſed by adminiſtration in a conſtitutional as well as in a political light, concluded with aſſerting that it appeared, in both thoſe views, formidable and deſtructive; and that it became abſolutely neceſſary to retract the unconſtitutional and impolitic ſteps which adminiſtration had hitherto taken.

The right hon. John Wilkes, Eſq. then lord-mayor of London, oppoſed the motion of the premier with great ability and force of argument. He adverted to the original ground and cauſe of the unhappy diſputes then ſubſiſting between Great Britain and her colonies, and inferred, from a variety of poſitions, that they aroſe from an aſſumed right of taxation, in oppoſition to the fundamental laws of human nature and the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution. He recommended the adoption of the plan of reconciliation propoſed by a noble lord in the other houſe. He pointed out the futility of the very means then purſued for the ſubjugation of America, and preſaged that very ſtate of independence to which it has ſince arrived; and ſpiritedly concluded with expreſſing a hope that the juſt vengeance of the people might overtake the authors of thoſe pernicious counſels, and that the loſs of the firſt province to the empire might be followed by the loſs of the heads of thoſe miniſters who adviſed ſuch weak and fatal meaſures.

Several other ſpeakers expatiated on the juſtneſs and propriety of the noble lord's motion; when at length the queſtion being put, it was rejected by a great majority.

An addreſs was then drawn up, and agreed to without a diviſion.

The next day the Commons ſent a meſſage to the

the Lords, desiring a conference on the subject of the address to his majesty. In consequence of this several of the lords attended, and, after some debates, it was agreed that the address should be jointly presented by both houses to the king; which was accordingly done on the 9th of February. The answer his majesty returned was as follows:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I thank you for this very dutiful and loyal address, and for the affectionate, solemn assurances you give me of your support in maintaining the just rights of my crown, and of the two Houses of Parliament; and you may depend on my taking the most speedy and effectual measures for enforcing due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature.

"Whenever any of my colonies shall make a proper and dutiful application, I shall be ready to concur with you in affording them every just and reasonable indulgence; and it is my ardent wish that this disposition may have a happy effect on the temper and conduct of my subjects in America."

The day after the address was presented, lord North acquainted the house, that he had a message from his majesty, which he read in his place, and then delivered it in at the table. It was as follows:

G. R.

"His majesty being determined, in consequence of the address of both houses of parliament, to take the most speedy and effectual measures for supporting the just rights of the crown and the two houses of parliament, thinks proper to acquaint this house, that some addition to his forces by sea and land will be necessary for that purpose; and does not doubt but his faithful commons, on whose zeal and affection he entirely relies, will enable him to make such an augmentation to his forces as shall be thought proper."

This message was referred to the committee of supply; after which the house took into consideration the American papers, when a motion was made by lord North, "that the chairman be directed to move the house, that leave be given to bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Providence, and Rhode-Island Colonies in North America, to Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies; and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other parts therein mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a time to be limited."

This motion was productive of great debates, which continued for several hours; when the question being put, it was carried by a very considerable majority; and a bill ordered to be brought in pursuant thereto.

A few days after this a petition was presented to the house of commons from the corporation of London against the bill then depending in the house for restraining the trade of New England, and the fisheries of that colony on the banks of Newfoundland. This petition represented the bill as being unjust, cruel, partial and oppressive; injurious to the trade of Great Britain, and tending to increase the wealth and strength of her professed enemies.

The same corporation presented another petition of the like nature to the house of lords; as did also the American merchants; and another to the king. But all these solicitations proved abortive; for the bill passed both houses, and on the 30th of March received the royal assent.

On the 13th of April his majesty again went to the house of peers, and, among other bills, gave the royal assent to "A bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, to any part of Great Britain, Ireland, and the West India islands."

Soon after the passing of these acts the generals Burgoyne, Clinton and Howe, were sent to take on them the command of the troops destined for endeavouring to bring the Americans to obedience; for which expedition they embarked on board the Cerberus man of war on the 21st of April.

The parliamentary business being finished, on the 26th of May his majesty went to the house of peers, and, after signing such bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

Hostilities, which eventually produced the most destructive and ruinous effects to the mutual interests of Great Britain and her colonies, now took place between the king's troops and the Americans. General Gage, the commander of the English forces, being informed that a great quantity of military stores were in the possession of the Provincial troops, at the town of Concord, sent a detachment under the command of lieutenant colonel Smith, and major Pitcairn, supported by another body, commanded by lord Percy, in order to seize or destroy them. This service, after some skirmishes, was effectually performed; but, some time after, the king's troops were attacked at Lexington, on their return towards Boston: several were killed and wounded on both sides; the Americans firing from behind stone walls, hedges, &c.

The Provincials now invested the town of Boston; and the people of New York, hearing of the action at Lexington, and the affair of Concord, rose in a tumultuous manner, entered the townhouse, seized many stands of arms, appropriated to their own use the cargoes of two ships laden with military stores for general Gage, and then marched to the assistance of the Bostonians. They not only continued to block up the town of Boston, but began to raise batteries on the heights of the peninsula of Charles Town, in order to canonade his majesty's troops. This brought on an action at Bunker's Hill; for on the 17th of June a considerable body of troops, under the command of major-general Howe, and brigadier-general Pigot, were sent to dislodge the Provincials. This body of forces, with proportional artillery, made good their landing near Bunker's-hill, under the protection of the ships of war, armed vessels, floating batteries, &c. and being soon reinforced by another detachment, a desperate action commenced, in which the British troops were victorious, the provincial lines being forced, and themselves compelled to retreat, leaving behind several pieces of cannon and other military stores. The loss of the Provincials in killed and wounded was very great; of the British troops, according to the return of general Gage, two hundred and twenty-six were killed, and eight hundred and twenty wounded, some of the latter dying soon after; and more than a proportional number of officers were included in both lists.

On the night of the 23d of August the cannon were seized upon by order of the congress, though the Asia man of war, which lay in the harbour, tried to prevent it by cannonading the town.

At the same time general Carleton was indefatigable in putting the province of Canada into a

proper ſtate of defence; and the earl of Dunmore, governor of Virginia, having thought proper to take refuge on board a ſhip of war, haraſſed the coaſt, and made frequent deſcents on the laſt mentioned province; laying waſte the country, carrying off or ſpiking up a great number of cannon, and deſtroying vaſt quantities of military ſtores belonging to the Provincials. But on the other ſide, Fort St. John ſurrendered to the Provincial forces on the 3d of November, and the garriſon became priſoners.

On the 18th of the ſame month the regulars and provincials had a ſmart engagement near Savannah in Georgia, in which the latter were defeated; and on the 31ſt of December the Provincial general Montgomery, who had for ſome time laid ſiege to the city of Quebec, attempted to take it by ſtorm. In this attempt, however, he was defeated and ſlain, with ſeveral of his officers, and about 60 private men, and 300 were taken priſoners.—But to return to affairs at home.

The parliament met on the 26th of October, and the ſeſſion was opened by his majeſty with a ſpeech from the throne.

A ſhort time before the opening of the ſeſſion, a petition from the general congreſs in America, ſigned by the heads of the reſpective colonies, was preſented to his majeſty, humbly ſoliciting that ſuch meaſures might be taken as were likely to quell the diſturbances in thoſe colonies, and bring about a laſting and happy reconciliation.

The attention of the parliament, previous to the holidays, was engaged in adjuſting the neceſſary ſupplies for the enſuing year, and concerning the proper meaſures for raiſing them. Several uſual acts were alſo framed, which having paſſed both houſes received the royal aſſent, and the parliament was prorogued to the 25th of January.

A. D. 1776. The parliament met purſuant to adjournment; on which day the following hand-bill was delivered to the members of both houſes:

"To the parliament:---A ſuffering and afflicted people moſt humbly and ſolemnly beſeech and implore every member of parliament to put a ſpeedy ſtop to the further effuſion of the blood of our American brethren; that peace and tranquillity may be reſtored to the royal breaſt, and glory, commerce and felicity, to the whole empire."

Nothing material paſſed in the lower houſe this ſeſſion; except the framing of ſome uſeful acts, ſeveral of which were of a public, and the reſt of a private nature.

In the courſe of the ſeſſion the attention of the Upper Aſſembly was engaged on the trial of the ducheſs of Kingſton, who was accuſed of bigamy, in having married the duke of Kingſton, while her firſt huſband, the honourable Mr. Hervey (afterwards earl of Briſtol) was living. The trial laſted five days, at the cloſe of which, the priſoner being called to the bar, was informed by the lord-high-ſteward, that the lords had pronounced her Guilty. In conſequence of this ſhe claimed her privilege of peerage, which occaſioned the lords to adjourn to the Chamber of Parliament to debate on the matter. On their return the priſoner was again called to the bar, and the lord-high-ſteward pronounced it to be the ſenſe of the houſe, "that the ducheſs ſhould be allowed the privilege ſhe claimed." By conſequence, as a peereſs, ſhe was not ſubject to any kind of corporal puniſhment, and was therefore diſcharged on paying her fees.

The parliamentary buſineſs being finiſhed, on the 23d of May his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and, after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, cloſed the ſeſſion.

During theſe tranſactions in England, hoſtilities were carrying on with great vehemence in America. General Gage having been recalled, the command in chief of the army at Boſton devolved on general Howe, who ſoon after iſſued a proclamation, by which ſuch of the inhabitants as attempted to quit the town without licence were condemned to military execution, if detected and taken; and if they eſcaped, to be proceeded againſt as traitors, by the forfeiture of their effects. By another proclamation, ſuch as obtained permiſſion to quit the town were reſtrained, by ſevere penalties, from carrying more than a ſmall ſpecified ſum of money with them. He alſo enjoined the ſigning and entering into an aſſociation, by which the remaining inhabitants offered their perſons for the defence of the town, and ſuch of them as he approved were to be armed, formed into companies, and inſtructed in military exerciſes and diſcipline, the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money towards the common defence.

General Howe thought proper to evacuate the town of Boſton on the 17th of March; a ſhort time after which he made good his landing, and effected the capture of New York. In June, a battle was fought in Canada, between the regulars, under general Carleton, and the provincials, at a place called Three Rivers, when the latter were defeated, many of them being killed and wounded, and about 200 taken priſoners. In the ſame month an attempt was made on Charles-Town, South Carolina, by Sir Peter Parker, at the head of a fleet of ſhips of war, and general Clinton, with a body of land forces, but it failed of ſucceſs; and on the 4th of July following the congreſs declared the colonies independent.

On the 19th of September the following Declaration was publiſhed by the Britiſh naval and military commanders in chief.

By Richard Viſcount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, and William Howe, Eſq. General of his majeſty's forces in America, the king's commiſſioners for reſtoring peace to his majeſty's Colonies and Plantations in North-America.

DECLARATION.

"Although the Congreſs, whom the miſguided Americans ſuffer to direct their oppoſition to a re-eſtabliſhment of the conſtitutional government of their provinces, have diſavowed every purpoſe of reconciliation not conſonant with their extravagant, inadmiſſible claim of independency, the king's commiſſioners think fit to declare, that they are equally deſirous to confer with his majeſty's well-affected ſubjects upon the means of reſtoring the public tranquillity, and eſtabliſhing a permanent union with every colony as a part of the Britiſh empire; the king being moſt graciouſly diſpoſed to direct a reviſion of ſuch of his royal inſtructions as may be conſtrued to lay an improper reſtraint upon the freedom of legiſlation in any of his colonies, and to concur in the reviſal of all acts by which his ſubjects there may think themſelves aggrieved: it is recommended to the inhabitants at large to reflect ſeriouſly on their preſent condition, and to judge for themſelves, whether it be more conſiſtent with their honour and happineſs to offer up their lives as a ſacrifice to the unjuſt and precarious cauſe in which they are engaged, or return to their allegiance, accept the bleſſings of peace,

peace, and to be ſecured in a free enjoyment of their liberty and properties, upon the true principles of the conſtitution."

Given at New-York, Sept. 19, 1776. HOWE. W. HOWE.

But the cauſes of diſſention were aggravated to ſuch a degree, by ſome tranſactions both in England and America, that the provincials ſeemed not only to reject every conciliatory propoſal, but determined to aſſert that independence which they had avowed

On the 30th of September general Howe iſſued another proclamation, which was as follows:

"Whereas there are many deſerters from his majeſty's ſervice, now in arms in America, againſt their rightful ſovereign, and engaged with the declared enemies of Great Britain, in a moſt cruel and unnatural rebellion, to ſhake off all obedience to the conſtitutional authority of the ſtate; and whereas the heinouſneſs of their crime not admitting any palliative conſiderations, will neceſſarily exclude them from the ſmalleſt claim to mercy, if they fall into the hands of his majeſty's troops; the commander in chief, being anxiouſly deſirous to warn them of their danger to withdraw them from their preſent deſperate and criminal ſituation, whereby they may eſcape the ignominious death of traitors to their king and country, hereby offers a full pardon to all deſerters, who ſhall ſurrender themſelves at the head quarters, or to any diviſion of the king's army, on or before the 31ſt day of October 1776.

Given at the Head Quarters on York Iſland, the 30th day of September 1776. W. HOWE.

After this many ſkirmiſhes happened between the king's troops and the provincials; but nothing deciſive was done till the end of October, when the latter were defeated in an action which, from the place where it was fought, was termed the Battle of the White Plains.

In the diſpatches from general Howe, dated November 30, beſides an account of a variety of ſkirmiſhes, information was given of the taking of Fort Waſhington, and Fort Lee, by the Britiſh forces, together with a great variety of military ſtores, and many priſoners. In December Rhode Iſland was taken by general Clinton; about the ſame time lord Cornwallis took poſſeſſion of Eaſt Jerſey, and general Lee was taken priſoner by a patrole of Britiſh dragoons, commanded by lieutenant-colonel (afterwards lord) Harcourt.

The parliament met on the laſt day of October, and the firſt buſineſs entered on was, the conſideration of the ſupplies, when a motion was made that 45,000 ſeamen, including 10,129 marines, be employed for the ſervice of the enſuing year. This motion produced ſome debates, but was at length carried by a great majority. At the ſame time a reſolution paſſed for allowing 4l. per man per month for the maintenance and wages of every ſeaman.

The committee of Ways and Means, after a motion made for the purpoſe, reſolved, that the land-tax for 1777 ſhould be 4s. in the pound.

On the 2d of November a proclamation was iſſued by his majeſty for a general faſt to be kept throughout England on the 13th of December following. It was alſo appointed to be held on the ſame day in Ireland; and on the 12th in Scotland.

Another proclamation was iſſued a few days after for recalling and prohibiting ſeamen from ſerving foreign princes and ſtates, and for granting rewards for diſcovering ſuch ſeamen as ſhould conceal themſelves, in a gratuity of Two Pounds for every able, and Thirty Shillings for every ordinary ſeaman, to be paid to any perſon who ſhould make any ſuch diſcoveries, that ſuch men might be taken into his majeſty's ſervice, by any of his majeſty's ſea officers for raiſing men on or before the 31ſt day of December next.

The money granted by the parliament (previous to the holidays) for defraying the expences of the navy, including the ordinary at 400,005l. and the building and repairing of ſhips, which was voted at 465,500l. amounted to no leſs than 3,205,505l. Excluſive of 4,000l. which was afterwards voted to Greenwich Hoſpital, and a million granted towards the cloſe of the ſeſſion, to be applied towards the diſcharge of the debt of the navy.

But if the naval expences were thus large, the ſupplies for the land ſervice were not leſs ſo, falling little ſhort of three millions, although the extraordinaries of the land-ſervice for the preceding year, which exceeded the amount of 1,200,000l. with ſome new contracts for additional German forces, and the heavy expences of half-pay and Chelſea, were not yet provided for.

The ſupplies being ſo far granted, and no public buſineſs of any moment in the way, an early and long receſs took place, the houſe adjourning on the 2d of December, to the 21ſt of January following.

This year terminated with an event, which, for ſome time, occaſioned great confuſion, apprehenſion and ſuſpicion. On the 9th of December advice was received at the admiralty-office by expreſs, that a fire broke out in the rope houſe of his majeſty's yard at Portſmouth, about half an hour after four o'clock on Saturday afternoon, which burnt with great violence, and conſumed the ſame, except the outer walls; but by the timely aſſiſtance and vigorous efforts of the workmen of the yard, the ſeamen of his majeſty's ſhips, the marines quartered at Portſmouth, and the men belonging to the ordnance with their reſpective officers, it was happily prevented from extending to any other of the buildings in the yard, and was at length totally extinguiſhed. The principal loſs ſuſtained by this accident conſiſted chiefly of the rigging of two ſhips, the implements belonging to the rope-makers and rigging-houſe, a ſmall quantity of cordage, and ſome toppings of hemp.

The alarm occaſioned by this accident was greatly increaſed by another of the like nature that happened a ſhort time after at Briſtol, which deſtroyed a large range of warehouſes, beſides many private dwellings, and, had it not been for the quick diſcovery, and alacrity of the people in ſuppreſſing it, would have been productive of the moſt fatal conſequences.

The cauſe of this conflagration was for ſome time a myſtery; but at length it was diſcovered that it took place through the machinations of a wretched enthuſiaſt and incendiary, afterwards known by the appellation of John the Painter, but whoſe real name was James Aitken. When he was taken up and examined, he refuſed anſwering any queſtions, and in other inſtances behaved in a very daring and reſolute manner. However, there appearing ſufficient reaſon to ſuppoſe him the guilty perſon, he was committed to Wincheſter Jail. At the next aſſizes he was brought to trial, and being found guilty, was ſoon after executed at Portſmouth.

A. D.

A. D. 1777. On the 21ſt of January the parliament met purſuant to adjournment, and immediately proceeded on the buſineſs of the nation. The firſt thing that engaged particular notice was, a bill brought into the lower houſe for granting commiſſions, or letters of marque and repriſal, as they are uſually called, to the owners or captains of private merchant ſhips, authoriſing them to take and make prizes of veſſels with their effects, belonging to any of the inhabitants of the thirteen ſpecified revolted American colonies. This bill paſſed the commons without the leaſt oppoſition; nor did it produce much debate among the lords with whom it only underwent the trifling alteration of inſerting the words "letters of permiſſion," in the place of "letters of marque," the latter being thought only applicable to repriſals on a foreign enemy.

On the ſame day this bill paſſed the lords, a motion was made in the houſe of commons, for leave to bring in a bill to enable his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of, the crime of high treaſon committed in America, or on the high ſeas, or the crime of piracy. The bill being admitted was, after great debates, read the firſt time; and a motion being made for the ſecond reading, it was carried by a great majority.

This bill occaſioned much murmuring among the people, and during the ſhort time it was in agitation, the following petition againſt it was preſented to the commons from the city of London:

The humble petition of the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Commons, of the city of London, in Common Council aſſembled,

Sheweth,

"That your petitioners have ſeen a bill depending in this honourable houſe, to empower his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with, or ſuſpected of the crime of High Treaſon committed in North America, or on the High Seas, or the crime of piracy.

"That if the ſaid bill ſhould paſs into a law, your petitioners are apprehenſive, it will create the greateſt uneaſineſs in the minds of many of his majeſty's good ſubjects, and tend to excite the moſt alarming diſturbances: All perſons being indiſcriminately liable upon the grounds of ſuſpicion alone, without any oath made, and without convening the parties, or hearing what they can alledge in their own juſtification, to be committed to a remote priſon in any corner of the realm, there to remain without bail or mainprize.

"That your petitioners are deeply affected with what they conceive will be the dangerous conſequences of ſuch a law, as from little motives of reſentment, and various other inducements, there may be perſons competent to commit, who may be tempted to exerciſe that power in its utmoſt latitude and extent.

"That meaſures ſo violent and unconſtitutional, ſo ſubverſive of the ſacred and fundamental rights of the people, and ſubjecting them to the moſt cruel oppreſſion and bondage, will, in the judgement of your petitioners, be introductive of every ſpecies of miſchief and confuſion; and thereby precipitate the impending ruin of this country.

"Your petitioners therefore earneſtly beſeech this honourable houſe, That the ſaid bill may not paſs into a law, or at leaſt to take ſuch care, as in their wiſdom may ſeem meet, to prevent it from its being extended in its operations to any of his majeſty's ſubjects reſident in theſe kingdoms."

This petition, after being read, was ordered to lie on the table. At the very next meeting of the members, the bill petitioned againſt was read the third time, and, after ſome few debates, paſſed the houſe.

It met with more oppoſition in the upper than the lower houſe, till the queſtion was put for reading it the third time, when (among others who objected to it) lord Abingdon roſe, and declared himſelf totally againſt the bill, as repugnant to the law of nations, and to the dictates of humanity. His lordſhip particularly dwelt upon the word "ſuſpected," as a term of ſuch latitude, that it was liable to be conſtrued to the moſt unconſtitutional meanings, and the conſequences of the bill might prove fatal to the liberties of this country: he therefore could not give his conſent to paſſing the bill.

Notwithſtanding the arguments made uſe of by this nobleman, which were of the moſt nervous and forcible nature, on putting the queſtion again for paſſing it, it was carried without further debate; and on the 3d of March received the royal aſſent. Among others which received the royal ſignet at the ſame time was, the "Bill for enabling the lords of the admiralty to grant letters of marque to private ſhips of war, or merchant ſhips belonging to the American colonies, that were then in actual rebellion againſt Great Britain."

The next thing that materially engaged the attention of the commons was, the following meſſage from his majeſty, which was read to the houſe by lord North.

"G. REX.

"It gives his majeſty much concern to find himſelf obliged to acquaint the houſe of commons with the difficulties he labours under, by reaſon of debts incurred by the expences of his houſhold, and of the civil government, which being computed on the 5th of January laſt, do amount to more than 600,000l. His majeſty relies on the loyalty and affection of his faithful Commons, of which he has received ſo many ſignal proofs, for enabling him to diſcharge this debt; and that they will at the ſame time make ſome further proviſion for the better ſupport of his majeſty's houſhold, and of the honour and dignity of his crown.

G. R."

As ſoon as this meſſage was read, a motion was made for referring it to the Committee of Supply on that day ſe'nnight. One member in particular ſtrongly oppoſed this motion as unuſual, if not unprecedented, it having at all times been cuſtomary to take royal meſſages into immediate conſideration. This produced a very warm debate, at the cloſe of which, however, the motion was carried.

On the day appointed for taking this matter into conſideration, the Houſe went into a Committee of Supply; and, after ſome debates, came to the following reſolutions:

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the ſum of 618,240l. 6s. be granted to his majeſty to diſcharge the arrears and debts due and owing on account of the Civil Liſt on the 5th of January 1777.

Reſolved, that it is the opinion of this Committee, that the ſum of 100,000l. per annum be granted to his majeſty over and above the yearly ſum of 800,000l. granted by an act made in the firſt year of his reign.

When theſe reſolutions were reported from the Committee

Committee of Supply to the Whole Houſe, the firſt was agreed to without any oppoſition; but the ſecond produced debates that continued for ſeveral hours, at the cloſe of which, however, it was agreed to by a great majority.

In conſequence of theſe reſolutions a bill was immediately framed, which ſoon paſſed both houſes, and on the 7th of May received the royal aſſent.

This gratuity on the part of the commons to the ſovereign was accompanied by an addreſs from the ſpeaker, which ſeemed very ingeniouſly adapted to reconcile ſo extraordinary a meaſure, at ſuch a criſis, to the minds of the people, under the idea of loyalty; while it recommended a practice of which the political manœuvres of the time could not boaſt in an eminent degree. Indeed, it appeared to the diſcerning and impartial, an admirable ſpecimen of ſtate fineſſe.

While this bill was in agitation, a motion was made by Sir James Lowther "that an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty for an augmentation of the annual incomes of their royal highneſſes the dukes of Glouceſter and Cumberland." This motion was productive of many warm and learned debates; but at length, on the queſtion being put, it was negatived by a great majority.

No other material matter occurred during the remainder of this ſeſſion. The national buſineſs being, therefore, finiſhed, on the 6th of June his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning ſuch bills as were ready, prorogued the parliament.

Having thus mentioned the moſt material domeſtic tranſactions of this year, let us now take a view of affairs in America, where the war was ſtill proſecuted with the utmoſt vigour.

In the beginning of this year, ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened in the Jerſeys with various ſucceſs. On the 23d and 24th of March a great quantity of proviſions, ſtores, &c. with barracks and ſtore-houſes belonging to the Provincials, were deſtroyed by the king's troops, at Peck's Hill, upon the North River. The cruizers belonging to lord Howe and commodore Hotham's fleet continued to take many prizes. In Connecticut, on the 27th of April, the king's troops deſtroyed a great quantity of ſtores at Danbury.

General Burgoyne, with the northern army, proceeded to Ticonderago and Fort Independence, which he took poſſeſſion of on the 6th of July, and found in them great quantities of ſtores and proviſions, beſides what he deſtroyed at Skeneſborough. Soon after this he took poſſeſſion of Fort Edward, which the Provincials abandoned, and then proceeded to Saratoga, where they were ſtrongly poſted.

On the 11th of September the troops under the command of general Howe had an engagement with the Provincials on the heights of Bradywine, in which many were killed and wounded on both ſides, and 400 Provincials were taken priſoners. But though the action at firſt ſeemed indeciſive yet it eventually occaſioned Philadelphia to fall into the hands of the Britiſh troops.

While general Howe was thus employed, an attack was made by the Provincials on Staten Iſland; but they were repulſed with ſome ſlaughter. And much about the ſame time general Clinton ſtormed and took Fort Clinton and Fort Montgomery.

On the 16th of October the Provincials, under the command of general Gates, having ſurrounded general Burgoyne's army at Saratoga, the latter thought proper to enter into articles of capitulation; by which himſelf and his troops, after laying down their arms, were to have a free paſſage to Great Britain.

Towards the cloſe of the year ſeveral forts were taken by the troops and ſhipping; and many ſkirmiſhes happened on the banks of the Delaware, in order to keep up the communication with the army at Philadelphia. The Provincials likewiſe evacuated their entrenchments at Red Bank.

Great diſturbances happened this year in the Eaſt-Indies, where lord Pigot, governor of Madraſs, was depoſed, put in confinement, and ſoon after died. His death was imputed to various cauſes, but as it happened in a region where the moſt palpable crimes have not only been repeatedly connivedat, but rewarded by a venal junto, it eſcaped that minute inveſtigation which it juſtly demanded.

On the 20th of November the parliament aſſembled, when his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech from the throne, in return to which an addreſs was preſented by each houſe, and moſt graciouſly received.

This buſineſs being over, the houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of ſupply, when a ſhort ſtate of the navy, both as to the number of ſhips and men employed, and where ſtationed, being given, a motion was made, That it is the reſolution of this committee, that 60,000 ſeamen be employed for the ſervice of the year 1778. This motion produced very long and intereſting debates, at the cloſe of which it was carried without a diviſion.

The ſupplies being granted, and ſeveral bills ready (among which was that for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus) on the 10th of December his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after ſigning the reſpective bills, adjourned the parliament.

A. D. 1778. On the 23d of January the parliament re-aſſembled, when, after the papers on the ſtate of the nation were delivered in, the earl of Abingdon gave notice in the houſe of lords of an intention to make an intereſting motion on ſome future day. Accordingly on the 4th of February, after the ordinary buſineſs of the day was over, his lordſhip roſe to propoſe his motion, which was as follows: "That this houſe, taking into conſideration the legality of the preſent mode of benevolences, or of raiſing forces by ſubſcription, do look upon this practice as contrary to law, and the principles of the Conſtitution." This motion produced conſiderable debates, which were carried on with great ſpirit of argument on both ſides, but the motion was at length rejected by a conſiderable majority.

On the 6th of February the houſe of lords reſolved itſelf into a committee, to conſider of the ſtate of the nation, lord Scarſdale in the chair. As ſoon as the committee was formed, the duke of Richmond roſe, and obſerved, that it would be impoſſible to decide upon the good or bad policy of the war carrying on in America, without an enquiry into the conſequences it had been productive of in reſpect of our trade, commerce and finances. For this purpoſe, he had moved for the attendance of ſeveral eminent and intelligent merchants, acquainted with the general principles of trade and commerce, and well informed of the points on which they were to be examined. His grace then moved, that Mr. Wooldridge, an American merchant, might be called in; this was agreed to, when

Mr. Wooldridge pointed out, in a number of inſtances, the great injuries ariſing from the Americans being prohibited from trading to any part of Great Britain, Ireland or the Weſt-India iſlands; and his obſervations were coroborated by many other gentlemen in the mercantile line.

The 2d of February was appointed for an enquiry into the ſtate of the nation, when a vaſt multitude aſſembled in the lobby and environs of the houſe, but not being able to gain admiſſion either by intreaty or intereſt, they forced their way into the gallery in ſpite of the door keepers. The houſe conſidered the intruſion in a heinous light, and orders were immediately given for clearing the gallery.

After the excluſion of the auditors in the gallery, a motion was made, that an addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, requeſting that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to order the proper officers to lay before the houſe the accounts received from the admiral on the Jamaica ſtation, relative to the ſhipping under his command. The queſtion was carried without a diviſion.

Mr. Pultney then took the chair: having gone into a committee of the whole houſe to take into conſideration the ſtate of the nation, Mr. Charles Fox, on whoſe motion the committee was formed, opened the debate. He took a retroſpective view of the American war: he followed it in all its ſtages; pointed out the events as well fortunate as unfortunate, of each year; demonſtrated from them the incapacity of adminiſtration to conduct the war; their ignorance of men, meaſures, and the country of America; and all the errors and blunders into which this unpardonable ignorance had hurried them.

His ſpeech was maſterly, and afforded, in the courſe of near three hours which it laſted, the moſt ſtriking proofs of judgment, ſound reaſoning, and aſtoniſhing memory. He pointed out the defenceleſs ſtate of the Britiſh empire in Europe, from the abſence of the troops and navy; and concluded his ſpeech with moving, that as it would be impoſſible to compleat the propoſed levies time enough to replace the regiments that might in the interim be ſent away, the houſe, conſidering the ſtate to which ſuch a meaſure would reduce the nation, would not ſuffer any troops from Great Britain, Ireland, Minorca, or Gibraltar, to be ſent to America.

This important reſolution was not oppoſed by arguments, but by votes. The queſtion was called for, and upon a diviſion it was rejected. The numbers for the reſolution were 165; againſt it, 259.

On the 4th of February the buſineſs of the new levies came on, which was oppoſed by ſome of the minority members, but the houſe having entered fully into the debate, continued ſitting till near twelve o'clock, when the queſtion was put for voting a ſum of money to be granted to his majeſty for the pay and maintenance of the new corps, and upon a diviſion the numbers were, Ayes, 223. Noes, 130.

On the 5th of February, Mr. Bamber Gaſcoyne was called upon by the ſpeaker to make his report from the committee of ſupply; this was oppoſed by ſome of the members, but after a ſhort debate the queſtion was put and carried without a diviſion.

The next day the houſe was full to hear Mr. Burke's motion; and the hon. member began with an awful ſolemnity to prepare their minds, and incline them to adopt his ſentiments, and join him in his endeavours to make the houſe as ſenſible as he was, of the many barbarities which he ſaid had been committed during the war in America. He deſcribed the ſavage ungovernable rage of the Indians let looſe upon the unarmed, the aged, the infant, and the helpleſs female; he painted them rioting in murder, luſt and rapine; he drew, in the moſt moving terms, the ſufferings of the unhappy victims whom they devoted to death; a death which his pathetic eloquence made wear an aſpect horrid almoſt beyond conception. Raiſed by his own pictures to a high degree of indignation, he inveighed moſt bitterly on thoſe who, by ordering a treaty with the barbarians, might be juſtly deemed the authors of all the calamities which attended the inhuman meaſure. Adminiſtration, and ſeveral principal commanders, were placed upon the carpet; and the ſhare they had in the barbarities complained of, held up to view. The whole ſpeech, though it laſted three hours, was no more than a preface to his motion. When he thought he had ſaid ſufficient for the purpoſe, he moved, that copies of the treaties entered into with the Indians ſhould be laid before the houſe.

The motion was warmly oppoſed by adminiſtration, and as vigorouſly defended by the minority. The arguments of the latter differed but little from thoſe of Mr. Burke; they all ſhaped their's after his model; the difference lay only in the colouring and fancy.

The oppoſite ſide vindicated the Indians from the reflections thrown on them; inſtances of their humanity, and the ſtrict difcipline they were forced to ſubmit to, were adduced, and which being contrary to their way of carrying on the war by ſurprize and in flying parties, was alledged as the identical cauſe which made them quit our camps and abandon us. The facts urged as proofs of the untameable and ungovernable rage of the Indians, it was ſaid, were by much exaggerated; owed a great deal of their horror to the fancy of the orator: and ſuch as they were, ought to be deemed the acts of a few lawleſs banditti of their body, who equally diſclaimed obedience to our commanders and their own; and not to be attributed to the nation, who to the knowledge of many members of the houſe, had often acted with a degree of humanity which might make even chriſtians bluſh.

The freeing the negroes, by lord Dunmore, was juſtified on the ground of neceſſity: it was impoſſible to raiſe men otherwiſe to recover our juſt rights; every private conſideration ſhould give way to promote the public good.

The debate was warm, intereſting, and laſted near ſeven hours. The queſtion being put, the motion was rejected by a majority of 86; the numbers for it being 137, againſt it 223.

During this month [February] motion ſucceeded motion in the houſe of lords, to enter into a diſquiſition of affairs in America, their nature and tendency, both as to the colonies and the mother country, but all enquiry proved fruitleſs, every queſtion being carried in favour of adminiſtration.

On the 19th of February lord North preſented to the houſe, "A bill to enable his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to treat, conſent, and agree on the means of quieting the diſorders then ſubſiſting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America." As alſo, "A bill for declaring the intention of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exerciſe of the right of impoſing taxes on the colonies, plantations, and provinces of America," which, after ſeveral days

The Right Hon.ble the EARL *of* CHATHAM *seized with a* FIT *in the* HOUSE *of* PEERS *previous to his* DEATH.

days debate, and ſome amendments, were carried.

On the 22d of March the French having laid an embargo on all ſhipping in their ports, and having previouſly fitted out a large fleet, it was thought neceſſary to call out the militia of England, and encamp them, in order to oppoſe any deſigned invaſion; and on the 27th of March an order was iſſued for detaining in the ports of England all French ſhips.

His majeſty having taken a reſolution to view ſome of the principal dock-yards, he accordingly repaired to Chatham and Sheerneſs, and having ſurveyed every thing worthy of obſervation at thoſe places, he, together with the queen, &c. viſited Portſmouth on the ſecond of May, and after reviewing the fleet, returned on the ninth to London.

On the 12th of May the nation ſuſtained a moſt important loſs in the death of the great earl of Chatham, a ſtateſman unrivalled in the annals of hiſtory. To aggrandize his country appears throughout the whole of his political conduct to have been his ſole and ultimate view. He was not only eminent for the diſplay of eloquence in the ſenate, but the formation and execution of plans which at once ſurprized and terrified the common enemy, and rendered the Britiſh arms the dread and admiration of an aſtoniſhed world. In a word, he raiſed Great Britain to its ſummit of glory, and had not his ſchemes been fruſtrated by the low inſidious arts of rancorous envy, and fell ambition, it is more than probable they would have effectually obviated thoſe evils both abroad and at home which will entail a curſe on the memory of their authors, till time ſhall be no more.

On the 28th of May the royal aſſent was given to a bill for the relief of the Roman catholics, and about the ſame time an embargo was laid on all foreign veſſels, in the ports of England.

On the 2d of June his majeſty went in ſtate to the houſe of peers, when, having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills, particularly one for ſettling an annuity on the deſcendants of the late earl of Chatham, he prorogued the parliament.

Admiral Keppel having ſailed with a fleet, not ſufficient in point of force, for the purpoſe of attacking the French, returned to England for reinforcement, which having obtained, he again put to ſea. On the 27th of July, the two grand fleets met, and came to an engagement off Uſhant; the iſſue of which (in conſequence of an accuſation laid by Sir Hugh Palliſer, vice-admiral, againſt the chief commander) produced great diſſentions.

The engagement was repreſented in ſuch a light by Sir Hugh Palliſer, as to ſtigmatize the reputation of the admiral. Mr. Keppel, however, vindicated his character in parliament on the 2d of December, notwithſtanding which, Sir Hugh Palliſer exhibited his charge againſt him on the 17th of the ſame month at the admiralty. The bill for his trial on land received the royal aſſent on the 24th enſuing; his trial accordingly began on the 1ſt of February, when he was unanimouſly acquitted with the greateſt honour, and the proſecution pronounced to be malicious.

On the acquittal of admiral Keppel the moſt general demonſtrations of joy took place, and the greateſt illuminations perhaps ever known enſued in moſt of the cities, towns &c. throughout the kingdom. He likewiſe received the united thanks of the houſe of lords, houſe of commons, the lord-mayor and common-council of the city of London (who preſented him with the freedom of the city in a box made of heart of oak, and richly ornamented with gold) and of many other cities, towns, corporations, &c.

During theſe commotions at home, hoſtilities were proſecuted with vigour in America. On the 18th of June, general Clinton evacuated Philadelphia. He was attacked on his march by the provincials, whoſe object appeared to be the gaining poſſeſſion of the Britiſh baggage; but in this they were diſappointed, and every where repulſed by means of the judicious manner in which general Clinton had diſpoſed his troops.

In conſequence of the bill to enable his majeſty to appoint commiſſioners to treat of a pacification with America; the earl of Carliſle, Mr. Eden and governor Johnſtone, went over officially for that purpoſe. But ſo far from accompliſhing the much deſired object, the meaſures purſued tended to widen the unhappy breach. Indeed the bill for declaring the intention of the Britiſh parliament of impoſing the taxes on the colonies could not poſſibly fail of producing ſuch effect, as it ſtruck at the original and primary cauſe of the rupture.

About this time the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were taken from the French, by admiral Montague's fleet; in oppoſition to which, the iſland of Dominica was captured by an armament of French and Americans from Martinico.

On the 11th of December, admiral Barrington, (who ſucceeded lord Howe in the command of the Britiſh fleet) and a body of forces under general Grant, ſeized on the iſland of St. Lucia, one of the Antilles belonging to the French. It was attempted to be retaken by count d'Eſtaing, but he was repulſed both by ſea and land with conſiderable loſs.

A. D. 1779. On the 4th of January Georgia ſurrendered to a detachment of Britiſh troops, and many inhabitants of that colony and of the Carolinas came in and joined the royaliſts.

Among the domeſtic occurrences which took place during the courſe of the latter, and at the commencement of the preſent year, may be enumerated the following:

The proviſion made for the younger branches of the royal family by parliament on the 16th of April 1778.—His majeſty went to the dock-yards of Chatham and Sheerneſs on the 28th of the ſame month.—The royal viſit to Portſmouth May 2.—To Wincheſter, September 29.—To Warley Common, October 20.—And to Coxheath, Nov. 8.—The fire in King's College, Oxford, which deſtroyed one wing of that building on December 18.—The fire at Greenwich Hoſpital, which deſtroyed the whole of the ſouth-eaſt quarter, conſiſting of the chapel, &c. on January 2, 1779.—And the death of David Garrick, eſq. the celebrated Engliſh Roſcius. This gentleman died on the 20th of January 1779, and was buried with great ſtate in Weſtminſter-abbey on the firſt of February enſuing.

During the courſe of this year the war in America was proſecuted with great vigour. On the 3d of March general Provoſt ſurprized and gained a complete victory over the Americans under general Aſhe.

In the beginning of May Sir Henry Clinton concerted with Sir George Collier (who then commanded the marine at New York) an expedition to the Cheſepeak, and a deſcent upon Virginia, as meaſures

measures which more than any other that could be undertaken would contribute to the embarraſsment and diſtreſs of the enemy. A ſufficient naval and land force for the intended purpoſes was accordingly diſpatched from New York under the conduct of Sir George Collier and major general Mathew. The fleet, having ſucceſsfully paſſed between the capes of Virginia, the Raiſonable man of war, with ſome armed tenders, were left in Hampton Road to block up that port, and to intercept the navigation of the river James, whilſt Sir George Collier, having ſhifted his pendant to a frigate, proceeded with the ſmaller ſhips of war and tranſports up Elizabeth river. The town of Portſmouth being their immediate object, and the fleet delayed by ſome circumſtances of wind or tide in its paſſage, the general and troops, impatient of delay, and apprehenſive that the enemy might have time either to ſtrengthen their works, or receive ſuccours, were landed at ſome diſtance, and marched directly towards that place.

The town was open and defenceleſs, but the paſſage to it by water was covered by Fort Nelſon, which had been conſtructed at about half a mile diſtance for that purpoſe. But the garriſon of the fort, knowing that no ſuccour was at hand, and that the fort was incapable of any effectual defence, to avoid being ſurrounded and made priſoners, abandoned it at the approach of the army, which, of courſe, took poſſeſſion of that and the town. The town, or remains of Norfolk, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, fell likewiſe into their hands. Upon the approach of the fleet and army, the enemy burned ſeveral of the veſſels in theſe ports, among which were two large French ſhips loaded with a thouſand hogſheads of tobacco; the celerity of the invaders having, however, checked the deſtruction pretty early, ſeveral others were ſaved, and fell accordingly into their hands.

In the mean time the Britiſh guards, having marched eighteen miles by night to the town of Suffolk on the Nanſemonde river, arrived there at day-break. They found the place had been haſtily abandoned at their approach; and they immediately proceeded to the deſtruction of a very large magazine of proviſions, together with the veſſels and naval ſtores which were found there. Within a fortnight that the fleet and army continued upon the coaſt, the loſs ſuſtained by the Americans in proviſions and ſtores was prodigious. Above 130 ſhips and veſſels of all ſorts were deſtroyed or taken. All thoſe upon the ſtocks were burned, and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ſhips, that was not portable, was deſtroyed.

When theſe circumſtances were made known to Sir Henry Clinton by Sir George Collier's letter, the general ſent an immediate order for their return; and the fleet and army, with their prizes and booty, arrived ſafe at New York before the expiration of the month.

The provincials had, for ſome time, been engaged and at great labour and expence, in conſtructing very ſtrong works at the two important poſts of Verplanks Neck and Stoney Fort in the Highlands. As theſe works were nearly compleated, but not yet defenſible, the general thought it the proper ſeaſon to avail himſelf of the induſtry of the enemy, and to reap the fruits of their toil.

The troops deſtined for this ſervice under the command of major-general Vaughan were only newly embarked, when they were joined by the force returned from Cheſapeak, and proceeded all together up the north river, the naval department being under the conduct of Sir George Collier. On the following morning general Vaughan, with the greater part of the army, landed on the eaſt ſide of the river, about eight miles ſhort of Verplanks, whilſt the remainder, under the conduct of general Patiſon, and accompanied by Sir Henry Clinton, advancing farther up, landed within three miles of Stoney Point. On the appearance of the ſhips the enemy abandoned their works, but took care to ſet fire to a large block-houſe. Upon the approach of the troops to take poſſeſſion of Stoney Point, they, however, made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance by drawing up on the hills, but did not think proper to hazard a conteſt.

The Americans had finiſhed a ſmall but ſtrong and compleat work on the oppoſite ſide of the river, which they called Fort la Fayette. This was defended by four pieces of artillery and a ſmall garriſon of between 70 and 80 men. But this little redoubt, though ſtrong in itſelf, was effectually commanded by Stoney Point, which lay at about a thouſand yards diſtance on the oppoſite ſhore: and it being exceedingly difficult of approach from its own ſide, the attack was accordingly intended from the other. For this purpoſe general Patiſon with great fatigue and labour, and the moſt indefatigable perſeverance during the night, overcame the difficulties of dragging the heavy artillery from a very bad landing-place to the top of the hill; and his exertions and arrangements were ſo effectual and judicious, that by five on the following morning he had opened a battery of cannon, and another of mortars, on the ſummit of the difficult rocks of Stoney Point, which poured a ſtorm of fire over Fort la Fayette.

The attack was ſupported by Sir George Collier, who advanced with the gallies and gun-boats within reach of the fort. The cannonade was continued on all ſides during the day, and as ſoon as it was dark, Sir George ordered two of the gallies to paſs the fort and anchor above it, in order to prevent the eſcape of the garriſon by water. In the mean time general Vaughan with his diviſion, having made a long circuit through the hills was at length arrived and had cloſely inveſted the fort on the land ſide. The garriſon ſeeing that all poſſibility of eſcape was now cut off, and that their fire was totally overpowered, ſurrendered their little fortreſs on the following morning and themſelves priſoners of war without any other ſtipulation than that of humane treatment.

The general gave immediate direction for finiſhing and compleating the works of both poſts, and for putting Stoney Point in particular in the ſtrongeſt ſtate of defence. By the loſs of theſe poſts the enemy in the Jerſeys were under a neceſſity of making a detour of above ninety miles through the mountains to communicate with the country eaſt of Hudſon's river.

The ſtate of the hoſtile armies on both ſides with reſpect to actual force, together with the want of money and the ſcarcity of military proviſions on one ſide, neceſſarily limited the views of the oppoſite commanders, and prevented their undertaking any deciſive or expenſive operations. The campaign upon the whole was accordingly languid, and rather confined to the ſurprizing of poſts and to deſultory excurſions. While the greater part of the Britiſh army, however, were engaged in the operations of moving from one iſland to another, and of eſtabliſhing different poſts, general Lincoln, the American commander, thought it a proper opportunity to attack lieutenant-colonel Maitland, who

who was ſtrongly poſted at the paſs of Stoney Ferry. The colonel's force, it is ſaid, amounted only to about 800, while the American force is repreſented as amounting to 5000 men and eight pieces of cannon. The attack was made and ſupported with ſpirit for about an hour, but the aſſailants were received with ſuch coolneſs and firmneſs and ſo much galled by the fire of an armed flat, which covered the left flank of the port, that they were then obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. The royal forces loſt ſome officers as well as men, and above an hundred of both were wounded. The Americans loſt ſome officers of note, and it cannot be doubted that their loſs in general was conſiderably greater.

As no induſtry had been wanting in compleating or repairing the works at Stoney Point, which the time of poſſeſſion would admit of, that port was now in a very ſtrong ſtate of defence, with a powerful garriſon under the command of lieutenant colonel Johnſon. General Wayne, on the part of the Americans, was appointed to the arduous taſk of ſurprizing and reducing Stoney Point, for which he was provided with a ſtrong detachment of the moſt active infantry in their army. The troops, having ſet out from Sandy Reach on the 15th of July about noon, after a march of fourteen miles through a rout almoſt impaſſable, the van, about eight in the evening, arrived within a mile and a half of their object, where they halted, and the troops were formed into two columns as faſt as they came up. While they where in this poſition, Wayne with moſt of his principal officers went to reconnoitre the works, and to obſerve the ſituation of the garriſon.

It was near midnight before the two columns approached the place; that on the right was led by general Wayne, the van, conſiſting of 150 picked men, led by the moſt adventurous officers, and commanded by lieutenant-colonel Fleury, advanced to the attack with loaded muſkets and fixed bayonets. The column on the left was led alſo by a choſen van with loaded muſkets and fixed bayonets, under the command of major Steward. The general iſſued the moſt pointed orders to both columns not to fire a ſhot on any account, but to place their whole reliance on the bayonet. Such was the aſtoniſhing reſolution of the Americans, that neither the deep moraſs, nor the ſtrong works in front and flank could damp the ardour of their troops, who, in the face of a moſt inceſſant and tremendous fire of muſquetry, and of cannon loaded with grape ſhot, forced their way at the point of the bayonets until the van of each column met in the center of the works, where they arrived at nearly the ſame inſtant.

General Wayne was wounded in the head by a muſket ball, but was gallantly ſupported and helped through the works by his two aid-decamps, Fiſhbourn and Archer, to whom he acknowledged the utmoſt gratitude in his public letter. Colonel Fleury, a French officer, was the perſon who ſtruck the Britiſh ſtandard with his own hand; major Steward and ſeveral other officers ſhewed great courage, as did in particular the two lieutenants Gibbons and Knox, one of whom led the avant-guard on the right as did the other on the left, and both of whom eſcaped unhurt, although the firſt loſt 17 men out of 20 in the attack. The vigour and ſpirit with which this enterprize was conducted was as remarkable as any action that had taken place during the courſe of this unhappy war. Gen. Waſhington, the congreſs, the general aſſembly, and the ſupreme executive council of Penſylvania, ſeemed emulous in their acknowledgement, and in the praiſes which they beſtowed upon general Wayne, his officers and troops.

The total number of priſoners amounted to 543, and the ſlain of the garriſon to 63. The trophies, artillery, and ſtores were as conſiderable as could be expected from the nature and extent of the poſt.

But however great the importance and value of Stoney Point might be, general Waſhington was by no means diſpoſed to hazard a general engagement on it's account; he informed congreſs in his letter, that it had been previouſly determined in council not to attempt keeping that poſt, and that nothing more was originally intended than the deſtruction of the works and the bringing off the artillery and ſtores. Sir Henry Clinton regained the poſt, after it had been three days in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, and placed in it a ſtrong garriſon.

Elated by theſe ſucceſſes, the Americans undertook an enterprize ſufficiently daring in the deſign, though it failed wretchedly in the execution. This was an attack on Paulus Hook, which lies almoſt oppoſite to the city of New York, on the Jerſey ſide. It ſeems that the ſtrength of the poſt had cauſed ſuch a remiſſneſs on the ſide of the garriſon, that the enemy ſurprized the place at three in the morning, and carried a block-houſe and two redoubts almoſt without any reſiſtance. In that critical moment of exigency, major Sutherland, the commander, threw himſelf, with forty Heſſians, into another redoubt, from which they kept ſo warm and inceſſant a fire, that the Americans deſerted their new poſts with as much expedition and as little difficulty as they had been attained.

Sir George Collier having ſailed from Sandy-hook on the 3d of Auguſt, arrived in Penobſcot bay on the 14th, when he ſurprized, routed, and deſtroyed the American fleet. One frigate of 20 guns and another of 18 were taken. The Warren, a new frigate of 32 guns, ſeven others of ſmaller force, ſix armed veſſels, and twenty-four tranſports were burnt or ſunk.

Through the ſudden and unexpected appearance of the French fleet, on the 14th of September, off Carolina and Georgia, the Experiment man of war of fifty guns, and three royal frigates, being totally unapprehenſive of danger, and upon ſeparate ſervices, had the misfortune of falling in with them, and thereby adding to their triumph and number. The firſt under the command of captain Wallace was on her paſſage from New York to the Savannah, and although ſhe had been already diſmaſted in a violent ſtorm, made a gallant and deſperate defence againſt an irreſiſtable ſuperiority of force in the view of an hoſtile fleet.

General Prevoſt was at this time at the town of Savannah, but the better if not the greater part of his force was ſtill on the iſland of Port Royal in South Carolina, where it had lately taken poſt. The intercepting of an expreſs to colonel Maitland from the general delayed the previous meaſures ſo long, that the enemy had time to ſeize the principal communications before they could take effect. This rendered the junction of colonel Maitland's corps with the garriſon (upon which only any hope of defending the Savannah could be founded) a matter of great doubt, difficulty, and danger. However, the addreſs of the colonel, the zeal of his troops, with the diſtinguiſhed ſervices of lieutenant Goldeſbrough, of the navy, overcame all obſtacles.

On the 9th of September the whole French fleet, amounting to above forty ſail, anchored off the bar of Tybee, at the mouth of the river Savannah. On the 15th, the French, with Polaſki's American light horſe, appeared ſo near the Britiſh lines as to ſkirmiſh with the picquets. The day following M. d'Eſtaing, in the haughtieſt ſtile, ſummoned the general in the name of the French king. Colonel Maitland's diviſion had not yet joined the garriſon: it was therefore thought prudent and neceſſary to gain all the time that was poſſible, and general Prevoſt had the addreſs to carry this point. Meſſages paſſed backwards and forwards, till at length a truce of 24 hours was agreed upon, to afford time for deliberation.

During this interval the fortunate arrival of colonel Maitland with the troops preſented a new face of affairs, and an anſwer was returned, that they were unanimouſly determined to defend themſelves to the laſt man. The French force amounted to 3,500 men, that of the Americans under general Lincoln, to 4,800.

The ſpirit, vigour and exertion of every individual of the garriſon merited the higheſt encomium. Nor were the enemy inactive, for at midnight, between the 3d and 4th of October, they began a heavy bombardment, and at day-light opened a vehement cannonade, which was continued for five days. On the 9th the allies attacked the Britiſh lines with their utmoſt force, and with great fury, a little before day-light. The grand attack was directed to the right, where d'Eſtaing in perſon led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by all the principal officers of each. The attack was made with great ſpirit, and ſupported with an extraordinary degree of obſtinate perſeverance; till at length the enemy were broken, routed, and driven, in the greateſt diſorder and confuſion, into a ſwamp. At ten they requeſted a truce, with leave to bury their dead, and carry off their wounded: the firſt was granted, but a reſtriction laid in point of diſtance as to the reſt. Count Polaſki was mortally wounded in this action. Monſ. d'Eſtaing was wounded in two different places. The loſs on the ſide of the Britiſh was inconceivably ſmall. The French and Americans abandoned their camp on the night of the 17th, and about the firſt of November M. d'Eſtaing totally abandoned the coaſt of America; and thus ended the great deſigns he had formed, and the mighty hopes he had conceived.

In the beginning of October captain Farmer, of his majeſty's ſhip Quebec, being on a cruize off Uſhant in company with the Rambler Cutter, came up with, and cloſely engaged, a large French frigate called the Surveilleante, mounting 40 guns; while the Rambler was engaged with a French cutter as ſuperior in force as the French frigate was to the Quebec. The action on both ſides was warm and bloody, from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon, when the French cutter ſet all the ſail ſhe could croud and bore away, but the Rambler being ſo diſabled in her maſts and rigging, could not follow her with any hopes of coming up with her. The commander, therefore, ſeeing both the frigates diſmaſted, and the Quebec take fire, endeavoured to get as near the Quebec as poſſible, in hopes of ſaving ſome of her men; but there being but little wind, and a large ſwell, no other aſſiſtance could be afforded than by hoiſting out the boat, which picked up one maſter's mate, two young midſhipmen, and fourteen more of the Quebec's people, the enemy's frigate at the ſame time firing at the boat. The Quebec continued burning very fierce, with her colours flying till ſix o'clock, when ſhe blew up.

Words cannot deſcribe the gallantry and magnanimity diſplayed by captain Farmer on this occaſion, not only in the engagement, but the fatal cataſtrophe with which it was attended. Having his arm broken towards the cloſe of the engagement, he tied his handkerchief round the ſhattered part of the bone, and then addreſſed his men as follows: "My lads, this is warm work, and there-"fore keep up your fire with double ſpirit; we "will die or conquer."

When the ſhip took fire, he uſed every method to extinguiſh the flames; and in order that an exploſion might be prevented, ordered the pumps to play on the magazine. This order, by the event, appears not to have been properly effected: the captain, however, the lieutenant, and many of the crew imagined it was, and therefore remained to the laſt moment on board: but moſt of the men, thinking the water afforded a better chance of ſafety, jumped into the ſea, where numbers periſhed in ſight of thoſe on board the ſhip. The fire now raging with more violence, the captain was requeſted to attempt ſaving himſelf, but he refuſed every ſolicitation, and, with a magnanimity that will perpetuate his memory, declared he would not quit the ſhip whilſt there remained another man on board. By degrees his brave companions grew leſs and leſs, and as he ſaw inevitable deſtruction faſt approaching, he entreated the remainder to attempt to ſave their lives by the only effort remaining, namely, that of jumping into the ſea. His lieutenant ſtood mournfully by him, and exhibited a ſcene to which neither the pen nor the pencil can do juſtice.

The fate of the gallant captain Farmer will be lamented by every Engliſhman. In the awful hour of peril, when his fate was inevitable, it is ſaid he ſat on the fluke of the ſheet anchor, waiting, with heroic fortitude, the dreadful exploſion, which at laſt numbered him with departed heroes.—Perhaps there never was, in the annals of the world, exhibited a more ſtriking inſtance of true courage, undaunted reſolution, and ſtoical philoſophy; and it is not to be doubted but poſterity will pay that reſpect to his memory, which ſuch an illuſtrious character deſerves.

It appeared from various circumſtances that the Spaniſh commanders and governors in the Weſt-Indies, had been acquainted with the intended rupture between Spain and England long before the declaration preſented by their miniſter. Plans were accordingly laid, and preparations made, which afforded advantages on the commencement of hoſtilities.

It happened in the month of October, that the baymen on the Moſquito and bay of Honduras ſhores (as the logwood cutters are called) being hard preſſed, and in great danger from the Spaniards, the governor of Jamaica had diſpatched captain Dalrymple (commandant of a new corps raiſed in Ireland for the ſervice of that iſland) with a ſmall force and ſome arms to their relief. Admiral Sir Peter Parker had alſo detached a ſmall ſquadron of three frigates and a ſchooner, under the conduct of captain Luttrell, as commodore, to the bay of Honduras, in order to intercept ſome Spaniſh regiſter ſhips, which, however, eſcaped into the excellent harbour, and under the protection of the ſtrong fortreſs of St. Fernando de Omoa, where they were found too well ſecured for any

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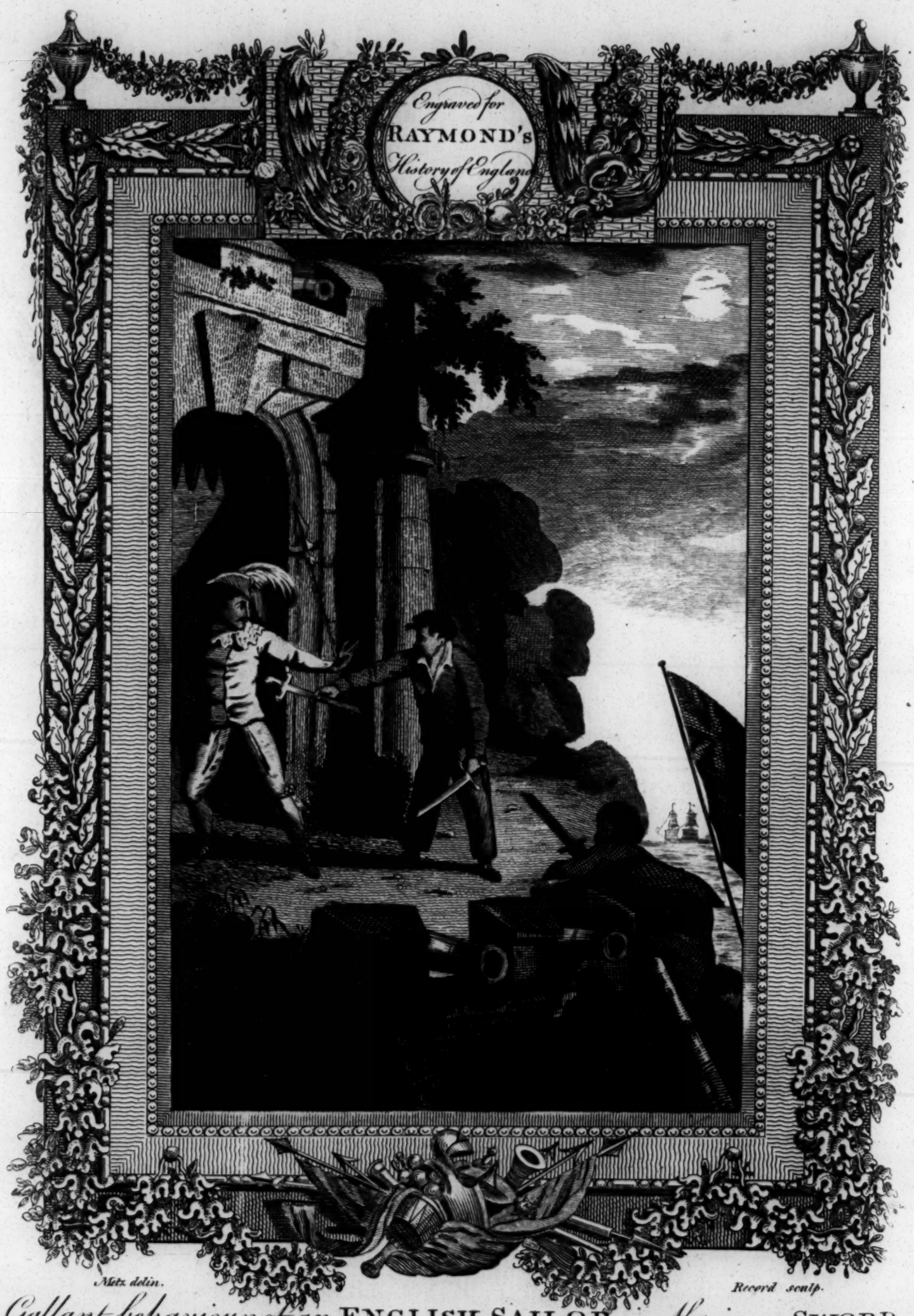
MAJOR JOHN ANDRE,

Late Adjutant General to the British Army in North America.

590-2



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Gallant behaviour of an **ENGLISH SAILOR** *in offering a* **SWORD** *to an unarmed* **SPANIARD** *to defend himself, at the taking of* **FORT OMOA**, *in the Bay of Honduras, October 20th 1779.*

attack by ſea, which their then ſmall ſquadron was capable of making.

In progreſs of time the commodore had the fortune to fall in at ſea with the Porcupine ſloop of war, and the detachment of the loyal Iriſh under convoy. The commanders immediately determined to unite their forces in an attack by ſea and land upon Omoa; a bold attempt with their force, but in which ſucceſs held out a proſpect of throwing the galleons (which were ſtill under its ſhelter) into their hands. The fortreſs of Omoa, indeed, could only be conſidered as a fort or caſtle, for the defence of the harbour, the town itſelf being entirely open. Its batteries ſhewed about forty pieces of artillery, but it ſeems to have been deficient in that reſpect as well as in point of garriſon. The land force of the aſſailants by the junction of the baymen, with the marines, which were allotted by the commodore to that ſervice, ſomewhat exceeded 500 men: the defenſive force, without including the run-away inhabitants, was not much inferior in number.

In advancing to the fort, the Engliſh were ſo much annoyed by the fire from the tower, that they found themſelves under a neceſſity of ſetting it on fire. The commander of the expedition, conſidering that a regular ſiege would by no means anſwer his deſign, determined to place his truſt in a *coup de main*, and to attempt the place by eſcalade.

Meaſures being accordingly concerted with the commodore, the Pomona frigate was towed in pretty cloſe to the fort during the night, and the heavier ſhips took their proper ſtations, ſo as to be able to commence the attack on their ſide about three in the morning, giving a ſignal twenty minutes before, which was to direct that from the land. In the meantime 150 men in four columns, in line, and carrying the ſcaling ladders were moved down the hill where they lay waiting for the ſignal. That being given, they ſuddenly advanced and with trailed arms under the fire of their own batteries, which with the heavy cannonade from the ſhips ſerved to deafen as well as to diſtract the enemy; ſo that they paſſed undiſcovered by the Spaniſh centries to the very entrance of the ditch.

On their being diſcovered the columns ſeemed for a moment to heſitate, but inſtantly recovered, and advanced to fix their ladders to the walls. Two ſeamen having mounted the wall, levelled their muſkets, without firing, at a body of above ſixty Spaniards, and ſuch was the panic and conſternation that prevailed, that they kept them, for ſome moments, in awe, and even motionleſs, while their friends were aſcending the ladders. The garriſon, notwithſtanding all the efforts of their officers, fled on all ſides. In theſe circumſtances, the governor and principal officers, making no requeſt but for their lives, preſented their ſwords and keys to the commandant, with a ſurrender of the fort, garriſon and ſhips. The treaſure had been removed from the caſtle on the approach of the Britiſh forces, but that on board the galleons with the cargoes of other veſſels in the harbour, and the value of the ſhips themſelves, were eſtimated at about three millions of piaſters, or pieces of eight.

We cannot diſmiſs this narrative without adverting to a ſingular inſtance of that genuine courage and magnanimity which has ever characterized the tars of Old England.

A common ſailor, who ſcrambled ſingly over the wall, had, for the better annoyance on all ſides of the enemy, armed himſelf with a cutlaſs in each hand. Thus equipped he fell in with a Spaniſh officer, juſt rouſed from ſleep, and who, in the hurry and confuſion, had forgotten his ſword. This circumſtance reſtrained the fury of the tar, who diſdaining to attack an unarmed foe, but unwilling to decline any opportunity of diſplaying his courage in ſingle combat, preſented one of the cutlaſſes to him, telling him, "I ſcorn any advantage, you are now upon a footing with me." The aſtoniſhment of the officer at ſuch an act of generoſity, when he expected nothing leſs than that of being cut inſtantly, and without pity or mercy, into pieces, could only be equalled by the admiration, which his relating the ſtory excited in his countrymen.

The Spaniards, however, on the 25th of November, made a ſucceſsful effort in inveſting the fortreſs of St. Fernando de Omoa, which the Britiſh troops were compelled to evacuate on the 28th.

A. D. 1780. The firſt remarkable tranſaction of this year was, a victory obtained on the 16th of February by admiral Rodney over the Spaniſh fleet commanded by Don Juan Langara, off Cape St. Vincent's; by means of which the fortreſs of Gibraltar, then beſieged by the Spaniards, and the people in great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, was happily relieved.

The admiral then proceeded on his deſtined voyage, and ſoon after his arrival a very ſmart engagement took place on the 17th of May, between the Engliſh fleet commanded by admiral Rodney, and the French under M. de Guichen, near Martinico. It laſted for ſome time, and in the end proved unfavourable to the French, though no ſhips were taken on either ſide.

On the 11th of May Charles-Town ſurrendered to Sir Henry Clinton; in which were taken ſeveral officers, a commodore, ſome continental regiments, and three battalions of artillery, with a great number of American and French ſeamen; in all upwards of 6000 men in arms, beſides ſeveral armed ſhips, and 400 pieces of cannon.

On the 16th of Auguſt a ſignal victory was obtained over the American army under general Gates, by the Britiſh army under lord Cornwallis. The loſs of the Americans was about 900 ſlain, among whom was brigadier-general Gregory; and about 1000 were taken priſoners. Soon after this action lieutenant-colonel Tarleton defeated general Sumpter's army, which was greatly ſuperior to his own, taking two pieces of cannon, and about 300 priſoners.

In the month of November general Arnold (one of the chief commanders of the American forces) quitted that ſervice, and joined the Britiſh ſtandard; and major André, a young Engliſh officer, concerted a plan for ſurprizing the American army. This ſcheme, however, failed, and André being apprehended as a ſpy, his caſe was referred to a board of general officers, held by an order of general Waſhington. When aſked by the board whether he confeſſed ſeveral particulars that were alledged againſt him, he replied in the moſt open and ingenuous manner, acknowledging, that the motive which actuated him was, the ſervice of his king, and declaring that with reſpect to the diſguiſe he aſſumed in name and habit, he was involuntarily an impoſtor. After his examination he was remanded into cuſtody. Divers letters paſſed on the occaſion between the commanders in chief of the reſpective armies and thoſe of inferior rank, but without effect as to the unfortunate priſoner,

who

who was executed in purſuance of the ſentence of the board, and fell a victim to his zealous attachment to the cauſe he eſpouſed. His name is perpetuated by a monument erected to his memory, by order of his majeſty, in Weſtminſter-abbey.

In the month of October Mr. Henry Laurens, preſident of the American council, was taken by one of the king's frigates in his paſſage for Holland, where he was commiſſioned to conclude a treaty of peace with the Dutch. Being brought to London, and an accuſation laid againſt him for treaſonable practices, he was, with John Trumbull, Eſq. another of the American partiſans, committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower, where he remained for a conſiderable time, and was then diſcharged.

On the 10th of October a moſt dreadful hurricane happened in the Weſt-India iſlands, which did conſiderable damage to moſt of them, particularly Barbadoes, Jamaica, St. Chriſtopher's, Martinico, St. Vincent's, and Granada. In Barbadoes not a houſe in the iſland eſcaped receiving damage, the greater part of them were levelled with the ground, and the inhabitants buried in the ruins. A parliamentary grant, and liberal ſubſcriptions, were made for the ſufferers, but the loſs was ſo prodigious, and the deſolation ſo univerſal, that it was deemed almoſt impoſſible to reinſtate the ſufferers in their former ſituations.

Civil and inteſtine tumults prevailed this year in London in a moſt remarkable manner. A bill paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament for a relaxation of the penal laws againſt the Roman Catholics had excited the jealouſy and indignation of the more zealous but leſs moderate of the proteſtants. Theſe were headed by lord George Gordon, who pledged himſelf to bring in a bill for the repeal of that obnoxious act. On failure of this the multitude proceeded to acts of riot, rapine and depredation, pulling down and ſetting fire to all the Romiſh chapels, a great number of houſes, and ſeveral priſons. All buſineſs, for a time, ſubſided, and nothing but inebriation and anarchy prevailed among the outrageous multitude. At laſt, through the exertion of the military power, many of theſe deluded people were ſhot, others were taken, brought to trial, and, being found guilty in conſequence of the evidence produced, received ſentence of death. Nineteen were executed in London and Middleſex; and ſix in Southwark.

On Friday in the week wherein theſe diſturbances happened lord George Gordon (who was conſidered as the inſtigator of them) was taken into cuſtody, and, after a long examination before the privy-council, committed to the tower. On the fifth of February following, he was tried at the court of King's-bench, Weſtminſter, for high-treaſon, and levying war, inſurrection and rebellion, againſt the king, by aſſembling a great number of armed perſons on the 2d of June in the preceding year, and diſturbing the peace, &c. The trial laſted from half paſt eight on Monday morning till five o'clock the next morning, when the jury declared his lordſhip *Not Guilty*.

A. D. 1781. On the 6th of January, about two o'clock in the morning, the French made a deſcent on the iſland of Jerſey, but in their attempting to land, four of their tranſport veſſels were wrecked upon the rocks, and upwards of two hundred men periſhed. Thoſe, however, who did land made their way into the moſt interior part of the iſland, where they met with a warm repulſe from the garriſon, great numbers of them being killed, many taken priſoners, and the reſt obliged to ſave themſelves by a precipitate retreat.

In the begining of the month of February admiral Rodney, commander of the Britiſh fleet in the Weſt-Indies, in conjunction with general Vaughan, commander of the land forces, poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland of St. Euſtatius, belonging to the Dutch, which ſurrendered at diſcretion; but upwards of twenty ſhips, laden with property captured there, were taken by the French fleet in their paſſage home. They likewiſe made themſelves maſters of the iſlands of St. Martin, Saba, and St. Bartholomew belonging to the French, together with the two valuable Dutch colonies of Demerary and Iſſaquibo, both ſituated on the Spaniſh main.

Notwithſtanding the Britiſh forces ſeemed to obtain a ſuperiority in America, there was no probability of putting a cloſe to that deſtructive war. The coloniſts were rather animated than deterred by the ſlaughter which overſpread their country, ſo that no effort was exerted againſt them without conſiderable loſs. In the month of March general Green's army at Guildford was defeated, but not till after a very ſharp battle, in which ſeveral Engliſh officers of rank, and a great number of privates, were killed and wounded.

At this time the affairs of the Engliſh in the Eaſt-Indies bore a very unfavourable aſpect. Diſpatches arrived from Madraſs with intelligence that Hyder Ally had obtained a complete victory over a detachment of Britiſh troops commanded by colonel Ballie, which being unſupported by the main army under general Sir Hector Monro, was obliged to retreat, leaving behind him his heavy cannon, camp equipage and baggage. The conqueror, puſhing his ſucceſſes, afterwards took Arcot and ſeveral other places, and it was then thought would have made himſelf maſter of Madraſs; but by the prudent management of general Coote, and the intrepidity of the Britiſh forces under his command, he was not only diſappointed in this, but likewiſe defeated in ſeveral engagements, and moſt of the places he had taken were recovered by the Engliſh.

On the 16th of April commodore Johnſtone's fleet, with a number of India ſhips under convoy, was attacked by the French fleet under M. de Suffrein off the iſland of St. Jago, which was attended with great loſs and damage on both ſides. Some of the India ſhips were taken by the French, but they not being able to retain the whole, ſeveral eſcaped, and, re-joining the Engliſh fleet, arrived ſafe in England.

War ſtill raged with unabated fury in America, where blood and treaſure were moſt profuſely laviſhed, but without effect as to the main deſign. The Britiſh troops having for ſome time had poſſeſſion of Camden, lord Rawdon, with colonel Weſton's detachment being near it, and cloſely purſued by the American general Greene, after the battle of Guildford, ſet fire to that beautiful town, and reduced it to aſhes, after which he retired for ſafety to within a ſmall diſtance of Charles-Town.

About this time an engagement took place between admiral Arbuthnot, commander of an Engliſh fleet in America, and a ſmall ſquadron of the French. The battle was very ſevere for ſome time, and great damage was done on both ſides, but at length a prodigious miſt ariſing the two fleets loſt ſight of each other, and conſequently ſeperated, nor did the French afterwards appear to renew the engagement.

On

On the 28th of April a ſmart engagement took place in the Weſt-Indies, between the Britiſh fleet under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, Bart. and a ſquadron of French ſhips under the command of M. de Graſſe. The action was continued for ſome time with great obſtinacy, till at length night ſeperated them, and the French fleet bore away. On the 30th they again met and renewed the engagement, which at length terminated without any material conqueſt, though the ſhips on both ſides received conſiderable damage, many were killed, and great numbers wounded.

On the 2d of June the iſland of Tobago in the Weſt Indies was taken from the Engliſh by a body of land forces, commanded by the French governor of St. Vincent's, under cover of a large fleet of ſhips of war commanded by M. de Graſſe.

In the month of July the attention of the public was engaged in the fate of Monſ. de la Motte, a Frenchman, who had been taken up, committed to the Tower for high-treaſon, and being tried and found guilty, was, on the 27th of July, executed at Tyburn, purſuant to his ſentence. His noble and manly figure won upon all the ſpectators, who, by their looks, teſtified that all admired, all pitied, a man, who ſeemed born for a better fate.

In the month of Auguſt advices were received that Penſacola, the capital of Weſt-Florida, had been beſieged by the Spaniards, and that the garriſon had ſurrendered at diſcretion; by which the whole province ſurrendered to the arms of Spain.

On the 5th of Auguſt a deſperate engagement took place off the Texel, between a fleet of Engliſh under the command of vice-admiral Parker, and a ſquadron belonging to the Dutch. The latter had eight ſhips of the line, and the former ſeven. The engagement was very hot for ſome time, and great damage was done on both ſides; but at length the Dutch thought proper to bear away for the Texel, and the Engliſh were too diſabled to follow them. One of the Dutch men of war of 74 guns was ſunk, and the whole crew periſhed.

On the 31ſt of Auguſt a ſmart engagement took place near Sandy Hook in North America, between the Engliſh fleet under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, and the French fleet commanded by Monſ. de Barras. The engagement continued from four o'clock in the afternoon till ſun-ſet, during which time great damage was done on both ſides, but no compleat victory obtained on either. The Terrible was ſo damaged, that it was thought neceſſary to deſtroy her, which was accordingly done, after taking out the water, proviſions, and other uſeful articles. Sir Samuel Hood was deſirous of renewing the engagement the following morning, but was prevented by the French ſheltering themſelves in the bay of the Cheſapeak.

In the month of September brigadier-general Arnold, with a conſiderable body of tranſports, and a detachment of troops, proceeded to New London, to which he laid ſiege, and, after ſome reſiſtance, made himſelf maſter of the place, with very inconſiderable loſs. Several of the Americans ſhips were deſtroyed, and a great part of the town of New London reduced to aſhes.

This victory was ſucceeded by a very material overthrow of the Engliſh. Colonel Tarleton was defeated at Glouceſter by the Sieur de Choiſy, after which the allied armies of France and America marched againſt the Britiſh forces commanded by Lord Cornwallis. The entrenchments were opened in two attacks, above and below York-River, in the night between the 6th and 7th of October, and different engagements took place till the 17th, when Lord Cornwallis, finding the enemy too powerful, was obliged to capitulate, and he, with his whole army, were made priſoners of war.

CHAP. III.

GEORGE III. Continued.

Hyder Ally defeated by Sir Eyre Coote. Spaniards repulſed in an attempt upon Gibraltar. St. Euſtatius retaken by ſurprize. Siege and ſurrender of Minorca. Capture of the iſlands of St. Chriſtopher and Nevis. Lord North's reſignation. New miniſtry. Admiral Rodney defeats Count de Graſſe. Hyder Ally loſes ground in the Eaſt Indies. David Tyrie executed at Wincheſter for high treaſon. Loſs of the Royal George and Ramillies. Enterprizes of Paul Jones. Gallant defence of Gibraltar under General Elliott. Engagement between Lord Howe and the combined fleets of France and Spain. Loſs of his majeſty's ſhip the Centaur. Preliminaries of Peace ſigned at Paris between Great Britain, France and Spain. Inſtitution of the Order of St. Patrick. Peace ſigned by the Mahrattas in the Eaſt Indies. Death of Hyder Ally. Commercial treaty with the United States of America. Sir Roger Curtis renews the treaty with the emperor of Morocco. Dublin Bank opened. Signing of preliminary articles of peace with the Dutch; of the definitive treaty with France, Spain and America. Peace proclaimed in London and Weſtminſter. With various other ſucceeding Tranſactions.

A. D. 1781. TOWARDS the cloſe of this year the affairs of the Engliſh in the Eaſt-Indies bore a very favourable aſpect. In the month of December Sir Eyre Coote engaged the army of Hyder Ally between Porto Novo and Moteapollam with great ſucceſs. The battle laſted eight hours, and was maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length the forces under Sir Eyre Coote (though greatly inferior in number) became victors, and the enemy precipitately retreating, left them maſters of the field. The loſs of the enemy was 4,000 killed, among whom were many of their principal officers.

In the month of November the Spaniards made a very forcible attack on Gibraltar, but from the intrepidity of the troops under the command of general Elliot, the governor, the enemy were repulſed. The battle began at three o'clock on the morning of the 27th. The pioneers and artilleriſts made wonderful exertions, and ſpread their

fire with ſuch amazing rapidity, that in half an hour two mortar batteries of ten inch mortars, and three batteries of ſix guns each, with all the lines of approach, communication, traverſes, &c. were in flames and reduced to aſhes. The mortars and cannon were ſpiked, and their beds, carriages and platforms deſtroyed. Their magazines blew up one after another as the fire approached them. Finding all oppoſition to be ineffectual, the enemy offered no farther annoyance than an ill-directed fire of round and grape ſhot from the forts of St. Barbara and St. Philip, and the batteries on the lines, and remained in their camp ſpectators of the conflagration. Great numbers of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, but owing to the darkneſs of the morning, and other circumſtances, the exact number could not be aſcertained. The loſs on the part of the Engliſh was very inconſiderable.

About the ſame time St. Euſtatius, together with the iſland of St. Martin, was captured by the French, under the command of the marquis de Bouille. They were taken by ſurprize on the 26th of November, and by a mere handful of the enemy, the number not exceeding three hundred, who landed from three frigates, and ſome ſmall craft, at Jenkins's Bay, at the back of the iſland. They poſſeſſed themſelves of the place without the leaſt oppoſition from the garriſons, though that of St. Euſtatius conſiſted of 723, and that of St. Martin's of 63 effective men, including officers. Lieutenant-colonel Cockburne, of the 35th regiment, who commanded at St Euſtatius when it was taken by the French, declared that, beſides the money depoſited in that place by admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, there was a ſum of 264,000 livres, which was his property, and which he therefore demanded. The marquis de Bouille having aſſembled the ſuperior officers of his corps, to inform them of the demand made by lieutenant-colonel Cockburne, they were all of opinion, that the Engliſh governor's money ſhould be reſtored to him, which was accordingly done. The marquis de Bouille found in the governor's houſe the ſum of a million, which he reſtored to the Dutch, after receiving authentic proof that it was their property. He likewiſe found about 1,600,000 livres in colony money belonging to admiral Rodney, general Vaughan and other officers, ariſing from the ſale of their captures, which he divided between his land and naval forces.

A. D. 1782. The American war had been proſecuted with ſo little ſucceſs, and at ſuch an immenſe expence of blood and treaſure, as to raiſe the juſt indignation of every friend to humanity and the common intereſts of Britain and her colonies. Many reſpectable members of both houſes pointed out the glaring abſurdity and atrocious cruelty of maintaining ſo fruitleſs as well as injurious a conteſt, and inferred from thence the expediency of putting a ſtop to any farther proſecution of an offenſive war. Among theſe the perſon that moſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf was, the Rt. Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, who, on the 27th of February, made the following motion in the houſe of commons: "That the farther proſecution of an offenſive war on the continent of America, for the purpoſe of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country againſt her European enemies: that it greatly tends to encreaſe the mutual enmity ſo fatal to the intereſts both of Great Britain and America, and by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to fruſtrate the earneſt deſire graciouſly expreſſed by his majeſty, to reſtore the bleſſings of public tranquillity." This motion, after ſome debates, was carried; upon which general Conway moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty thereupon." This was carried without a diviſion, and an addreſs was accordingly preſented, to which his majeſty was pleaſed to give a moſt gracious anſwer.

In the month of February the conjunctive forces of France and Spain laid ſiege to Minorca. The honourable general Murray, governor of the place, oppoſed them for ſeveral days with great reſolution, but his troops were ſo diſabled, from a ſcorbutic diſorder prevailing among them, that they were at length obliged to ſubmit to the ſuperior power of the enemy. General Murray propoſed articles of capitulation to the conquerors, which being agreed to, he ſurrendered the fort of St. Philip's to his catholic majeſty, and then, with his troops, left it, with all the honours of war.

About the ſame time the iſlands of St. Chriſtopher and Nevis were captured by the French, under the command of the marquis de Bouille. Major-general Shirley, governor of the place, held out, with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reſolution, for a conſiderable time; but at length, finding the enemy too powerful, was obliged to ſubmit, and, after a ſiege of more than five weeks, compelled to ſurrender to the French arms upon terms of capitulation.

In the month of April the ſquadron under vice-admiral Barrington fell in with a number of tranſports belonging to the French, under the protection of three men of war and two frigates. Captain Jervais of the Foudroyant came up with, and engaged, the French commodore's ſhip Le Pegaſe, of 74 guns, and, after a cloſe engagement of more than an hour, obliged her to ſtrike. In the mean time the reſt of the fleet were diligent in purſuing the tranſports, who made all the haſte they could to ſecure themſelves in Breſt water; but in this, however, they were diſappointed, and thirteen out of eighteen were captured. Some of them were full of troops, and the reſt laden with ſtores, ordnance, &c. the whole being deſtined for the relief of the French ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies.

While theſe things were tranſacting abroad, ſome very material revolutions took place at home. Great diſputes aroſe in the Britiſh ſenate relative to the ſuppreſſion, or farther proſecution of the war in America. The majority were for the former, but were ſtrongly oppoſed by miniſtry, and great debates took place on the occaſion. At laſt, after ſeveral reſolutions paſſed, Sir John Rous made a motion, which comprized the whole, adding theſe words: "Therefore this houſe can no longer repoſe confidence in thoſe who have the management of public affairs." In conſequence of this lord North, on his next appearance in the houſe, declared he was no longer miniſter. The reſt of the miniſtry, ſoon after, followed his example, and his majeſty was pleaſed to appoint a new adminiſtration in their ſtead, which was compoſed of ſuch characters as appeared to give univerſal ſatisfaction to the public.

On the 12th of April a moſt deſperate engagement took place between the Engliſh fleet under the command of Sir George Bridges Rodney, and the French fleet commanded by the count de Graſſe, in the Weſt Indies. The battle laſted with unremitting fury from ſeven o'clock in the morning

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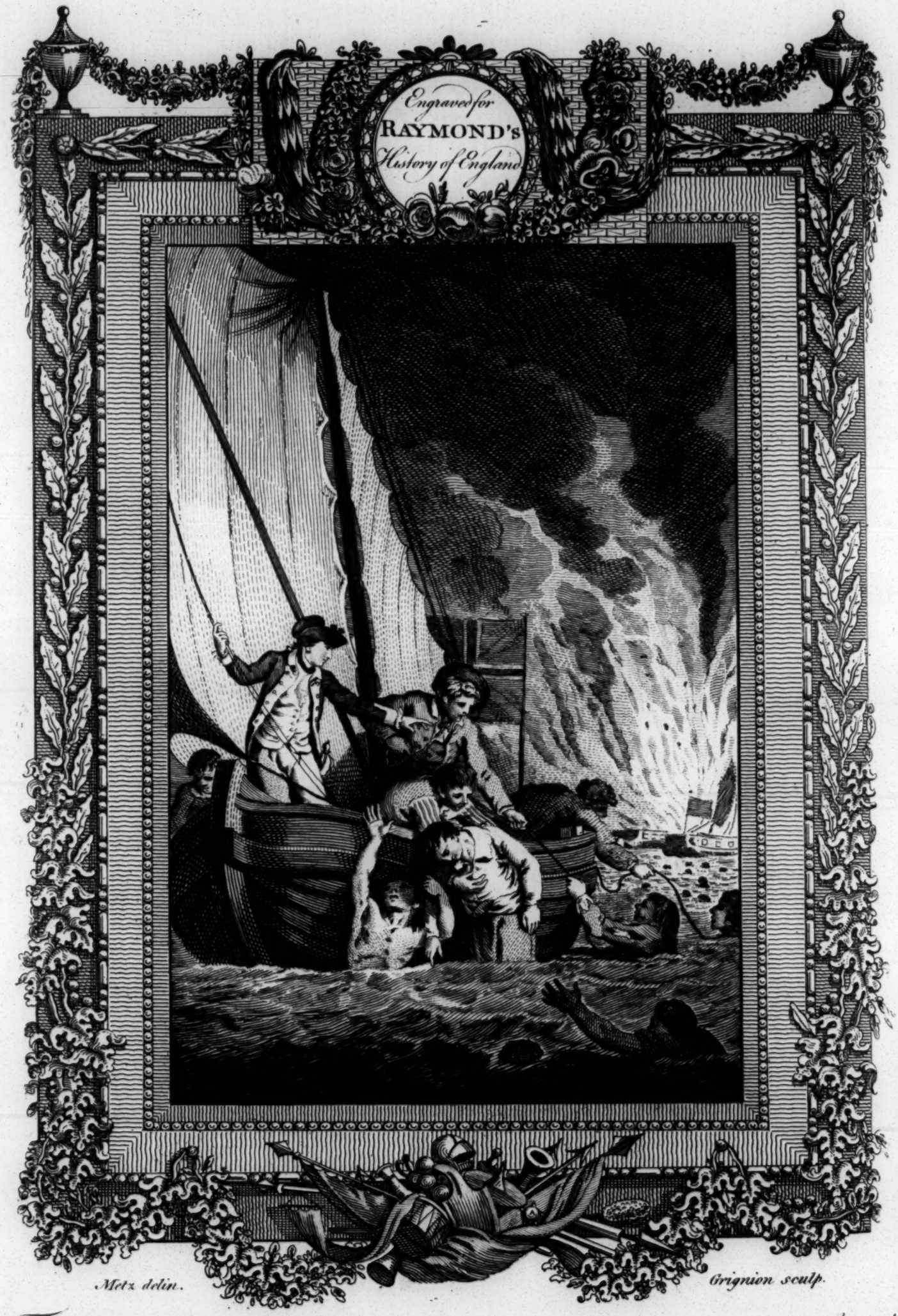

The Gallant CAPTAIN *(now Sir Roger)* CURTIS, *nobly Exerting himself in* SAVING *the Lives of the drowning* SPANIARDS, *after the Destruction of their Gun Boats, before* GIBRALTAR, *on the memorable 13th of Sep.r 1782.*

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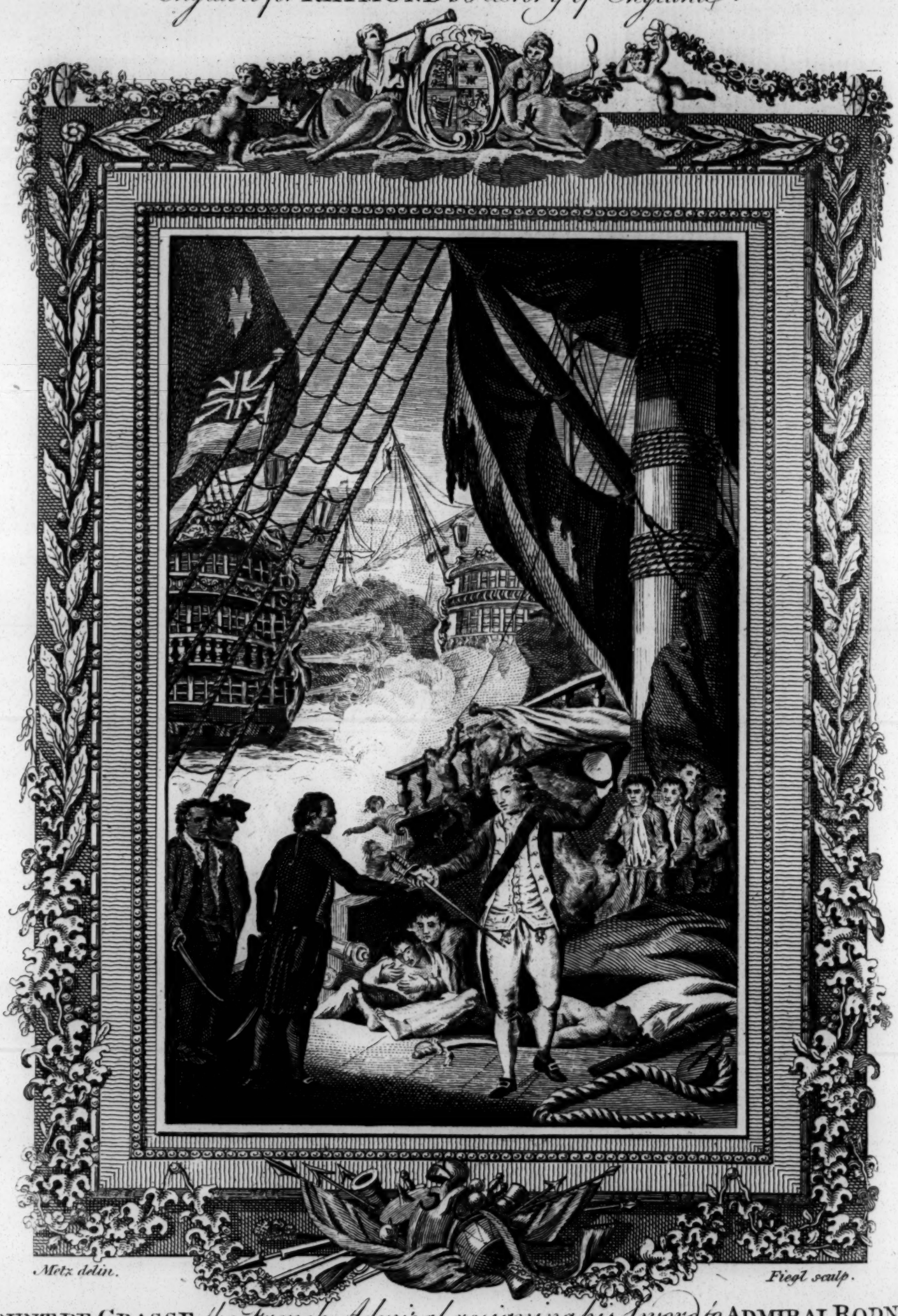
Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England &c.*



Metz delin. *Fiegl sculp.*

COUNT DE GRASSE, *the French Admiral, resigning his Sword to* ADMIRAL RODNEY
for being defeated by that gallant Commander in the West Indies, on April 12th 1782.

ing till half paſt ſix in the evening, when victory declared in favour of the Britiſh flag. The Ville de Paris, a ſhip of 110 guns, commanded by count de Graſſe, with four others of the line, were captured, and another of the line ſunk in the action. The Cæſar, one of thoſe taken, was blown up, and the whole crew, among whom were fifty Engliſh ſeamen, periſhed. The engagement was ſuſtained with the greateſt reſolution on both ſides. The day after the battle the remainder of the French fleet diſperſed; but being purſued by a ſquadron under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, two others of their line of battle ſhips and two frigates were taken, by which the formidable power they had in the Weſt Indies was greatly reduced, and their deſign of poſſeſſing themſelves of the iſland of Jamaica (which they had long concerted) totally fruſtrated. Sir George Rodney, for his gallant behaviour, received the public thanks of the Britiſh ſenate, and was farther honoured, by being afterwards created a peer of the realm, as well as gratified with a very conſiderable penſion.

About this time a deſperate battle was fought in the Eaſt Indies, between the Britiſh forces under the command of Sir Eyre Coote, and thoſe under Hyder Ally, in which the former proved victorious. Hyder loſt his ſecond ſon, with many of his principal officers, and the whole number killed and wounded amounted to 18,000. After the battle Hyder retreated with great precipitation to Trincomale, in order to recruit, and gather together his ſcattered army.

By diſpatches received about this time from Sir Edward Hughes, it appeared that, on the 21ſt of October, in the preceding year, the company's troops, under the command of Sir Hector Monro, marched to Nagore on the ſea coaſt, in order to co-operate with his majeſty's fleet in the reduction of Negapatam. The marines, and the greater part of the ſeamen, with the heavy cannon, &c. being landed on the 29th, the ſtrong lines which the enemy had thrown up to defend the approach to the town were ſtormed and carried. On the 7th of November a battery of ten 18 pounders being ready to open, the admiral and general ſent a ſummons to the governor to ſurrender, who being indiſpoſed, his ſecond in command anſwered for him, that the place ſhould be defended. During the ſiege the enemy made two deſperate ſallies with the greateſt part of the garriſon, but were repulſed with conſiderable loſs. On the 10th, more batteries being ready, the enemy thought proper to demand a capitulation, which was granted, and being ſigned on the 12th, the town and citadel were then delivered up. The garriſon conſiſted of about 8,000 men, 2,300 of which were troops belonging to Hyder Ally. Among theſe were 1000 cavalry, who precipitately fled on the firſt charge at the attack on the enemy's lines. In conſequence of the fall of Negapatam, Hyder's troops immediately evacuated all the forts and ſtrong poſts they held in the Tanjore country; and the petty princes in various other provinces, who, at the inſtigation of Hyder, had rebelled againſt the nabob of the Carnatic, laid down their arms, and returned to their obedience. By the general's return it appeared that the forces under his command at the reduction of Negapatam amounted to 4,215, of which 133 were killed, wounded or miſſing.

The marquis of Rockingham, having been appointed firſt lord of the treaſury, lord Shelburne and the right honourable Charles James Fox, ſecretaries of ſtate, lord Camden, preſident of the council, &c. it was hoped that this adminiſtration was founded upon a permanent baſis, and as a memorable inſtance of the triumph of freedom over venality and oppreſſion; the reſolution declaring the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes and his incapacity of ſerving as a member of parliament, was expunged the houſe of commons, by vote of a very conſiderable majority.

But the general joy that aroſe from an arrangement of miniſtry ſo grateful to the people was ſoon damped by the univerſally lamented death of the marquis of Rockingham, a nobleman, whoſe whole conduct throughout life had evinced the moſt genuine patriotiſm and perfect philanthropy. This melancholy event was followed by the reſignation of Mr. Fox and other members of the new cabinet, in conſequence (as appeared from the ſequel) of the earl of Shelburne being appointed to the office of firſt lord of the treaſury. Various conjectures were formed of courſe from theſe ſudden reſignations, but the houſe of commons having been unexpectedly adjourned to the 9th of July, no authentic information could be obtained till that day, when under the idea that Mr. Fox would then give his reaſons for his reſignation, there was the greateſt concourſe of people at every avenue of the houſe that had ever been known at this time of the year. A converſation rather than a debate took place from a report of a penſion having been granted to colonel Barré, then treaſurer of the navy, amounting to 3200l. a year. In the courſe of this very intereſting and important converſation, thoſe of his majeſty's late adminiſtration gave their reaſons for their reſignation, whilſt ſuch as remained behind pledged themſelves for the continuance of thoſe principles for which they were firſt received into his majeſty's councils.

The following day this intereſting ſubject was diſcuſſed in the upper houſe. The duke of Richmond ſpoke with extreme candour and liberality, declaring his wiſh that the world ſhould know on what principles he came into office. He affirmed that the new government was formed on this triple foundation: the great baſis was, in a peace with thoſe againſt whom we waged war abroad; in retrenching expences at home, and in leſſening the undue influence of the crown. He very reſpectfully adverted to the character of the noble marquis lately deceaſed, lamented the reſignation of the ſecretary of ſtate and chancellor of the exchequer, but declared that the then miniſters ſhould have his ſupport ſo long as they adhered to the principles they at firſt poſſeſſed.

Lord Shelburne avowed thoſe principles to which the noble duke particularly referred, as his general ſprings of action; he maintained his undeviating adherence to thoſe principles; lamented the loſs ſuſtained by the late reſignations; ſpoke elaborately on the ſubject of American affairs and foreboded the happy events of the then councils. Several other members roſe in vindication of themſelves and friends, as to their reſpective conduct in the then juncture of affairs.

On the eleventh his majeſty came to the houſe of peers, and having in a ſpeech to parliament commended their unwearied zeal and induſtry with the plaineſt regard to its true intereſts, whether peace or a continuance of war ſhould be the event; thanked the commons for their liberal ſupplies, and declared his reliance on the ſpirits, affection and unanimity of his people in the ſupport of the honour of his crown, and the intereſt of his kingdoms: the lord chancellor by command of his majeſty

jeſty prorogued the ſeſſion to the 3d day of September.

On the tenth of Auguſt one David Tyrie was indicted at the aſſizes held at Wincheſter for traiterouſly correſponding with his majeſty's enemies. After taking the depoſitions of the ſeveral evidences, and reading a variety of papers in court, tending to criminate the culprit; when the clerk of arraigns put the uſual queſtion, he made this very extraordinary reply, "It is in vain for me to ſay "any thing. Poverty has been the cauſe of my "conviction, becauſe I had not the means to bring "my witneſſes here. However, I have a hope "beyond the grave, and deſpiſe every thing that "has been done to me." The judge then pronounced ſentence of death, and he was accordingly executed, as uſual in caſes of high treaſon.

By accounts, dated from the Eaſt-India-houſe the 28th of this month, it appeared that there had been a deſperate engagement between our fleet under Sir Edward Hughes, and that of France under Monſ. Suffrein. The French, at length, after a warm conteſt of upwards of two hours, ceaſed firing and hauled off after the tranſports they had in convoy; much loſs was ſuſtained on both ſides, that of the enemy cannot be determined, but on our ſide fell two captains, ſeveral inferior officers and 32 private men, beſides near one hundred were wounded; Sir Edward after the action proceeded to Trincomale to repair his damages, and having refitted, ſailed for Fort St. George.

The policy of the American war, and the humiliating circumſtances with which it was attended to this country, may be gathered from the following reſolution in the houſe of delegates, tranſmitted in the South-Carolina Gazette.

Reſolved unanimouſly, "That this houſe will "exert the power of the ſtate, to enable congreſs "to proſecute the war, until Great Britain re-"nounce all claim of ſovereignty over the united "ſtates, or any part thereof, and until their inde-"pendence be formally or tacitly aſſured by the "treaty with Great Britain, France and the United "States, which ſhall terminate the war."

The loſs of his majeſty's ſhip the Royal George of 108 guns which happened at Spithead on the 29th of Auguſt, was deemed one of the greateſt misfortunes this country has experienced for many years paſt. This ſhip having, on her laſt cruize, made more water than uſual, it was reſolved to heave her down at Spithead, purſuant to which, the weather being moderate, that buſineſs was commenced at 6 o'clock in the morning, and the ſhip by ten was got to a proper ſituation for diſcovering the leak, but in order to take off ſome further ſheets of copper, to caulk the ſeams properly, ſhe was ordered to be lowered another ſtreak; during this buſineſs a great part of the crew were at dinner, when the ſhip by a ſudden guſt of wind fell on one ſide, and the lower deck ports being open, ſhe filled in about eight minutes and went to the bottom. Upon the whole, it is generally ſuppoſed that upwards of 900 people ſuffered upon this melancholy occaſion, including about 250 women and ſeveral children. The loſs of the brave admiral Kempenfelt was truly lamented; his abilities were known to all the naval powers, and he was juſtly eſteemed as brave and able a ſea-officer, as this or any other nation ever boaſted, and will therefore be remembered as long as the Britiſh navy exiſts.

To aggravate this late calamity, an expreſs ſoon after arrived at the admiralty from vice-admiral lord Shuldham, with an account received from the captain of a merchantman from Jamaica, of the loſs of his majeſty's ſhip the Ramillies. It appeared that admiral Greaves, who had the charge of the homeward bound Jamaica convoy, kept a very northward courſe, to avoid the enemies cruizers, whom he apprehended might be detached to intercept the tardy ſhips of the convoy. His flag was flying on board the Ramillies from his departure from Jamaica, to the moment it was neceſſary to quit her for the preſervation of the lives of the crew. She loſt her maſts on the tenth of September in a violent gale of wind, and continued ungovernable till the nineteenth when ſhe was abandoned and left ſinking.

From letters which arrived from Bengal about this time, the moſt pleaſing expectations were formed of an immediate and general peace, though our government in that quarter abounded in every ſpecies of reſource for carrying on the war, having been able for ſome months paſt to ſend monthly to Madras five lacks of rupees amounting to 62,500l. ſterling, beſides other requiſites. The Mahrattas, weary of an unſucceſsful war, had declared for pacific meaſures, and the late miſunderſtandings with the Nizam, and ſome others of the country powers were now ſo happily removed, that if Hyder Ally alone had proved refractory, they had all engaged to unite with the company's ſervants in bringing him to reaſon. Another favourable circumſtance was that neither of them ſhewed the leaſt inclination to ſee a French intereſt ever re-eſtabliſhed in their country. This favourable ſtate of affairs, ſo different from the late diſtracted and threatening proſpect of things was aſcribed entirely to the activity of the ſupreme council and that perfect harmony among themſelves, which gave them weight and conſequence with the native powers. But it appeared at the ſame time that while thoſe gentlemen had been ſo attentive to meaſures of peace and conciliation, they had not neglected the commercial concerns of their employers, their inveſtments having been already compleated, not only for this but the next year, a degree of forwardneſs in that buſineſs never known before.

Diſpatches were received ſoon after, that the ſquadron of a deſperate adventurer called Paul Jones, which ſurpriſed and took the forts and ſettlements in Hudſon's Bay, conſiſted of three frigates and three or four privateers. They got a conſiderable booty at Fort Charles and Fort Rupert factories, deſtroyed all the forts and veſſels on the bay, particularly Forts Nelſon and Churchill, and took away with them two very valuable loaded veſſels belonging to the company, which were ſent for Boſton prior to Paul Jones's bearing away for the North Seas. His booty excluſive of the damage he had done the forts and factories was ſuppoſed to amount to no leſs than 100,000l. This extraordinary adventurer ſome time before fell in with his majeſty's ſhips the Serapis, commanded by capt. Pearſon, and the Counteſs of Saliſbury, commanded by capt. Piercy, having under their convoy a large number of tranſports. A deſperate engagement took place, in which Paul Jones's ſquadron proved victorious, and the Serapis and Counteſs of Saliſbury were both captured; but the tranſports, during the engagement, fortunately made their eſcape. Towards the cloſe of this action, one of the crew on board Paul Jones's ſhip, thinking they muſt be inevitably conquered, or totally deſtroyed, attempted to ſtrike the colours, which ſo irritated his commander that he inſtantly ſhot him through the head, as an example to the reſt

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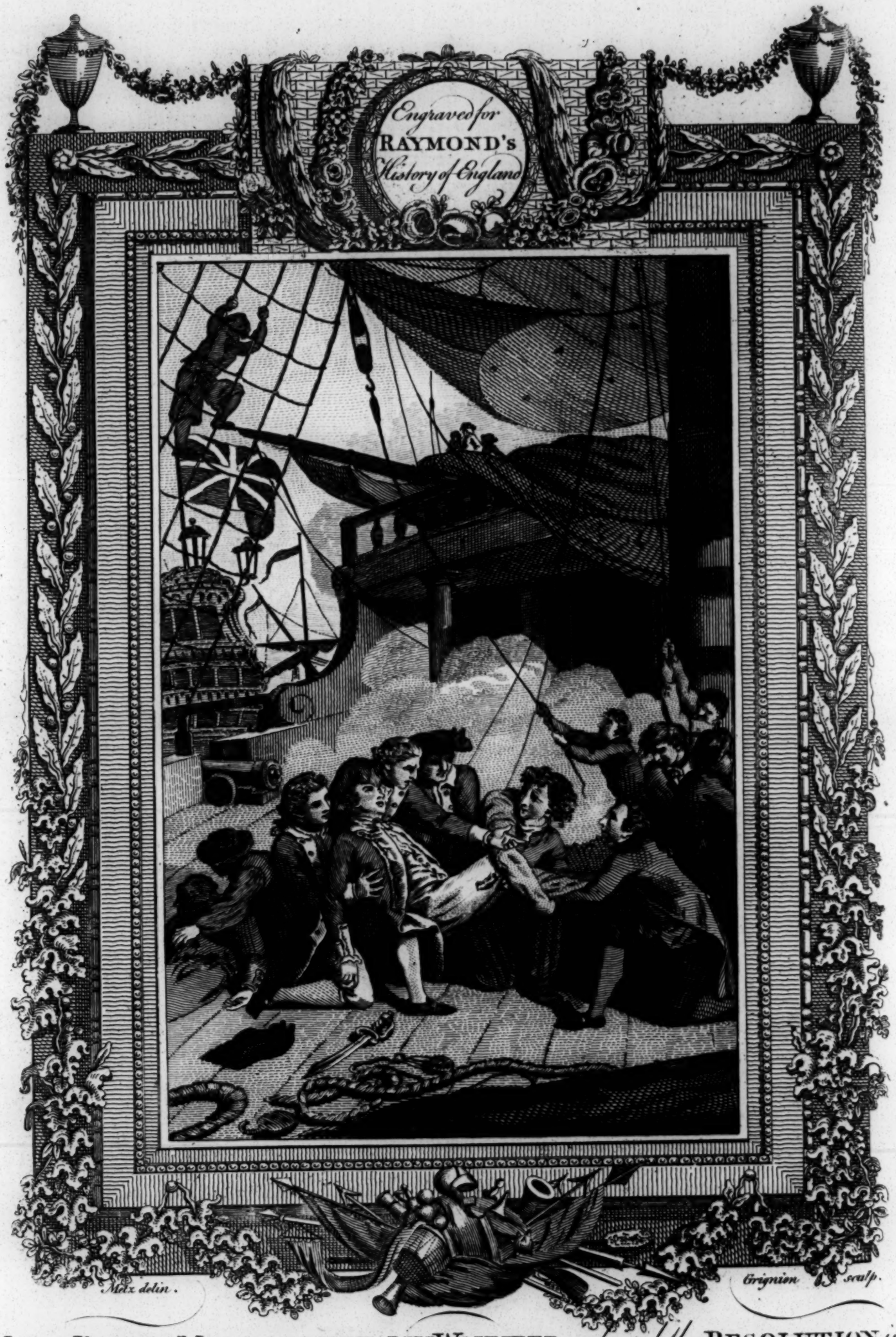
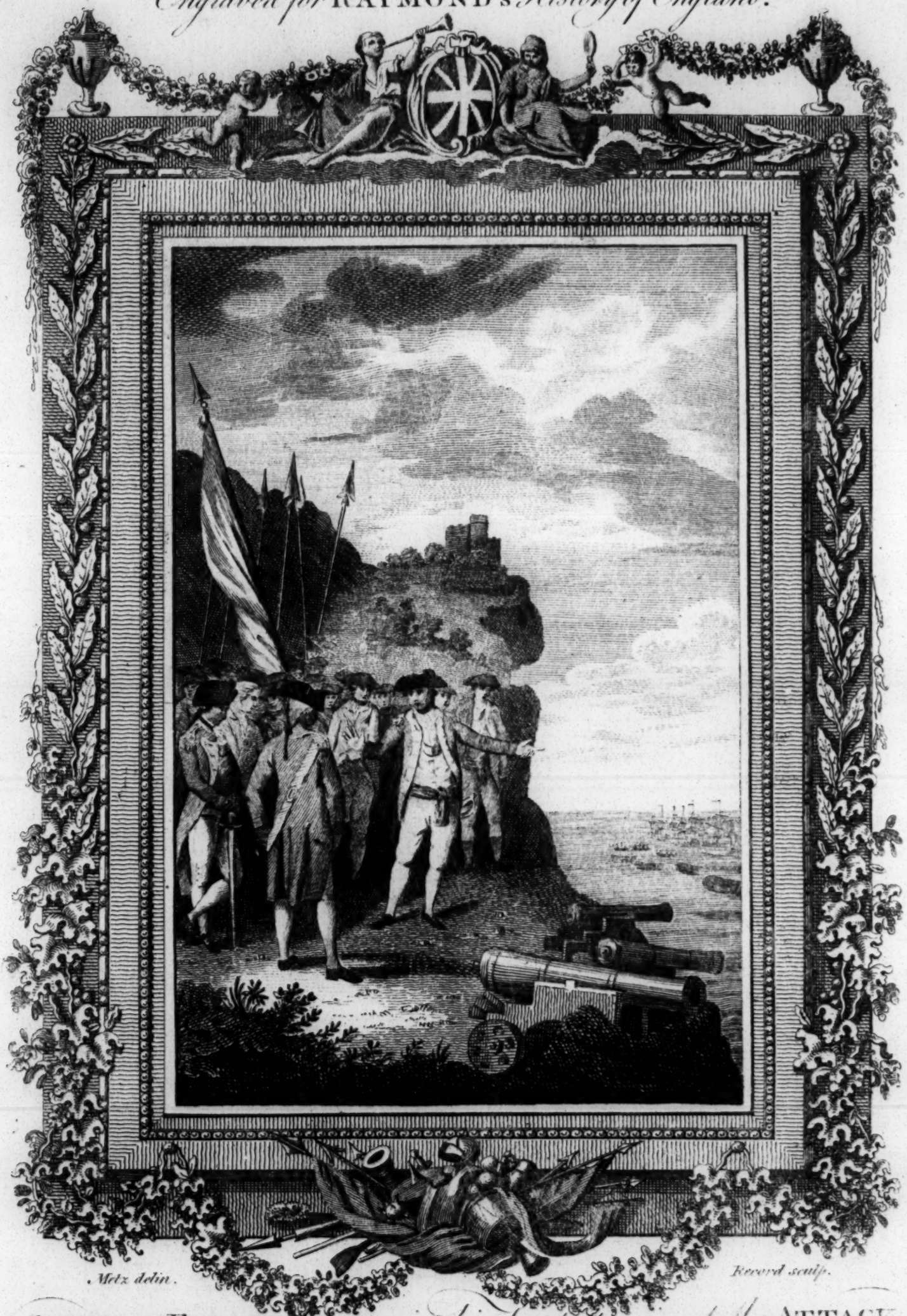


LORD ROBERT MANNERS MORTALLY WOUNDED, *on board the* RESOLUTION, *in the memorable Engagement between Admiral Rodney & Count de Grasse, in the West Indies, the 12th of April 1782.*

Engraved for RAYMOND's *History of England.*



Metz delin. *Record sculp.*

GENERAL ELLIOT *haranguing his Troops previous to the* ATTACK *of the Gun Boats at* GIBRALTER. *September 13. 1782.*

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reſt of the crew that they had no other proſpect while in his ſervice than what was founded on the moſt daring and hazardous enterprizes.

The public were at this time moſt agreeably relieved from their apprehenſions relative to the fate of Gibraltar by the following important and moſt intereſting intelligence, communicated by general Elliot, the gallant defender of that fortreſs to Mr. ſecretary Townſhend. From the general's repreſentation it appeared, that the enemy had collected their whole force by ſea and land: the former conſiſted of forty-four ſail of the line, beſides three inferior two deckers, ten battering ſhips, five bomb ketches, ſeveral frigates and xebecques, a great number of gun and mortar boats, a large floating battery, many armed veſſels, and near three hundred boats purpoſely conſtructed for carrying troops. Their land batteries were mounted with above one hundred pieces of cannon, and an equal number of mortars and howitzers, and their army conſiſted of near forty thouſand men. On the 13th of September, at eight in the morning, all the battering ſhips commanded by don Buenventura Moreno, rear-admiral, were put in motion and came forward to their ſeveral ſtations, as previouſly appointed, the admiral being placed upon the capital of the king's baſtion, the other ſhips extending three to the ſouthward of the flag as far as the church battery, five to the northward about the heighth of the Old Mole, and one a very little to the weſtward of the admiral. By a quarter before ten they were anchored in line, at the diſtance of a thouſand to twelve hundred yards, immediately on which, a heavy cannonade began from all the ſhips, which was ſtrongly ſupported by the cannon and mortars in the enemy's lines and approaches.

At the ſame inſtant our batteries opened with hot and cold ſhot from the guns, and ſhells from the howitzers and mortars. This firing continued without intermiſſion on both ſides till noon, when that of the enemy from their ſhips ſeemed to ſlacken, although but little. About two o'clock the admiral's ſhip was obſerved to ſmoke as if on fire, and a few men buſy on the roof, ſearching the cauſe. Our batteries never diſcontinued. The enemy's fire from the ſhips gradually decreaſed. About ſeven in the evening they fired from a few guns and that only at intervals. At midnight the admiral's ſhip was plainly diſcovered beginning to burn, and in an hour after it was completely in flames; eight more of the ſhips took fire in ſucceſſion. Signals of diſtreſs being now made, the launches, feluccas and boats of the whole fleet, began to take out the men from on board the burning ſhips. Many ſhot were ſtill fired from thoſe in which the flames had yet made no conſiderable progreſs, and the fire from the enemy's batteries on ſhore did not in the leaſt diminiſh.

Captain Curtis of his majeſty's ſhip Brilliant, who was appointed to the command of the marine brigade, and with his ſquadron of gun boats lay ready to take advantage of any favourable circumſtance, left the New Mole at two o'clock, and about three formed a line upon the enemy's flank, advancing and firing with great order and expedition, which ſo aſtoniſhed and diſconcerted them, that they fled precipitately with all their boats, abandoning the ſhips, in which ſome officers and numbers of their men, including many wounded, were left to periſh. This muſt unavoidably have been their wretched fate, had they not been dragged from amidſt the flames through the perſonal intrepidity of brigadier Curtis and his people, at the moſt imminent hazard of their own lives.

The general expreſſed the utmoſt anguiſh at ſeeing the brigadier's pinnace cloſe to one of the largeſt ſhips at the inſtant ſhe blew up, and ſpread her wrecks to a vaſt extent all around, till the black cloud of ſmoke being diſperſed, he was again revived by the ſight of the pinnace, little apprehending that the brigadier was in the utmoſt danger of ſinking, ſome pieces of timber having fallen into, and pierced the boat, killing the cockſwain, and wounding others of the men, ſo that ſcarce any hopes remained of reaching the ſhore: he was providentially ſaved by ſtopping the hole with the ſeamen's jackets until boats could arrive to their relief. One of our gun-boats was ſunk at the ſame moment.

In the courſe of the day the remaining eight ſhips ſeverally blew up with violent exploſions; one only eſcaped the effect of our fire, which it was thought proper to burn, there being no poſſibility of preſerving her. The admiral's flag remained flying on board his ſhip till ſhe was totally conſumed. The royal artillery, additional gunners and marine brigade only could be employed in this ſervice, which they executed with deliberate coolneſs and undaunted intrepidity. The fire was inceſſant, and the batteries abundantly ſupplied with ammunition; every ſoldier in the garriſon, not on duty, eagerly preſſing to ſhare in the honourable labours of the day. The enemy's daring attempt by ſea was effectually defeated by the well ſupported fire from our batteries; but the well-timed, judicious, and ſpirited attack made by brigadier Curtis rendered this ſucceſs a complete victory. The loſs in the brigade of ſeamen, conſidering the nature of the attack, was very trifling, only one being killed and five wounded. That of the enemy, in killed, burnt, drowned and wounded muſt have been great indeed. The ſincere gratitude all the priſoners of war expreſſed for their deliverance from the various horrors that ſurrounded them afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction to humanity.

The duke de Crillon, a general of great reputation, (having the chief command of the allied forces) princes of royal blood of France, dignified characters of Europe, firſt nobility of Spain and great military officers, being preſent with the beſieging army, an amazing concourſe of ſpectators that filled the camp and covered the adjacent hills on this occaſion, plainly proved that the combined powers had formed the moſt ſanguine expectations from their battering ſhips, deemed perfect in deſign, compleated by dint of prodigious labour and unlimitted profuſion of expence, and by common report pronounced invincible.

This agreeable intelligence was followed by diſpatches from lord Howe, equally encouraging. Theſe imported, that his lordſhip having received authentic intelligence that the combined fleets of fifty ſail of the three and two decked ſhips had taken a ſtation ſome time before in Gibraltar Bay, on the morning of the 11th of October our fleet entered the ſtraits, and the van arriving off Gibraltar Bay, a ſhort time after the cloſe of the day, a very favourable opportunity offered for the ſtore ſhips to have reached their deſtined anchorage without moleſtation from the enemy; but for want of timely attention to the circumſtances of the navigation pointed out in the inſtructions communicated by captain Curtis, only four of the thirty-one which had kept company with the fleet on the paſſage effected their purpoſe.

Very tempeſtuous weather on the night of the 10th had put two of the enemy's two decked ſhips on ſhore, a third loſt her foremaſt and bowſprit, and a fourth had been driven under the works of the garriſon and captured, and two more went out of the bay to the eaſtward. With the reſt of their force they put to ſea the evening of the 13th to interrupt the introduction of the remaining ſtore-ſhips, and having the wind in their favour they bore down upon the fleet then off Fangerolle, in order of battle. In the morning of the 14th the fleet being to the ſouthward of the enemy ſix or ſeven leagues, and the wind changing ſoon after, opportunity was taken to paſs ſuch of the ſtore-ſhips as were then with the fleet into the bay.

On the night of the 18th the reſt of the ſtore-ſhips which had been ordered to a ſpecial rendezvous with the Buffalo, (one only excepted) were likewiſe anchored in Roſſia bay. The troops being embarked in the ſhips of war, a large ſupply of powder being landed at the ſame time, and the wants of the garriſon amply provided for, lord Howe propoſed taking advantage of an eaſtwardly wind, which had prevailed the two or three preceding days, for returning through the ſtraits to the weſtward.

At break of day on the 19th the combined force of the enemy was ſeen at a little diſtance to the N. E. The fleet being at that time ſo nearly between Europa and Center points that there was not ſpace to form in order of battle on either tack, the admiral repaſſed the ſtraits followed by the enemy. The wind changing next morning to the northward, the combined fleets, conſiſting of forty-five or forty-ſix ſhips of the line, ſtill retained the ſame advantage. The Britiſh fleet being formed to leeward to receive them, they were left uninterruptedly to take the diſtance at which they ſhould think fit to engage. They began their cannonade at ſun ſet on the van and rear, ſeeming to point their chief attack on the latter, and continued their fire along their whole line, at a conſiderable diſtance, and with little effect until ten at night. It was returned occaſionally from the different ſhips of the fleet, as their nearer approach at times afforded a more favourable opportunity for making any impreſſion on them. The enemy hauling their wind, and the Britiſh fleet keeping on all night with their full ſail directed before the commencement of their fire, the fleets were much ſeparated, and the enemy ſheltered themſelves by running into Cadiz.

Lord Howe expreſſed much regret, that the little confidence the enemy ſhewed in their ſuperiority, by keeping always as near as they could haul to the wind, prevented the full effect of the animated exertions he was aſſured would have been made by every officer and ſeaman under his command, if they could have cloſed with their opponents; but added, that as he judged ſuch nearer approach could not then be ſeaſonably attempted, he made no change in the diſpoſition of the ſhips as formed at firſt to receive the enemy. By the fire of the combined fleets in this partial action, our loſs was 68 killed and 208 wounded.

Lord Howe, as ſoon as the maſts of the ſhips damaged by the enemy's fire were properly ſecured, took the firſt opportunity of ſtanding to the northward, under all the ſail poſſible, with requiſite care for keeping the fleet duly connected to get up again with the enemy. The wind continued in the ſame quarter to the 25th of October, but being more to the eaſt the three following days, the ſame preſſed ſail was carried as before; but as the enemy, who had perſiſted to avoid a renewal of the action of the 21ſt, could not (as the wind then was) be forced thereto, except by working in with the Barbary ſhore for an uncertain time, which the ſtate of the ſhips did not admit, his lordſhip brought the fleet to on the 28th to prepare the detachments directed by his inſtructions at that period.

Towards the cloſe of November, Mr. Secretary Townſhend ſent a letter to the Directors of the bank of England, of which the following is a copy:

"Whitehall, Nov. 22, 1782.

"Gentlemen,

"His majeſty's miniſters, anxious to prevent, "as early as poſſible, the miſchiefs too commonly "reſulting from ſpeculations in the funds, during "the uncertain ſtate of negociation for peace be"tween the powers at war, (and which it is to the "general honour and intereſt of all great powers "to avoid) have thought it their duty to aſk his "majeſty's permiſſion to communicate to you, for "the information of the public, that the negocia"tions now carrying on at Paris, are brought ſo "far to a point, as to promiſe a deciſive concluſion, either for peace or war before the meeting "of parliament, which will on that account be "prorogued from Tueſday the 26th inſtant to "Thurſday the 5th of December next.

"I have his majeſty's commands to aſſure you "that you will receive immediate notice of the iſſue.

"I am Gentlemen,
"Your moſt obedient
"humble Servant,
"T. Townshend."

Governor and Company of the Bank of England.

The lord-mayor of London likewiſe received a letter to the ſame purport with that addreſſed to the governor and company of the Bank of England.

After this notification the following letter was received by the lord-mayor:

"My lord,

"In conſequence of my letter to your lordſhip "of the 22d of laſt month, I take the earlieſt op"portunity of informing your lordſhip, that a "meſſenger is juſt arrived from Paris with an ac"count of proviſional articles being ſigned on the "30th of November, between his majeſty's com"miſſioners and the commiſſioners of the United "Sates of America, to be inſerted and conſtitute "a treaty of peace; hence peace ſhall be con"cluded between Great Britain and France. Your "lordſhip will pleaſe to make this as public as "poſſible.

"I am, &c.
"T. Townshend."

Dec. 3, 1782.

A copy of the above was alſo ſent to the Directors of the Bank.

On the 5th his majeſty went to the houſe of peers and opened the ſeſſion of parliament with a ſpeech from the throne, importing that in conſequence of the ſenſe of his parliament, he pointed all his views and meaſures, as well in Europe as in North America, to an entire and cordial reconciliation with the colonies, and expreſſive of his perfect reliance on their wiſdom in the further proſecution of the war, ſhould its continuance appear to be indiſpenſible. In his particular addreſs to the commons, he diſplayed a very œconomical diſpoſition, a generous feeling for the ſufferers in America, made the greater conceſſions on his part, and recommended

commended ſuch meaſures as ſhould be deemed moſt ſalutary and patriotic.

After ſome debates as to certain particular parts of the ſpeech, an addreſs was unanimouſly agreed to in the houſe of lords; the ſame form paſſed in the lower houſe, and the addreſſes being reſpectively preſented met with moſt gracious anſwers from his majeſty.

About this time advice was received of the melancholy fate of his majeſty's ſhip the Centaur of 74 guns, commanded by captain Inglefield, which foundered near the Azores in the Atlantic ſea. At the time of her ſinking moſt of the crew were on board, there not being a ſingle ſhip in ſight to give them any aſſiſtance. A ſhort time previous to her going down, a part of the crew took to her remaining boats, which were three in number, her other boats being ſtove in the hurricane: but of theſe two were ſunk from being too much laden, and all on board them periſhed. The other, which was very ſmall, containing only twelve men, beſides the captain and a boy, fortunately reached Fyal, one of the Azores, after being expoſed to the greateſt diſtreſs for ſixteen days from the time they firſt took to the boat. When theſe wretched ſurvivors quitted the ſhip, they took with them only water ſufficient for three days, but which, by prudent management, was lengthened out ſo as to ſerve them nine; after which time they were reduced to the deplorable extremity of drinking their own urine.

On the 12th of December captain James Luttrell, commander of his majeſty's ſhip the Mediator of 44 guns, diſplayed an inſtance of ſingular proweſs in the attack of five ſail of French and American frigates laden with military ſtores off Ferrol, and the capture of the Alexander of 24 and the Managere of 30 guns armed en flute. On the 14th captain Stephen Gregory, of the Alexander, laid a plot to occaſion the priſoners to riſe, and hoped to have taken the command of the Mediator from captain Luttrell; but through the indefatigable attention of lieutenant Rankin of the marines, in the diſpoſal and regulation of centries as a guard, and the lucky precaution they had taken of faſtening down the gratings of all the hatches in the lower gun deck, leaving room for only one man at a time to come up abaft, the deſperate ſcheme of Gregory was prevented without bloodſhed. The alarm he fixed on was to fire an eighteen pounder in the gun room, where he lay, for he meſſed with the lieutenant, and had been paid every friendly attention. At ten at night the captain was alarmed by a terrible ſhock from ſome exploſion, and heard a cry of fire, ſoon after which he was informed that the lee port was blown away by the gun into the ſea, and the water making in. Having wore the ſhip on the other tack to get the port hole covered with tarpaulins and ſecured, the captain went down, found the gun-room on fire, and every thing ſhattered that was near the exploſion. Gregory and his accomplices were dreſſed, though they had pretended to go to bed; and in their cot was found ſome of the gunpowder, which they had provided to prime the gun: and, in ſhort, every proof neceſſary for a conviction of Gregory's having fired it for an alarm to make the priſoners riſe. He had alſo endeavoured to provide himſelf with a ſword, but being diſappointed in his project, begged his life. The cry of fire forward was heard among the priſoners when the ſignal gun was fired; but the plot being diſcovered and all things ſettled, Gregory, together with thoſe of his officers and men who were ſuſpected of being concerned in the plot, were ordered to be put in irons, and kept on bread and water. The Managere was conducted into Plymouth Sound, and the Alexander ſoon followed.

On the 23d of December his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills that were ready, after which the lords unanimouſly voted their thanks to Sir Edward Hughes and Sir Eyre Coote, and then adjourned to the 21ſt of January, as did alſo the houſe of commons to the ſame day.

At the cloſe of this year the agreeable news arrived of the releaſe of captain Aſgill, (ſon of Sir Charles Aſgill, alderman of London) by virtue of an order of the United States of America in congreſs aſſembled on the 7th of November. This young officer, as brave as amiable, had been doomed, by lot, to ſuffer death, to retaliate for the murder of one captain Huddy, (an American officer) who had been executed as a traitor by the loyal refugees at New-York. Immediately on hearing of the fate of her unfortunate ſon, Lady Aſgill, his afflicted mother, applied, in the moſt melting and pathetic terms, to the count de Vergennes, prime miniſter of France. The count, with great humanity and politeneſs, wrote to general Waſhington on the intereſting ſubject; and that officer, warmly interfering in behalf of the unhappy young man, his life was ſpared. The following letters are adduced as the means by which this moſt deſirable event was brought about.

Copy of a letter from Count *Vergennes* to General *Waſhington*, dated at Verſailles July 29, 1782.

" Sir,

" It is not in quality of a king, the friend and ally of the United States, though with the knowledge and conſent of his majeſty, that I now have the honour to write to your Excellency. It is a man of ſenſibility, and a tender father, who feels all the force of paternal love, that I take the liberty to addreſs to your Excellency my earneſt ſolicitations in favour of a mother and family in tears. Her ſituation ſeems the more worthy of notice, on our part, as it is to the humanity of a nation at war with her own, that ſhe has recourſe for what ſhe ought to receive from the impartial juſtice of her own generals.

" I have the honour to incloſe your excellency a copy of a letter which Mrs. Aſgill has juſt wrote to me. I am not known to her, nor was I acquainted that her ſon was the unhappy victim deſtined by lot to expiate the odious crime that a formal denial of juſtice obliges you to revenge. Your Excellency will not read this letter without being extremely affected; it had that effect upon the king and queen, to whom I communicated it. The goodneſs of their majeſties hearts induces them to deſire that the inquietudes of an unfortunate mother may be calmed, and her tenderneſs reaſſured. I feel, Sir, that theſe are caſes where humanity itſelf exacts the moſt extreme rigour: perhaps the one now in queſtion may be of the number; but allowing reprizals to be juſt, it is not leſs horrid to thoſe who are the victims; and the character of your Excellency is too well known for me not to be perſuaded that you deſire nothing more than to avoid the diſagreeable neceſſity.

" There is one conſideration, Sir, which, though it is not deciſive, may have an influence upon your reſolution. Captain Aſgill is doubtleſs your priſoner,

ſoner, but he is among thoſe whom the arms of the king contributed to put into your hands at York-Town. Although this circumſtance does not operate as a ſafeguard, it however juſtifies the intereſt I permit myſelf to take in this affair. If it is in your power, Sir, to conſider and have regard to it, you will do what is very agreeable to their majeſties; the danger of young Aſgill, the tears, the deſpair of his mother, affect them ſenſibly, and they will ſee with pleaſure the hope of conſolation ſhine out for thoſe unfortunate people.

" In ſeeking to deliver Mr. Aſgill from the fate which threatens him, I am far from engaging you to ſeek another victim; the pardon, to be perfectly ſatisfactory, muſt be entire. I do not imagine it can be productive of any bad conſequences. If the Engliſh General has not been able to puniſh the horrible crime you complain of, in ſo exemplary a manner as he ſhould, there is reaſon to think he will take the moſt efficacious meaſures to prevent the like in future.

" I ſincerely wiſh that my interceſſion may meet with ſucceſs; the ſentiment which dictates it, and which you have not ceaſed to manifeſt on every occaſion, aſſures me, that you will not be indifferent to the prayers and to the tears of a family, which has recourſe to your clemency through me. It is rendering homage to your virtue to implore it."

" I have the honour to be, with the moſt perfect conſideration, Sir, Your, &c.

(Signed) " De Vergennes."

Copy of a letter from Lady *Aſgill* to Count *Vergennes*, dated London, July 18, 1782.

" Sir,

" If the politeneſs of the French court will permit an application of a ſtranger, there can be no doubt but one in which all the tender feelings of an individual can be intereſted, will meet with a favourable reception from a nobleman, whoſe character does honour not only to his own country, but to human nature. The ſubject, Sir, on which I preſume to implore your aſſiſtance, is too heart-piercing for me to dwell on, and common fame has, moſt probably, informed you of it; it therefore renders the painful taſk unneceſſary. My ſon, and only ſon, as dear as he is brave, amiable as he is deſerving to be ſo, only nineteen, a priſoner under articles of capitulation of York-Town, is now confined in America an object of retaliation. Shall an innocent ſuffer for the guilty! Repreſent to yourſelf, Sir, the ſituation of a family under ſuch circumſtances, ſurrounded as I am by objects of diſtreſs; diſtracted with fear and grief; no words can expreſs my feeling, or paint the ſcene. My huſband given over by his phyſicians, a few hours before the news arrived, and not in a ſtate to be informed of the misfortune; my daughter ſeized with a fever and delirium, raving about her brother, and without one interval of reaſon, ſave to hear heart-alleviating circumſtances. Let your feelings, Sir, ſuggeſt and plead for my inexpreſſible miſery. A word from you, like a voice from heaven, will ſave us from diſtraction and wretchedneſs. I am well informed General Waſhington reveres your character; ſay but to him you wiſh my ſon to be releaſed, and he will reſtore him to his diſtracted family, and render him to happineſs. My ſon's virtue and bravery will juſtify the deed. His honour, Sir, carried him to America. He was born to affluence, independence, and the happieſt proſpects. Let me again ſupplicate your goodneſs; let me reſpectfully implore your high influence in behalf of innocence, in the cauſe of juſtice, of humanity; that you would, Sir, diſpatch a letter to General Waſhington, from France, and favour me with a copy of it, to be ſent from hence. I am ſenſible of the liberty I take in making this requeſt; but I am ſenſible, whether you comply with it or not, you will pity the diſtreſs that ſuggeſts it; your humanity will drop a tear on the fault, and efface it. I will pray that heaven may grant you may never want the comfort it is in your power to beſtow on Asgill."

Nor was the humanity or liberality of general Waſhington leſs conſpicuous on this joyful occaſion, as appeared from the following copy of a letter from the general to Mr. Aſgill, covering the reſolve of Congreſs to releaſe him.

" Head Quarters, Nov. 13.

" Sir,

" It affords me ſingular pleaſure to have it in my power to tranſmit you the incloſed copy of an act of Congreſs of the 7th inſtant, by which you are releaſed from the diſagreeable circumſtances in which you have ſo long been. Suppoſing you would wiſh to go into New-York as ſoon as poſſible, I alſo incloſe a paſſport for that purpoſe.

" Your letter of the 18th of October, came regularly to my hands; I beg you to believe, that my not anſwering it ſooner did not proceed from inattention to you, or a want of feeling for your ſituation. I daily expected a determination of your caſe; and I thought it better to await that, than to feed you with hopes that might in the end prove fruitleſs.

" I cannot take leave of you, Sir, without aſſuring you, that in whatever light my agency in this unpleaſing affair may be received, I never was influenced through the whole of it by ſanguinary motives, but by what I conceived a ſenſe of my duty, which loudly called upon me to take meaſures, however diſagreeable, to prevent a repetition of thoſe enormities which have been the ſubject of diſcuſſion; and that this important end is likely to be anſwered without the effuſion of the blood of an innocent perſon, is not a greater relief to you, than it is to, Sir, Your moſt obedient,

And humble Servant,

(Signed) G. Washington."

Thus by the interference of the count de Vergennes, and the interpoſition of general Waſhington in conſequence thereof, was the happy effect produced, and a moſt reſpectable character reſcued from an undeſerved fate, to the joy of his relatives in particular, and the friends of mankind in general.

During the courſe of this year ſeveral ſhips were taken at different periods between the contending powers, and others loſt by accidents, of which the following are the principal:

On the 17th of January the Hannibal, of 50 guns, was taken by the French fleet off the weſt coaſt of Sumatra.

On the 17th of February admiral Hughes took a valuable French ſtore-ſhip off Madras, retook five country ſhips, and with nine ſhips beat off Monſ. Suffrein with twelve.

On the 16th of March the Santa Catalina, a Spaniſh frigate of 42 guns, was taken and burnt by his majeſty's ſhip the Succeſs of 32, off Cape Spartal.

On the 19th of April the Caton and Jaſon of 64 guns, L'Aimiable of 32, and Ceres of 18, were taken

JAN

Metz delin. *Cook sculp.*

Mr FITZHERBERT *the British Minister Plenipotentiary, with* GRAVIER de VERGENNES, *and* Le COMPTE D'ARANDA, *Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Courts of France & Spain,* SIGNING *the preliminary Articles of* PEACE *at* VERSAILLES *(on Jan.y the 20th. 1783) previous to their final Ratification.*

taken from the French in the More Paſſage in the Weſt-Indies.

On the 24th of June a French frigate, called the Tartar, was taken by the Engliſh.

On the 5th of July, the Amazone, a French frigate of 36 guns, was taken by the Santa Margareta, in North America.

On the 10th of September the Hebe, a French frigate of 40 guns, was taken by his majeſty's ſhip the Rainbow off the iſle of Bas.

On the 15th the L'Aigle French frigate of 40 guns, with ſome money for congreſs, and the Sophie of 22, with a valuable cargo, were taken in the Delaware by the Warwick, &c.

On the 4th of October the Hector of 74 guns, one of lord Rodney's prizes, foundered near Halifax.

On the 10th of the ſame month the combined fleets of France and Spain were greatly damaged by a ſtorm in Algeſiras Bay, and the St. Michael, a Spaniſh ſhip of 74 guns, was driven on ſhore under the guns of Gibraltar, and taken by the garriſon of that fortreſs.

A. D. 1783. The expectations of the public were greatly raiſed on the commencement of this year from the apparent proſpect of the happy reſtoration of a general peace, and the bleſſings which it might be naturally apprehended would flow from ſo deſirable an event. But ſuch was the ſtate of the negotiations between the belligerent powers as to preclude all ground for certainty, affording room only for mere conjecture.

There appeared, indeed, about the latter end of November in the preceding year, great hopes of terminating a peace with the United States of Holland; but owing to unforeſeen incidents, or, probably, to the ſuggeſtions and interference of a power inimical to the intereſt of Great Britain, the negotiations were ſoon ſtopped, though the negotiators ſeemed to have no diſpoſition to ſeperate. At length, however, the plenipotentiaries for the United States having delivered a memorial to Mr. Fitzherbert, his Britannic majeſty's plenipotentiary, in which the language of the Britiſh cabinet was much excepted to, articles were in conſequence propoſed to the ſtates-general by order of the court of London to their miniſter, which, from the reception they met with, excluded every idea of a probability of accommodation. The negotiation was carried on alſo at Paris, where, on the delivery of a paper, containing the opinion of the United States as to the articles propoſed by the Britiſh cabinet, to Mr. Fitzherbert, Meſſrs. Leſtevenon and Brantſen gave him to underſtand, in a ſhort verbal converſation, the impoſſibility there was of their ever coming to a pacification in conſequence of the ſentiments manifeſted by his court: and thus, for a time, reſted the whole affair.

When at laſt the hope of peace could not be mentioned but with indeciſion and anxiety, the public had the ſatisfaction of anticipating at leaſt the effects of that invaluable bleſſing. The event was announced on the evening of the 23d of January, in a letter from lord Grantham, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, to the lord-mayor of London, wherein his lordſhip was acquainted, that a meſſenger had arrived from Paris with the preliminary articles between Great Britain and France, and between Great Britain and Spain, as ſigned at Verſailles, on the 20th, by the reſpective miniſters plenipotentiary of the aforeſaid courts. That the preliminaries with Holland were not yet ſigned, but a ceſſation of hoſtilities was agreed upon; and that his lordſhip was deſired immediately to publiſh the important event.

Without entering into a detail of the prolix, though expedient, forms uſed upon ſuch occaſions, it may be deemed neceſſary to ſpecify the moſt intereſting particulars of the preliminary articles.

It was agreed, between their Britannic and moſt Chriſtian majeſties, that the former ſhould preſerve, in full right, the iſland of Newfoundland and the adjacent iſlands, ceding in full right to the latter the iſlands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, reſtoring St. Lucia, and guarantying Tobago. That the moſt Chriſtian king ſhould reſtore to Great Britain the iſlands of Grenada and the Grenades, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Chriſtopher, Nevis and Montſerrat. That the king of Great Britain ſhould cede and guarantee in full right to his moſt Chriſtian majeſty the river of Senegal and its dependencies, reſtore the iſland of Goree, and be by him put in poſſeſſion of Fort James and the river Gambia.

With reſpect to the coaſts of Africa, it was ſtipulated, that all the eſtabliſhments ſhould be reſtored to the moſt Chriſtian king, which belonged to him at the commencement of the war on the coaſt of Orixa and in Bengal, and that his ſubjects ſhould be ſecured in their trade on the coaſts of Orixa, Coromandel and Malabar. That Pondicherry ſhould be reſtored, together with Mahe and the Comptoir at Surat, and that the French ſhould carry on commerce in that part of India, either as individuals, or as a company.

Between their Britannic and moſt Catholic majeſties it was agreed, that the latter ſhould retain the iſland of Minorca, that the former ſhould cede Eaſt Florida to the latter, who ſhould keep Weſt Florida upon certain conditions. That his Catholic majeſty ſhould reſtore to Great Britain the iſlands of Providence and the Bahamas without exception, in the ſame condition as when conquered by the arms of Spain. Finally, that all the countries and territories, which might have been conquered in any part of the world by the arms of either ſtate, and which were not included in theſe articles, ſhould be reſtored without requiring compenſations.

When the parliament met purſuant to adjournment, the preliminaries of peace being preſented to the houſe of commons, were ordered to lie on the table, and in the ſequel gave riſe to various deſultory altercations, rather than regular debates, as different circumſtances ſtruck different members. But theſe we ſhall paſs over, as all the arguments of moment are included in the grand debate that took place on the 17th of February, of which the following is a ſummary account.

In the upper houſe the leaders of the oppoſition conſidered the preliminaries as injurious to the intereſt and honour of Great Britain; accuſed the miniſtry of impolicy and improvidence in marking the boundaries between the territorial rights of Great Britain and the United States of America; cenſured them for ſending out an incompetent commiſſioner to negotiate with them, as appeared from the ſhameful ignorance, folly and abſurdity of the proviſional articles, condemned the ſeveral conceſſions both in America and the Eaſt Indies, and concluded, from the general tenor of the preliminaries, that the miniſtry had acceded implicitly to whatever terms might have been propoſed to them.

In anſwer to theſe charges, the friends of adminiſtration

niſtration obſerved, that the peace was as good as we had reaſon to expect, conſidering the number of foes that aſſailed us in Europe, in America, in the Weſt Indies, and in the Eaſt. They remarked with great propriety, that the miniſtry who tranſacted the important matter alluded to had come into power at the moſt critical moment this nation had ever experienced; that they were ſenſible of the diſtreſſed ſituation of their country, and the arduous taſk they were about to undertake; but that, actuated by their duty, their attachment to the conſtitution, and their public ſpirit, they rather choſe to run all hazards than ſuffer ſuch deſtructive meaſures any longer to be purſued; that they had come into adminiſtration when the cry of the whole nation was, "Give us peace on any terms;" and that they had procured a peace on much better terms than could have been expected. They drew a diſtreſſed picture of the ſituation of this country, and inferred, from the reduced ſtate of the finances, the impoſſibility of continuing a war without the hazard of a national bankruptcy. With reſpect to what was particularly urged as to conceſſions, they obſerved, that France had, from the beginning of the negociations, inſiſted to be releaſed from ſome of the reſtrictions to which we had bound her; that our ſituation in the Weſt Indies, Tobago excepted, was the ſame we held at the peace of 1763, when we were victorious in every part of the globe; that our ſituation in the Weſt Indies was much worſe, from a variety of concomitant circumſtances, (as expatiated on) than was generally imagined. As to the boundaries in America ſo much objected to, they urged, that they were propoſed agreeable to the ſyſtem of moderation that now began to prevail in the moſt enlightened parts of Europe; and, in a word, preſumed that, all circumſtances conſidered, every diſpaſſionate and impartial man would be convinced that the miniſtry had done their duty, and made as good a peace as this kingdom had a right to expect.

At length the motion for an addreſs was carried by a majority of thirteen.

The members of the lower houſe, who ſpoke on this important occaſion both for and againſt the preliminaries, went over much the ſame ground in general with thoſe in the upper: we ſhall, therefore, only advert to ſuch arguments as had not been ſo explicitly urged by any of the noble ſpeakers in that houſe.

The ſupporters of the preliminaries obſerved, that at the concluſion of a glorious war it would have been difficult to perſuade the public, that the terms were ſufficiently adequate to their expectations, but at the period of an unfortunate war they could not be deemed humiliating: that at the cloſe of all wars, one of the powers would, moſt probably, have the aſcendancy, and to that power conceſſions muſt neceſſarily be made: but to decide on the merits of the intended peace, it was eſſential to take a view of our national finances, and that, on taking a comparative view of the preſent ſituation of this country with that previous to the war with America, the picture would be found truly deplorable. Having particularly adverted to the national debt, it was ſubmitted to the judgment of the houſe, if a continuance of the war could end in any thing leſs than certain ruin.

The oppoſers of the preliminaries went into a diſcuſſion of the particulars of each treaty, reprobated the ſeveral ceſſions made to France, cenſured the ceſſion of Minorca and Eaſt Florida to Spain, adverted to the boundaries in America, and the declaration of the independence of the United States, and concluded, from a variety of circumſtances reſpecting the terms in general, that there was no great probability of a laſting peace.

An addreſs having been moved by the member who ſpoke firſt on the part of adminiſtration, an amendment was moved by a noble lord, and carried by a majority of ſixteen againſt the miniſter.

In conſequence of the preliminary articles of peace ſigned by the reſpective belligerent powers, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons farther to open an intercourſe between Great Britain and the United States of America. This bill paſſed through ſome ſtages, and at various times between the 5th of March and the 9th of April, gave riſe to many converſations, all which we paſs over, as the bill was finally loſt on the appointment of a new miniſtry, and all the arguments that were urged for and againſt it, were, in fact, included in the debates that followed the bringing in of another bill, introduced by Mr. Secretary Fox, in order to accompliſh the ſame object.

In the courſe of theſe different debates, various obſervations were dropped on the national inconveniences that reſulted from the inter-regnum in adminiſtration, that was occaſioned by the unexpected coalition of the partizans of lord North and Mr. Fox, and the conſequent cenſure paſſed in the lower houſe on the negociators of the peace. Many members thought theſe inconveniences of ſuch ſerious conſequence, that, however it might ſeem to encroach on the royal prerogative, in which alone was the appointment of miniſters, it was highly neceſſary, in a moment ſo extremely critical, to addreſs his majeſty on this occaſion. Accordingly the following motion was made on the 24th of March, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his majeſty, that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to take into conſideration the preſent calamitous condition of this country occaſioned by a long and ruinous war, and that he would appoint ſuch an adminiſtration, as would deſerve the confidence of the people and relieve them from the diſtractions under which they groaned."

This motion could not be expected to paſs without oppoſition, nor the famous coalition not to be ſeverely cenſured on the one hand, or remain unſupported on the other. A member whoſe parliamentary conduct had ever been graced by independence and integrity, (Mr. Martin) peremptorily declared, that from fixed principle he abhorred the coalition; that he had for many years heard the wiſeſt and beſt men in the houſe exclaim againſt the incompetence of the noble lord (North) to ſuſtain the vaſt cares of this mighty empire; that his ſomnolency, his blunders, his obſtinacy, &c. had been the continual theme of thoſe very men who were now elaborate in their encomiums on his character; and that therefore he ſhould feel himſelf a betrayer of the intereſts of his country if he gave his voice for an addreſs to countenance ſuch a coalition; but having an entire confidence in the wiſdom and firmneſs of his ſovereign, he ſhould vote for it, not doubting that his majeſty's choice would meet the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of his people.

The characters thus particularized in this ſpeech uſed the ſame principal arguments in favour of the coalition, the neceſſity of the times, and the poſſibility that HONEST men, though they differed in certain points, might ſo far unite as to ſerve the country with advantage. At length the addreſs

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was put, carried, and graciouſly received by his majeſty, who was pleaſed to ſay that it was his earneſt deſire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wiſhes expreſſed by his faithful commons.

On the 31ſt the country was ſtill without an adminiſtration and the chancellor of the exchequer announced his reſignation to the houſe. The ſuſpenſion of public buſineſs, unavoidably conſequent on this ſtate of affairs, afforded juſt ground for public murmur and parliamentary interference. Different forms of addreſſes were moved and ſubmitted to the conſideration of the houſe, but nothing was carried into reſolution; till at length an adminiſtration was formed, and on the 2d of April many of the conſequent new writs were moved for in the houſe.

On the 17th the royal aſſent was given by commiſſion to ſeveral public and private bills; likewiſe the bill to repeal the acts of the 16th and 17th of his preſent majeſty which prohibited the trade and intercourſe with America.—The bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion.—The bill to obviate all doubts which have ariſen or may ariſe, concerning the excluſive rights of the parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legiſlature and judicature, and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his majeſty's courts in the kingdom of Great Britain.

From the time when the new adminiſtration aſſumed the reins of government, no other ſubject of moment occurred except the ſtatement of the new loan, till the 7th of May, when Mr. Pitt opened the great buſineſs of parliamentary reform, and defended his motion with all the powers of eloquence; however, after ſome ingenious debates on both ſides the queſtion, there appeared a majority of 144 againſt it.

So ſtrenuous were the freeholders of the county of York for the effecting a more equal parliamentary repreſentation, that a petition was preſented by them on that account, ſigned by 10,124 names.

Among the taxes propoſed at the opening of the budget by lord John Cavendiſh, that on receipts appeared to be particularly unpopular, as it produced a general murmur among the commercial part of the community, followed by petitions from the city of London, and other parts, though without producing the deſired effect.

On the 23d of June the chancellor of the exchequer delivered to the houſe a written meſſage from the king, of which the following is a copy:

GEORGE R.

"His majeſty having taken into conſideration the propriety of making an immediate and ſeparate eſtabliſhment for his dearly beloved ſon the prince of Wales, relies on the experienced zeal and affection of the houſe for the concurrence and ſupport of ſuch meaſures as ſhall be moſt proper to aſſiſt his majeſty in this deſign."

After a few previous enquiries, the queſtion was put for referring the meſſage to the committee of ſupply, and carried unanimouſly; and on the 25th the order of the day for taking the ſame into conſideration being read, and the houſe having gone into a committee of ſupply, lord John Cavendiſh ſaid, that the committee muſt neceſſarily feel the moſt lively ſentiments of affection to his majeſty for the gracious manner in which he had determined to provide for the eſtabliſhment of the prince of Wales, without calling upon his people for any additional ſupply to his civil liſt on that account. The whole of the annual expence his majeſty was reſolved to take upon himſelf, and to allow his royal highneſs 50,000l. a year, but the committee could not be ignorant of the ſtate of the civil liſt. About 50,000l. had been ſet aſide towards paying debts, which would keep the civil liſt down to 850,000l. for about ſix years to come, and the allowance of 50,000l. a year to the prince would leave his majeſty's revenue ſo low, that it would be barely ſufficient to diſcharge the different claims upon it. In ſuch a ſituation, therefore, it was not ſurpriſing that his majeſty ſhould call upon his faithful commons for a temporary aid to equip his ſon at his outſet in life. The queſtion being put, was agreed to Nem. Con.

From this period no more buſineſs of moment was diſcuſſed in either houſe till the 16th of July, when his majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion with a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

Having thus related the moſt important parliamentary tranſactions of this memorable period, we ſhall paſs on to ſuch other events as may be deemed worthy of hiſtorical record.

His majeſty having, on the 5th of February, been pleaſed to order letters patent to be paſſed under the great ſeal of the kingdom of Ireland, for creating a ſociety, or brotherhood, to be called Knights of the Illuſtrious Order of St. Patrick, (to conſiſt of the ſovereign and fifteen knights companions, of which his majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors ſhould perpetually be ſovereigns, and his majeſty's lieutenant-general, and general-governor of Ireland, or the lord-deputy or deputies, or lords juſtices, or other chief governors, ſhould officiate as grand maſters) fifteen knights companions of the ſaid illuſtrious order were accordingly conſtituted by appointment of his majeſty, and afterwards veſted with the inſignia in due form.

The court-martial on the trial of General Murray met, at the cloſe of the preceding month, at the Horſe Guards, to receive the deciſion of the court, after its reviſion by his majeſty. Both General Murray, and Sir William Draper who had exhibited the charges againſt him, being preſent, the Judge Advocate proceeded to read the deciſion, which was, "that twenty-ſeven of the charges were frivolous and groundleſs." Of the remaining two the court had found the priſoner guilty, and ſentenced him to receive ſuch reprehenſion as his majeſty might think proper, which his majeſty had been pleaſed to remit. The Judge Advocate then informed Sir William Draper, that it was the pleaſure of the court that he ſhould be required to make an apology to General Murray for having inſtituted the preſent trial againſt him. Sir William acquieſced, and apologized accordingly. When the like requiſition was made of General Murray to Sir William, for having wounded his feelings as a ſoldier, by his conduct to him during his command at Minorca, General Murray vehemently and peremptorily refuſed acquieſcence, declaring that he was the protector of his own honour, and would leave that of every other man to his own vindication. He was, therefore, put under arreſt; but on a meeting of the court-martial a few days after, the affair was accommodated, by changing a word in the propoſed apology, and the matter terminated in ſuch a manner as to leave no poſſible ground for apprehenſion that any future conſequence would take place between the two generals.

In the beginning of April the agreeable news arrived from the Eaſt-Indies, that the eſtabliſhment of peace with the Mahrattas was in the faireſt way of being accompliſhed, as articles of a treaty

of peace and perpetual friendſhip and alliance between the Engliſh and the Mahrattas had been agreed upon and executed.

Some time after advices were received of the death of Hyder Ally, our moſt formidable opponent in that remote quarter of the globe, and that his ſucceſſor Tippo Saib appeared more pacifically inclined to the Engliſh than his father, having permitted ſuch as were priſoners in the towns taken by him to have a free communication with the preſidency at Madras, to be better ſupplied with neceſſaries, and to have free egreſs and regreſs.

On the 22d of May articles were agreed upon between Mr. Oſwald, his Britannic majeſty's commiſſioner, and the commiſſioners of the United States of America. Theſe articles particularly ſet forth the acknowledgment of the freedom, ſovereignty, and independence of the ſaid ſtates on the part of Great Britain, pointed out their boundaries in expreſs terms, and ſettled divers points relative to navigation, trade and commerce.

Sir Roger Curtis, who had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his valour as an officer during the ſiege of Gibraltar by the combined armaments of France and Spain, renewed, on the 16th of June, as deputed from our court, the treaty of peace which had ſubſiſted between Great Britain and the emperor of Morocco.

On the 25th a ſumptuous edifice deſigned as a general bank being complety finiſhed in the city of Dublin, was opened for the tranſacting of public buſineſs.

On the 2d of September preliminary articles of peace, between his majeſty the king of Great Britain and their High Mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces of Holland, were ſigned at Paris by the plenipotentiaries of the reſpective powers; as was, on the 3d, the definitive treaty with France, Spain and America: and on the 6th of the following month, by virtue of his majeſty's royal warrant, peace was proclaimed between Great Britain, France and Spain, at the uſual places, and with the accuſtomed ceremonies.

On the 11th of November the ſeſſion of parliament was opened by a ſpeech from his majeſty to both houſes, in which he informed them, that definitive treaties of peace had been concluded with the courts of France and Spain, and with the United States of America; and that preliminary articles had been alſo ratified with the States General of the United Provinces. He recommended the ſituation of the Eaſt India company, the improvement of the advantages derived from our Indian poſſeſſions, and the promotion and ſecurity of the happineſs of the native inhabitants of thoſe provinces; and concluded with aſſuring them, that he had no doubt of their maintaining that temper and moderation in their deliberations, which the importance of the objects before them ſo evidently demanded, or of their being unanimous in their deſire to direct all thoſe deliberations to the honour of his crown, the ſafety of his dominions, and the proſperity of his people.

When his majeſty had retired from the houſe, his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, who had been previouſly introduced with the uſual ceremonies, and taken his chair on the right hand of the throne, took the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and made and ſubſcribed the declaration, and alſo took and ſubſcribed the oaths of abjuration.

In both houſes a motion for an addreſs was carried, which being preſented to his majeſty, were moſt graciouſly received.

On the 18th of November Mr. Secretary Fox, purſuant to previous notice, brought forward his motion reſpecting the future regulation of the Engliſh ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies, and after a number of pertinent obſervations, concluded his ſpeech with the following motions:

1. That leave be given to bring in a bill for veſting the affairs of the Eaſt India Company in the hands of certain commiſſioners, for the benefit of the proprietors and the public.

2. That leave be given to bring in a bill for the better government of territorial acquiſitions and dependencies in India.

Theſe motions, after a ſhort debate, were ſeverally put, and agreed to by the houſe.

When the firſt bill was brought in, it was read the firſt time, and ordered to be printed; and after ſome deſultory debates, a day was fixed for the ſecond reading.

Accordingly, at the ſtated time, the point was agitated with great vehemence by the reſpective parties. Mr. Secretary Fox vindicated the bill with his uſual force and energy. He argued upon principles of humanity, and painted, in the livelieſt colours, the ſhocking acts of barbarity committed by the Europeans on the natives of India. He repreſented the impropriety of ſupporting the ſervants of the company, who, in defiance of every thing ſacred, could be guilty of the moſt atrocious acts of cruelty and wantonneſs: urged the grand plea, neceſſity: and having declared, that in bringing it into parliament he had done his duty as a miniſter of this country, a friend to humanity, and an enemy to oppreſſion, therefore moved, that the bill might be committed.

Lord North, in a very able manner, defended the principles of the bill, reprobated the ſervants of the Company for engaging in the moſt wanton hoſtilities, which had nearly ruined the intereſts of the India Company in that part of the world; and concluded with averring, that the tendency of the bill was only to diminiſh their political, but not by any means their real, conſequence.

The opponents reaſoned againſt the bill upon general principles, as diſhoneſt, impolitic and arbitrary. They pointed out particularly the injuſtice of infringing the purchaſed rights of a chartered company, and the dangerous tendency of eſtabliſhing an influence which might end only with the exiſtence of the conſtitution.

Mr. W. Pitt, in particular, pledged himſelf to develope the deſtructive principles of the bill, and aſſerted, that its tendency was not more inimical to private property than it was to public freedom.

After a variety of arguments on both ſides the queſtion, the houſe divided on a motion for adjournment, which was carried in the negative by a majority of 109 voices. The queſtion, that the bill be committed, was then carried without a diviſion, and it was ordered to be committed for the 1ſt of December. On that day the principal opponents, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, again diſplayed their eloquence, and went over much the ſame ground as upon the former occaſion: at length, however, the bill was again committed by a majority of 114.

But this meaſure of adminiſtration met with a very different fate in the houſe of lords, where, after ſome debates, the motion for the commitment of the bill was loſt by a majority of 19.

At

At 12 o'clock on Thurſday night, the 18th, a ſpecial meſſenger announced to lord North and Mr. Fox, that his majeſty had no further occaſion for their ſervices. At the ſame time they were commanded to ſend the ſeals by the under ſecretaries, as a perſonal interview would be diſagreeable. The next day the right honourable William Pitt was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury and chancellor of the Exchequer; earl Gower, preſident of the council; and earl Temple, ſecretary of ſtate: the latter immediately wrote letters of diſmiſſion to the remaining members of the cabinet, the conſequence of which was, a general and almoſt unexampled reſignation of their adherents.

But it appeared immediately that the ex-miniſtry ſtill retained a very powerful ſupport in the houſe of commons. One of their moſt ſtrenuous advocates exhorted the houſe not to loſe ſight of their own conſequence in the legiſlature of their country, and contended that in the preſent important criſis, the houſe ought not to accede to the wiſhes of the new adminiſtration, by adjourning only to the enſuing day, but that the adjournment ſhould be extended as uſual at the cloſe of the week, when the houſe had agreed to reſolve itſelf into a committee to conſider of the ſtate of the nation.

This occaſioned ſome debate, till at length the queſtion was called for, and the houſe was going into a diviſion; but the friends of the new miniſtry ſeeing the torrent ſo much againſt them, gave it up; and accordingly the houſe adjourned to Monday the 22d, when Mr. Grenville roſe and announced the reſignation of his noble relation, earl Temple, who, he ſaid, had taken this ſtep in order that he might not be ſuppoſed to ſhelter himſelf under the cover of authority againſt any charge that might be brought againſt him, but that he might meet it fairly and openly in his private capacity.—Mr. Fox hinted at ſome other reaſon for the reſignation; but the ſlight converſe on this ſubject gave way to a more important concern, the paſſing of the land-tax bill, with circumſtances of candour and good temper, that did honour to both ſides of the houſe.

This great object being ſettled, an addreſs to his majeſty was moved againſt the apprehended diſſolution of parliament. Lord North's ſpeech upon this occaſion was very ſingular, not only as it was his firſt profeſſed defence of a celebrated coalition, but as it threw a light on ſome important circumſtances in the government of this country, eſpecially that influence in the ſtate which the great ariſtocratical parties have been long known to poſſeſs.

At length the queſtion being put, that the houſe agree to the motion for the addreſs, it was carried with ſo great a ſtrength of ſhew, that the friends of the new miniſtry did not think proper to try the queſtion by a deciſion. When the addreſs was preſented to his majeſty, he was pleaſed to return a moſt gracious anſwer, and to aſſure the houſe, that he ſhould not interrupt their meeting by any exerciſe of his prerogative, either of prorogation or diſſolution. It was then finally agreed to by the houſe to adjourn to the 12th of January enſuing.

Notwithſtanding there appeared at firſt ſo much difficulty in forming a cabinet, an arrangement of miniſtry was completed in a few days. The duke of Rutland was appointed lord privy ſeal; the marquis of Caermarthen and lord Sydney, principal ſecretaries of ſtate; and lord Thurlow, lord high chancellor.

While the nation was agitated by political convulſions, diſpatches arrived from his excellency major-general James Stuart, commander in chief of his majeſty's and the Eaſt India company's forces on the coaſt of Coromandel, containing a particular account of a very ſignal victory obtained over the French and Tippo Sahib's auxiliaries, under his command.

The ſame diſpatches brought a letter from vice-admiral Sir Edward Hughes, wherein it appeared that he had had another action with the French ſquadron, under monſieur Suffrein. It began on the 20th of June, at 4 minutes paſt 4 P. M. when the enemy, having the advantage of the wind, hauled off. Several of his majeſty's ſhips were much diſabled in their hulls, maſts, and rigging, and ſickneſs prevailed throughout the whole fleet. The admiral on his return to Madraſs road received intelligence of the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace, as well as the ceſſation of hoſtilities agreed to between Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces; and on the 27th diſpatched his majeſty's ſhip Medea on a flag of truce, with letters to monſieur Suffrein and the marquis de Buſſy.

On the 4th of July the Medea returned to Madraſs road, with anſwers from the French commanders in chief, in which they concurred in a ceſſation of hoſtilities by ſea and land, as well as immediate releaſe of priſoners on both ſides: and thus terminated a long and bloody conteſt in that quarter of the globe.

A. D. 1784. Slaughter and devaſtation having at length happily ſubſided in the different parts where they had too long and too violently raged, ſanguine hopes were entertained that they would be ſucceeded by the more pleaſing themes of humanity and peace. But, alas! a reconciliation was no ſooner brought about with foreign enemies, than domeſtic faction reared its baneful head, and involved our political ſyſtem in anarchy and confuſion. When the houſe of commons met purſuant to adjournment on the 12th of January, debates were maintained by the contending parties with the uſual zeal and ſpirit.

A retroſpect was had to the rumoured diſſolution of parliament, and the talents of the late miniſters were placed in a comparative view with thoſe of the preſent. The ſovereign's prerogative to appoint miniſters, and diſſolve parliaments, was univerſally admitted; but the propriety of ſuch meaſures, at a certain criſis, was called in queſtion by the advocates for the late adminiſtration.

After a diviſion of the houſe on the order of the day, upon which there appeared a majority of 39 againſt the miniſter, the houſe went into a committee on the ſtate of the nation; and Mr. Fox moved ſeveral reſolutions, of which the following were the ſum and ſubſtance.

That it is the opinion of this committee, that for any perſon or perſons in his majeſty's treaſury, exchequer, or navy offices, or the bank of England, or employed in paying public money, to iſſue any for ſervices already voted by the houſe of commons, unleſs the uſual bill for appropriating the ſums voted for ſervices, ſhould paſs into a law before any diſſolution or prorogation of parliament, would be a high miſdemeanor, derogatory to the dignity of the houſe, and ſubverſive of the conſtitution.

That there be laid before the houſe an account of all ſums iſſued for public ſervices, from the

19th of December 1783, to the 12th of January 1784.

That no more money be iſſued on the credit of a vote of the houſe, until the above account ſhall have been laid before the houſe, nor for three days after.

That the chairman be inſtructed to move the houſe that the mutiny bill be read a ſecond time on the 23d of February next.

Some objections having been made to the third of theſe reſolutions, the mover ſaid, that in order to take away every poſſible ground for accuſing him of any intention to withhold the ſupplies, he would not preſs that reſolution. The other three were then carried after ſome debate, but without any diviſion.

Several other reſolutions were moved reſpecting general and alarming reports, new appointments, &c. pointing upon the whole ſo directly againſt the new miniſtry, that their friends of courſe oppoſed them; however, they were carried by a conſiderable majority. The moſt material circumſtance, in the courſe of the debate was, that the miniſter would by no means conſent to give an explanation of the king's anſwer to the addreſs of the houſe againſt a diſſolution or prorogation of parliament; inſomuch, that after a variety of efforts in vain to procure an explicit declaration, the houſe, on the 19th, went into the ſtate of the nation; and it was moved, "That it is the opinion of this committe, that having reſolved that, in the preſent ſituation of the dominions of his majeſty, it is proper there ſhould be an adminiſtration that poſſeſſed the confidence of the houſe; and that certain new and extraordinary circumſtances had attended the appointment of his majeſty's miniſters, by no means calculated to conciliate the confidence of this houſe, and derogatory to parliament and the conſtitution, their continuance in places of high truſt is contrary to conſtitutional principles and ſubverſive of the public good." In the debates which this motion introduced, the former topics of diſcuſſion were repeated. On a diviſion there appeared a majority of 21 againſt the miniſter.

On the 23d Mr. Chancellor Pitt moved, that the India bill laid by him before the houſe, be read a ſecond time and committed. Mr. Fox immediately roſe, and adverted to the tendency of the right honourable gentleman's bill as totally inſufficient to eradicate the evils complained of, or emancipate the company from that ſlaviſh dependence on its ſervants abroad, which deprived it of it's energy, and rendered it the proſtituted object of foreign cabal; becauſe that bill, by continuing the influence and power of the proprietors and court of directors, rendered the latter dependent on the former, and left as much as poſſible the commerce of the company to it's own ſuperintendance. He then proceeded to point out that the intention of his bill was to remedy theſe encroachments, by excluding the proprietors, as far as was conſiſtent with neceſſity, from a participation in a government in which they had exhibited ſuch proſtitution of ſentiment, and ſo ſtrange an accommodation of meaſures to the corrupt influence and ſecret intrigues of their ſervants abroad. He affirmed that it was the object of his bill to erect a government, not in Calcutta, but in London, not to give exiſtence to a changeable mode of adminiſtration, but to eſtabliſh a permanent one; not to give an improper extenſion to prerogative, but to ſubject the various regulations to the inſpection of parliament; not to ſcreen culprits from judicial infliction, but to bring them to merited puniſhment. He concluded with obſerving, that the preſent bill tended to no reformation at home, to no correction of abuſe abroad, and in a word, if adopted, he did not heſitate to ſay, India is loſt for ever.

Mr. Chancellor Pitt aſſerted in reply, that notwithſtanding what had been ſaid about controul, the ſame objection which lay againſt his meaſure, was alſo againſt that of the right honourable gentleman, as his bill had no clauſe for abridging or ſuperſeding that of the executive power over every ſubordinate authority whatever. The extenſion of prerogative had been mentioned, and it had been obliquely imputed to his bill. He obſerved the fact was, that any influence it lent was unintended, and therefore could not operate ſo as to create any power of an alarming nature; for the officers abroad were directed to promote, both in the military and civil line, according to a regular ſucceſſion; and the nomination of the crown by this muſt of conſequence be not a little abridged. A great variety of other particulars no doubt demanded his attention; he only requeſted, however, that what he had produced with a ſincere intention of ſerving his country, the houſe might judge of with candour and impartiality.

Lord North concluded the debate, and in very ſtrong terms contended for the imbecility and dark patronage of the bill. He argued that it was not a ſyſtem of practical, ſound, or rational government. The houſe divided on the ſecond reading, when there appeared againſt the bill a majority of eight.

The bill being thus rejected, Mr. Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation and government of our affairs in the Eaſt Indies; the two principal objects of which were, the rendering the ſyſtem for the government of India permanent by authority of parliament; and the fixing the government at home. The other ſyſtem as ſecondary, might be modelled to meet the inclinations and opinions of the country. He then called upon the miniſter to declare explicitly whether the houſe was to rely on the promiſe made in anſwer to their late addreſs. No anſwer from the miniſter. He was called upon again and again; but remained ſilent. At length, as if urged by the pointed ſeverity of ſome remarks, he declared that he would not condeſcend to anſwer interrogatories which he did not think gentlemen entitled to put to him, and concluded with aſſigning his reaſons in an high and elevated ſtile of expreſſion.

As the affairs of the Eaſt India company have produced an event as memorable as any within the annals of our hiſtory, the origin and progreſs of the ſame may not be deemed unworthy of notice. The Engliſh Eaſt India company was originally commenced in the reign of queen Elizabeth, the firſt Aſiatic charter bearing date about the year 1598. The firſt was only for a ſhort term of years, the queen being a very determined enemy to monopolies of every kind. James the Iſt. renewed it, and Charles the IId. after the reſtoration, renewed it in 1662, and granted ſome other privileges. James II. confirmed it afreſh, and added largely to their privileges. The original capital ſtock was 365,000l. but by good ſucceſs it was in 1676 doubled, and in 1685 it was upwards of a million ſterling. In 1698, upon a diſagreement between government and the directors, a new company was eſtabliſhed four years before the old

old charter was expired. The fund of the new company was near two millions, with which they ſent to ſea forty-three ſail of ſhips. From this ſucceſs, the creſts of the old company were brought down; and in 1704 they coaleſced into one company, and have ſo remained ever ſince.

The day following the members were engaged as before on the ſubject of diſſolution, and as undeciſively, till at length the queſtion for adjournment was put and carried. A right honourable member, after ſome exordium, moved, that the houſe do come to this reſolution, "That the houſe of commons expreſſed the firmeſt reliance on his majeſty's moſt gracious aſſurance, that he would not interrupt their proceeding in ſettling the affairs of the Eaſt India company, the ſtate of public credit, and of the revenue; objects which appeared of the greateſt magnitude to his majeſty, to this houſe, and to the public.

The miniſter appeared, from the tenour of his obſervations on this motion, to be much agitated by it at firſt: at length, however, he ſaid he was not averſe to declare, that he never had any intention of diſſolving the parliament; that the circumſtances of the public rendered it a meaſure which no friend to his country would adviſe; that he for one would not adviſe any ſuch meaſure, nor even act with a miniſtry by whom it was adviſed.

This declaration in ſome degree conciliated the minds of the oppoſite party; and a motion was made and paſſed unanimouſly for adjournment to Thurſday the 29th.

In this diſtracted ſtate of our councils, a meeting was held for the laudable purpoſe of recommending an union of parties. They were between fifty and ſixty in number, and, in point of property and conſideration in the country, truly reſpectable. The following requiſition, ſigned by ſeventy members of parliament, was preſented to Mr. Groſvenor, in conſequence of his propoſal in the houſe of commons for an union among the leaders of the contending parties.

"We whoſe names are hereunto ſigned, members of the houſe of commons, being fully perſuaded that the united efforts of thoſe in whoſe integrity, abilities and conſtitutional principles we have reaſon to confide, can alone reſcue the country from it's preſent diſtracted ſtate, do join in moſt earneſtly entreating them to communicate with each other on the arduous ſituation of public affairs; truſting that by a libera and unreſerved intercourſe between them, every impediment may be removed, to a cordial co-operation of great and reſpectable characters, acting on the ſame public principles, and entitled to the ſupport of independent and diſintereſted men.

"And we depute —— to preſent this repreſentation and requiſition to his grace the duke of Portland, the right honourable lord John Cavendiſh, the right honourable William Pitt, and the right honourable Charles James Fox, in our names." But all the efforts of this reſpectable body were fruſtrated; the one part making the reſignation of the miniſter the very baſis of the propoſed intercourſe, and the miniſter ſtating that his perſonal feelings would not ſuffer him to reſign his poſt for the purpoſe of negotiating: ſo that after divers meetings, and various letters had paſſed between the parties, the aſſembly carried a motion declaratory of their ſentiments, and agreed to adjourn SINE DIE.

The 16th of January the lord-mayor, attended by a great number of the aldermen, went from Guildhall to St. James's, and preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, expreſſing the ſatisfaction they felt at the diſmiſſion of his majeſty's late miniſters, and their earneſt aſſurances of maintaining their zeal and loyalty inviolate.

An addreſs of the like nature was alſo preſented by the merchants of London.

On the 29th, the houſe of commons met purſuant to adjournment; but nothing of importance occurred till the 2d of February, when Mr. Groſvenor, the chairman of the meeting of the country gentlemen aſſembled for the purpoſe of effecting an union of parties, after informing the houſe that the conciliatory efforts of that meeting were not likely to prove effectual, moved, "That in the preſent circumſtances of this country, ſo arduous and preſſing, it was neceſſary for that houſe to take ſuch meaſures as were moſt conducive to procure a ſtrong, permanent, extenſive and united adminiſtration, as ſhould carry the full confidence of the commons and the public."

The warm friends of adminiſtration oppoſed the motion, and reprobated the idea of an union between the parties mentioned, as a meer imitation of a recent coalition.

Mr. Fox, with his uſual energy, vindicated his meaſures and thoſe of his adherents; aſſerted the dignity and privileges of the houſe of commons, and maintained, that to ſet the ſenſe of that houſe at defiance, was to overturn its conſequence, and with it the conſtitution itſelf, and the liberties of the ſubject. At length, after a few words from ſome other members, the queſtion was carried without a diviſion.

Another motion was then made ſimilar to the former, both as to ſubſtance and effect, and carried by a majority againſt the miniſter.

But the preſent adminiſtration appeared to have had the ſanction and concurrence of the upper houſe, in which a noble lord on the 4th of February made two reſolutions reſpecting ſome late tranſactions, and then moved for an addreſs to the throne, founded on thoſe reſolutions, expreſſive of their entire ſatisfaction with his majeſty's appointment of miniſters, and aſſuring his majeſty that they would, upon all occaſions, ſupport him in the juſt exerciſe of a conſtitutional prerogative.

The ſame ſubject of altercation which had engroſſed the attention of the lower houſe for ſome time, continued to be debated from day to day, and every motion was carried againſt the miniſter, till on the 20th Mr. Fox moved for an addreſs to the king, which being alſo carried, was prepared and reported as follows:

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"We your majeſty's moſt faithful commons, impreſſed with the moſt dutiful ſenſe of your majeſty's paternal regard for the welfare of your people, approach your throne to expreſs our reliance on your majeſty's paternal wiſdom, that your majeſty will take ſuch meaſures, by removing any obſtacle to forming ſuch an adminiſtration as the houſe has declared to be requiſite in the preſent critical and arduous ſituation of affairs, as may tend to give effect to the wiſhes of your faithful commons, which have already been moſt humbly repreſented to your majeſty."

This addreſs being preſented on the 25th to his majeſty,

majeſty, he was pleaſed to reply in words to the following purport:

"That he felt the peculiar neceſſity of a ſtrong, united, and extended adminiſtration, and ſuch as might poſſeſs the confidence of the public. That his endeavours to compoſe the preſent diſtractions by an union of the ableſt men upon a fair and equal footing had very recently been uſed, but without ſucceſs: that until ſuch an adminiſtration could be formed as his faithful commons deſired, he could not ſee how it could conduce to the public good to remove his preſent from all the ſituations of executive government; more eſpecially as no charge had been ſpecified againſt any one of them, and as the repreſentations of large and reſpectable bodies of his ſubjects had expreſſed a ſatisfaction in the late change which he had thought proper to make in his councils."

When the king's anſwer was read, Mr. Fox roſe and ſaid, he would not then enter into the conſideration of it, but would barely remark, that it appeared to him to be final on the part of his majeſty, and therefore the houſe could not well take more than one ſtep farther; and as this proceeding on the part of the houſe ought to be final alſo, there ought to be due time for gentlemen to turn the ſubject in their minds, what that meaſure ſhould be. He then moved that his majeſty's anſwer be taken into conſideration on Monday the 8th of March, which was agreed to without any debate.

Accordingly on that day Mr. Fox, after ſome exordium, moved a variety of reſolutions, tending on the whole to teſtify the ſurpriſe and affliction of the houſe on receiving the anſwer which his majeſty's miniſters had adviſed; to aſſure his majeſty that the houſe neither had diſputed, nor meant in any inſtance to diſpute, much leſs to deny his majeſty's undoubted prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of ſtate ſuch perſons as to his majeſty's wiſdom might ſeem meet; at the ſame time again ſubmitting to his majeſty's royal wiſdom, that no adminiſtration, however legally appointed, can ſerve his majeſty and the public with effect, which does not enjoy the confidence of that houſe; to expreſs a moſt unfeigned gratitude for his majeſty's royal aſſurances that he does not call in queſtion the right of the houſe to offer their advice to his majeſty on every proper occaſion, touching the exerciſe of any branch of royal prerogative; to repreſent that they know and are ſure that the proſperity of his majeſty's dominions in former times, has been, under Divine Providence, owing to the harmony which has for a century prevailed between the crown and that houſe; that they are convinced of the neceſſity of purſuing the ſame ſyſtem; and that they felt the continuance of the preſent adminiſtration to be an innovation upon it; to declare that they had done their duty to his majeſty, and their conſtituents, in pointing out the evil, and in humbly imploring redreſs; and that therefore the blame and reſponſibility muſt now lie wholly upon thoſe who had diſregarded the opinions, and neglected the admonitions of the repreſentatives of his majeſty's people, and attempted thereby to ſet up a new ſyſtem of executive adminiſtration, which, wanting the confidence of the houſe, and acting in defiance to their reſolution, muſt prove at once inadequate by it's inefficiency to the neceſſary objects of government, and dangerous by it's example to the liberties of the people.

But the opponents of adminiſtration in this inſtance loſt conſiderable ground, having, on a diviſion on Mr. Fox's motion, the majority only of an unit.

On the 10th, lord Hinchinbroke informed the houſe, that their repreſentation had been laid before his majeſty, and graciouſly received.

On the 25th, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and having given the royal aſſent to ſeveral bills then ready, made the following ſpeech from the throne:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"On a full conſideration of the preſent ſituation of affairs, and of the extraordinary circumſtances which have produced it, I am induced to put an end to this ſeſſion of parliament: I feel it a duty, which I owe to the conſtitution and to the country in ſuch a ſituation, to recur as ſpeedily as poſſible to the ſenſe of my people, by calling a new parliament.

"I truſt that this meaſure will tend to obviate the miſchiefs ariſing from the unhappy diviſions and diſtractions which have lately ſubſiſted; and that the various important objects which will require conſideration may be afterwards proceeded upon with leſs interruption and with happier effect.

"I can have no other object, but to preſerve the true principles of our free and happy conſtitution, and to employ the powers entruſted to me by law, for the only end for which they were given, the good of my people."

The next day the metropolis was thrown into a very great ferment, by an incident which from the criſis in which it happened was deemed the more extraordinary. Some robbers having burglariouſly entered the lord chancellor's houſe in Great Ormond ſtreet, carried off the Great Seal of England. As ſoon as his lordſhip was appriſed of the robbery, information was ſent to the reſpective offices of police, and perſons were diſpatched in queſt of the perpetrators of ſo daring a villainy, but without the deſired effect.

The ſame day a very important event was announced to the public; namely, a proclamation for diſſolving the then parliament, and declaring the calling another.

This tranſaction brings our hiſtory to a period, on which occaſion we truſt a retroſpect will neither condemn us in our own judgment, nor in that of the public. If it appears upon the whole, that we have not deviated from our impartial plan, nor ſwerved from the principles we primarily adopted, we ſhall ſtand acquitted at the bar of candour, as having fulfilled our engagement with the public, and our lucubrations may probably be thought not unworthy a place in the cabinets of thoſe who deem THE ANNALS OF ENGLAND their greateſt ornament.

May future hiſtorians poſſeſs ſuperior talents, and may the revival of all the bleſſings of agriculture, manufacture, and commerce, added to the enlightening reſearches of genius, the inveſtigations of philoſophy, and the cultivation and perfection of all the elegant arts, afford them ground for ſuch a diſplay of the glories of our country, as ſhall add to the renown it has ſo long and ſo juſtly acquired throughout the various parts of the known world.

SUPPLEMENT.

A. D. 1784. ON the 6th of April a magnificent monument was opened in Weſtminſter-Abbey to the memory of the earl of Chatham. It does equal honour to the artiſts and the conſummate patriot and ſtateſman, whoſe meritorious acts in the ſervice of his country it is deſigned to perpetuate.

To the general joy of all who had the love of their country at heart, the ratification on the part of the American congreſs of the definitive treaty between Great Britain and America arrived on the 9th, and a few days after official intimation was ſent by the ſecretary of ſtate, to the lord-mayor of London, of the arrival of that between Great Britain and the States-general of the United Provinces.

The new parliament met on the 16th of May, when the commons re-choſe Mr. Cornwall their ſpeaker, and on the 19th his majeſty went in the uſual ſtate to the upper houſe, and opened the ſeſſion of parliament.

The definitive treaty with Holland was ſigned at Paris, on the 20th, and in the beginning of July proclamation of peace between Great Britain and the United Provinces, and alſo with the United States of America, was read by the City Common Crier at the Royal Exchange, and other public places of the metropolis; and a day of thankſgiving was appointed for the 29th on that memorable occaſion.

Advices were ſoon after received of the peace being ſigned between the Eaſt India Company and Tippoo Saib, an event that was followed by the royal aſſent being given to Mr. Pitt's Eaſt India regulating bill, and the prorogation of the parliament.

A. D. 1785. On the 25th of January, being the day appointed for the commencement of the ſecond ſeſſion of the preſent parliament, his majeſty opened the ſame with a moſt gracious ſpeech. After ſome altercation, or rather converſation, a motion for an addreſs to his majeſty on the occaſion was carried in both houſes *nem. con.*

On the 3d of February three great points were ſubmitted by the miniſter to the conſideration of the commons this ſeſſion, viz. an arrangement of our commercial intercourſe with Ireland; a reform in the repreſentation of parliament; and the ſtate of the national finances. Theſe ſeveral ſubjects met with general approbation, and were ſet apart for future diſcuſſion.

The ſame day Mr. Fitzpatrick preſented a petition from certain of the electors of Weſtminſter, purporting a violation of their franchiſes through the high bailiff's delay in making a return of the members by them elected, and praying the houſe to grant them redreſs by compelling the high bailiff to give ſuch return. After ſome debates on a motion conſequent to the petition, the high bailiff was ordered by the houſe to make his return, when Mr. Fox was declared duly elected.

The next point of importance agitated in the lower houſe was, the great queſtion of a reform in the repreſentation of the people, brought not as heretofore by a member of the oppoſition, but by "the miniſter of the crown." The ſubject was introduced by Mr. Chancellor Pitt, in a very eloquent ſpeech to one of the fulleſt houſes that had ever been known.

The purport of Mr. Pitt's propoſition was, that of transferring from certain boroughs the power of election to counties and towns of greater conſequence, not by compulſatory means, but ſo as to make it an act of their own direction.

After ſtating the general principle and particular objects of his plan of reform, and enforcing his motion with a variety of arguments, he moved, "that leave be given to bring in a bill to amend "the repreſentation."

There were ſeveral very able ſpeakers, both for and againſt this motion; in particular Mr. Burke. After long debates the motion was rejected by a majority of 74.

On the 22d of June the toll, which had been paid at Blackfriars Bridge, from its being firſt opened, was taken off, and the gates, &c. ſold for 99 l. 15s.

The parliamentary buſineſs being concluded, on the 21ſt of October his majeſty went in ſtate to the houſe of peers, and, after ſigning the bills then ready, put an end to the ſeſſion.

A. D. 1786. The firſt material incident that occurred this year was that of the melancholy fate of the Halſewell Eaſt Indiaman, Richard Pierce, commander, outward bound to Madras and Bengal. She ſailed from the Downs on Sunday the firſt of January, and on the Tueſday morning following ſprung a leak, which, notwithſtanding an immediate application to the pumps, and a continued working them, ſoon encreaſed to the depth of five feet. She remained beating about the whole night, and the next morning ſhe had ſeven feet water in her hold. In this deplorable ſituation ſhe continued, expoſed to violent winds and a raging ſea, till two o'clock on Friday morning, when ſhe ſtruck on the rocks near Seacombe, on the iſland of Purbeck, between Peverel-Point and St. Alban's Head, and in two hours after, not an atom of her was to be ſeen: one hundred and ſeventy men were ſuppoſed to have got aſhore, but from the darkneſs of the morning, and ſurging of the ſea, the greateſt part of them were daſhed to pieces and drowned.

Beſides the captain, his two daughters, five other young ladies, and the firſt, fourth, and fifth mates, were all loſt, together with about 160 or 170 ſeamen and ſoldiers.

The loſs of the Haleſwell Indiaman was ſoon ſucceeded by that of the Trecothick, which was loſt in Talland Bay, on the 10th, when Captain Elder, his ſon, and eleven of the crew were drowned.

On the 24th of January his majeſty went in the uſual ſtate to the houſe of peers, and opened the third ſeſſion of the preſent parliament. Both houſes preſented an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, which were graciouſly received.

The ſheriffs of London, on the 25th of March, preſented a petition to his Majeſty, for enforcing the execution of the laws reſpecting capital convicts.

On the 11th of April, lord Cornwallis was appointed governor general and commander in chief of

of Bengal; as was on the 12th Sir Guy Carleton, commander in chief of Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.

On the 20th of June the cauſe between the Right Hon. Mr. Fox and the High Bailiff of Weſtminſter, was determined againſt the latter, with 2000l. damages. Intelligence was received at the India Houſe, on the 28th, of the death of Tippoo Saib, a character well known to all who are converſant in the hiſtory of the Eaſtern world.

His Royal Highneſs the prince of Wales, in conſequence of the diſappointment of ſeeing an addition made to his revenue this Seſſion, by Parliament, on the 9th of July, dropt his eſtabliſhment, and appointed four gentlemen to arrange his affairs, and appropriate the greater part of his income to the payment of his debts.

On the 11th his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and prorogued the parliament with a ſpeech from the throne.

An attempt was made on the life of his Majeſty on the 2d of Auguſt, by one Margaret Nicholſon, as he was alighting from his carriage at the gate of St. James's Palace. This woman had been obſerved to wait the king's arrival for ſome time, and previous to the appearance of the carriage had taken her ſtation between two women that were unknown to her. On the ſight of the carriage, ſhe begged with ſome earneſtneſs that they would not impede her from delivering a memorial to his majeſty. As the king was alighting, ſhe puſhed forward, and preſented a paper, which his Majeſty received with great condeſcenſion. At that inſtant ſhe ſtruck a concealed knife at the King's breaſt, which his Majeſty happily avoided by bowing as he received the paper. As ſhe was making a ſecond thruſt, one of the yeomen caught her arm, and at the ſame inſtant one of the king's footmen wrenched the knife out of her hand. His majeſty, with amazing temper and fortitude, exclaimed, "*I have received no injury! Do not hurt the woman; the poor creature appears inſane.*" — The woman was immediately taken into cuſtody, and upon examination appeared to be inſane.

On the 12th, the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London preſented a loyal addreſs to his majeſty on the above occaſion, which his majeſty was pleaſed to receive very graciouſly.

On the 19th of September, a plan was ſet on foot for eſtabliſhing a Colony in New Holland, for the preſent convenience of tranſporting convicts thither, and with a future view of improving the ſoil, and cultivating the manners of the natives.

In the courſe of the ſame month, a commercial treaty with France was ſigned at Verſailles by Mr. Eden and Monſieur Vergennes, as miniſters plenipotentiary for their reſpective kings.

On the evening of the 31ſt of October her royal highneſs the princeſs Amelia Sophia Eleonora, aunt to his majeſty, departed this life; and on the 9th of November the lord mayor's day was obſerved in the city in a private manner, on account of the death of that princeſs.

On the 6th of December both houſes of parliament met, purſuant to their laſt prorogation, and were further prorogued to the 23d of January 1787.

Accordingly on that day they met, and his majeſty upon the occaſion delivered a ſpeech from the throne, in which he informed them, that having concluded a treaty of navigation and commerce with the moſt Chriſtian king, he recommended it to them to take ſuch meaſures as they ſhould judge proper for carrying it into effect, aſſuring them at the ſame time, that to promote a beneficial intercourſe between the reſpective ſubjects, and add permanence to the bleſſings of peace, ſhould be the grand object of all his negociations with foreign powers.

He further recommended to them to take ſuch meaſures as might appear neceſſary for carrying into execution a plan formed by his direction, for the tranſportation of convicts, and aſſured them of his reliance on the continuance of their exertions to improve the national reſources, and promote the welfare of his people.

His majeſty, in conſequence, was waited on with an addreſs from both houſes.

On the 7th of February, Mr. Sheridan, in the lower houſe, brought forward an important charge againſt Mr. Haſtings, late governor general of Bengal. He diſplayed in his ſpeech moſt aſtoniſhing powers of elocution, inſomuch that he fixed the attention of the whole houſe, and concluded, amidſt a torrent of applauſe till then unheard in the ſenate, with a motion that Warren Haſtings be impeached.

The chancellor of the exchequer, after a ſpeech that does him much honour, gave his vote for the motion, declaring that the national character, he was convinced had been debaſed and degraded, and it was only by this act of national juſtice it could be reſtored to its wonted brilliancy, excited by its ſacred attachments to honour, juſtice and humanity.

Mr. Sheridan's motion was carried by a majority of 107. The miniſter carried his motions with reſpect to the commercial treaty, by a conſiderable majority.

The ſeveral articles of impeachment having, by order of the houſe of commons, been taken by Mr. Burke, to the upper houſe, their lordſhips proceeded in due form thereupon on the 21ſt of May. Having held ſome debates on different points, Mr. Haſtings was admitted to bail, and, purſuant to the tenour of a petition, allowed a copy of the charge, and had counſel aſſigned him.

Mr. Alderman Newnham, having declared his intention of bringing forward a motion reſpecting the affairs of the prince of Wales, before the expiration of this month, perſiſted in his reſolution, notwithſtanding the perſuaſion of ſeveral members to the contrary.

The alderman's motion, however, was never made, for at the time he had intimated he roſe in his place, to declare that it was no longer neceſſary, being obviated by an occurrence that had juſt fallen out.

After a ſuſpenſe of ſome days, and various contradictory reports, his majeſty ſent a meſſage to the houſe of commons, ſtating to them divers particulars, and recurring to their liberality on ſo intereſting an occaſion.

The reſult was, that the affair terminated in ſuch a manner as was conſiſtent with the honour of the crown, and with the dignity of ſo diſtinguiſhed a branch of the royal family as the prince of Wales.

On the 30th of May his majeſty went in the uſual ſtate to the houſe of peers, and put an end to the ſeſſion of parliament, by a moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

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